

---

## 1997 Commencement Address

---

HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP SPYRIDON OF AMERICA

*Christ is risen!*

It is the most special of blessings to be with you today, for it is a day on which you commence your new and various journeys, all in the name of our resurrected Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

Today is a day that is filled with hopes and dreams – those of your professors, those of your priests and bishops, those of your families, and most importantly, those of yourselves. As you go forth from here, know that these hopes and dreams are inspired by the Holy Spirit that lives in each and every one of us.

Today, you take your first steps on a path that is uniquely your own, and yet one that, together with the paths of your colleagues and friends sitting beside you, has been prepared in the Tradition of the Church. As you take these steps away from the academic and spiritual family that has nurtured you in this Tradition these last few years, believe with assurance that it was to walk along this path, that it was for this *ministry* – ordained or lay – that you were created by the Father of us all.

\* \* \*

When I was elected Archbishop just eight months ago, I began to lay out my vision – or better yet, my *own* hopes and dreams – for the future of our Archdiocese. You are the first generation of seminary and college graduates that will help me to build upon that vision. I ask you today to join with me and my beloved brother bishops, as well as other dedicated priests and laypeople in our Archdiocese, in giving your whole selves to the realization of this vision.

\* Address delivered at Commencement ceremonies of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, MA, May 18, 1997.

It is a vision I feel is right for our Church. It is a vision I want to share with you now.

\* \* \*

This vision can be encapsulated in a short quotation taken from the charter of the Archdiocese. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America:

“... is to administer the life of the Church in America according to the Eastern Orthodox Faith and Tradition, sanctifying the faithful through the Divine Liturgy and the holy Sacraments and edifying the religious and ethical life of the faithful in accordance with the holy Scriptures, the decrees and canons of the holy Apostles and the seven Ecumenical Councils of the ancient undivided Church, as interpreted by the practice of the Great Church of Constantinople.”

From this quotation, several key phrases emerge: Orthodox Faith and Tradition; liturgical and sacramental life; edification of the faithful; and the guidance of the Great Church of Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Mother Church of all Orthodoxy. So you see, the vision which I have, and about which I speak, is not *new* so much as it is a *new way* of bringing to fuller expression in our Church's life in America that which has been the content of our ecclesial being since the beginning.

First, Orthodox Faith and Tradition. You all know from your studies here at Hellenic College and Holy Cross that we have a glorious Faith, and that the history of the Church is filled with equally glorious moments. You also know, perhaps from your own local parish life as much as from your studies here, that the Church in America has had a fascinating story as well. But, while there are indeed high points in our American Church life, can we really say that we reflect the glory of our ancient Tradition?

Certainly we can say that, in some ways, our ecclesial life is more vibrant here than in other Orthodox countries, where various temptations and hardships have apparently sapped the vitality out of everyday practice of the Faith. But do we have the same *ethos* that has sustained Orthodoxy in those countries all these many centuries? I think we can do much better.

In short, I believe that, as a Church, we often forget our roots, and thus the face of our Church is pale when it should be flushed with blood and vigor. We often lose sight of what we could be, and thus settle for stunted growth. In other words, we are often content to



settle for less than is our legacy.

There is only one solution to this situation. In order to claim our full inheritance, in order to nourish an Orthodox ethos, we must return to our roots; we must rediscover our ancient Tradition; we must find our spiritual center once again.

All of us together – the bishops, the priests, the laity who choose other vocations and leadership roles within the Archdiocese – all of us must lead the Church back to its spiritual center. We must make manifest to the Faithful the truths embodied in our canonical Tradition. We must open their minds to the *ortho-doxia* that forms the basis of our community life, knowing that all other pursuits and concerns are secondary at best. I look to all of you to help in this task.

\* \* \*

The bulk of this responsibility, of course, falls on the shoulders of those who are ordained. For the moment, then, I will speak to the clergy and future clergy among you.

With Christ as our example, it is our vocation as *pastors* to do all we can to teach our faithful what it is to follow Christ to *both* the cross and glory. This is admittedly a tall order. But we are priests. We have chosen to accept this responsibility through our ordination to the ministry. But the crux of the situation is this: in order to truly fulfill this responsibility, we must regain our priestly identity as formed by the Tradition of the Church. This identity is found primarily and preeminently in its liturgical context.

I have said many times – and I will say it again – that Liturgy is *everything* in the Orthodox Church. It is not for nothing, then, that I have made the liturgical life of our Archdiocese – the second of the key phrases I highlighted earlier – a priority in my archiepiscopal ministry.

Indeed, not only is Liturgy our own treasure to cherish, it is also our most unique and beautiful gift that we offer to the world. It is in our liturgical services that we worship God, preach the Gospel, express our faith, and find the meaning of our life as a community, as a *eucharistic* community. Because of this, I have begun the work necessary to ensure the fullest and most beautiful possible liturgical experience for all of our faithful, whether it be a matter of translation, music, or a full liturgical cycle in our parishes.

But more important for our purposes today, I have given priority

to Liturgy because it is precisely in this context that we ultimately find the meaning of the Priesthood. Above all, priests are *spiritual fathers* of their communities, men who bring wholeness and reconciliation to the Body of Christ through the preaching of the Word of God and the celebration of the eucharistic mysteries. United as they are with their bishops, whom they represent before the altar and in the midst of their communities, theirs is a role that cannot be separated from the eucharistic fellowship of which they are the celebrants.

Let me put it another way, and in a way that sounds less like you would have heard in the classroom. As described during a meeting earlier this week with the clergy from the Archdiocesan District, I made this same point by stating that, perhaps due to the American cultural milieu, perhaps due to the late twentieth century infatuation with “popular” psychology, perhaps due to the world’s preoccupation with wealth, too often many priests seek to define themselves according to a standard other than that set by the Church. Yes, they are cognizant of their role in the parish, but they often seek to enhance that role through other means: flaunting their academic degrees; relying more heavily on their financial portfolios than on the goodwill of God; confusing psychological counseling with spiritual pastoring.

I further stated that, rather than trying to embellish their role as priests, they should see that it is their priestly vocation that enhances all else they do. For example, a priest may be a first-rate counselor, but the point of reference for his counseling should be his liturgical role in the community. This leaves no room, then, for boasting in accomplishments, seeking financial security above all else, or any other confusion. Instead, we must be faithful to the Tradition, to canonical order, and to the high ethical standards that in turn bring the respect of the laity.

To those of you who are priests or will one day become priests, I say to you: above all else, you are to be *spiritual fathers* to the people entrusted to your care. In turn, I pledge to you that the Archdiocese will not let outside forces – cultural or otherwise – diminish your role as priests, and that we will do whatever we can to enhance the iconic image of Christ that you are – or will soon be – in your parishes.

\* \* \*

Now, I do not want to limit my discussion to the clergy, because to

be the iconic image of Christ is not limited to priests, but includes *everyone* within the Church's embrace. Therefore, I turn my attention now to all of you *together*, clergy and lay men and women who will most assuredly help to lead the Church back to its spiritual center.

As you may know from comments I have made in the past, my other priority is Religious Education. This comprises the third point above, namely the edification of the faithful. It is a matter that concerns adult members of the Church as well as the children.

Religious Education is a priority for me because it goes to the heart of our being: the goal of all our efforts is to lead men and women to salvation. For this reason, we need to strengthen our programs of Religious Education so that all people in the Church may *know* their faith, may *accept* their faith, and may *articulate* their faith. Indeed, we must get to the point where our faithful can articulate, to others and ultimately to themselves, *why* they adhere to Orthodoxy, and can do so intelligently.

The key word here is *intelligently*. We live in a world today where advances are made in every field imaginable. Indeed, many of our faithful work in probably every one of these areas: genetics, AIDS research, computer and information technology, the physical sciences, psychology, medicine, management, and other such fields. Our people must be given the tools so that, in the midst of the world around us, our Faith will always make as much sense to them as it does to you. We must give them the ability to say with *full* conviction in response to the paschal greeting with which I began these remarks that, "Truly, He is Risen!" *This*, my friends, is what is at stake.

And this is where I look to all of you. You have received much knowledge here these last few years; it is now time to *share* that knowledge with others.

You have heard it said that we must bring the refreshing perspective of our Orthodox Tradition to the issues we face today. This is true. But it is also true that our *ortho-doxia* compels us to bring ever-new perspectives to the Tradition, so that we can rightly minister to the many who come looking for answers to today's questions. In this vein, then, I remind you that it is not good enough to merely quote the Fathers in response to these questions, as many Orthodox Christians are apt to do. Instead, we must adopt the *method* of the Fathers and delve into the Scriptures and use every means available to us to

intelligently and adequately teach the truths by which the Fathers lived, and for which the martyrs died.

Therefore, I ask each and every one of you to join me in this task. Clergy, you know your role. Lay men and women, no matter what field you ultimately enter, your role is to teach right alongside the priests, in your parishes, in your homes, and in your communities.

\* \* \*

This brings me to the fourth and final point I want to make: our relationship with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the need to strengthen it.

As you all know, in the fall of this year His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew will make a pastoral visit to our Archdiocese. His visit will crown the celebration of our seventy-fifth anniversary as an Archdiocese. His visit will also reaffirm for all of us that our Orthodox Faith and Byzantine Tradition, our liturgical life, and the religious education we impart to our faithful – each of the points I have just elaborated – all find their roots in the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

It is for this reason that we anticipate Patriarch Bartholomew's visit with such joy. As we begin to reclaim our spiritual center, to have our spiritual Father in our midst can only inspire us to fervently pursue this goal. I have said before that we are nothing without our Mother Church. I say now that only through the guidance of the Mother Church can we fully realize the fruits of our legacy.

\* \* \*

This year we mark another anniversary, the *sixtieth* anniversary of Holy Cross School of Theology. You graduates – of both the Seminary *and* the College – are therefore inheritors of another legacy, a legacy of scholarship and spirituality that reflects the academic tradition of both the ancient schools of Hellenism and the monastic schools of Byzantium. You possess a body of knowledge that relatively few others in the history of the world have possessed. And now, in possession of this knowledge, you will join the ranks of the men and women who have gone forth from this hilltop before you to blaze the paths upon which you will walk.

I congratulate you on a job well done. I am so very proud of you. And I am thankful, to God first of all, to you, and finally to the pro-

fessors and trustees of these institutions who so resolutely have undertaken the responsibility of preparing you for service in the vineyard of the Lord.

I have shared with you my vision for this vineyard. Certainly I have left out many of the details, but the larger picture has now been set forth for you, framed by the four points of Tradition, Liturgy, Education, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In essence, this vision calls us to a renewed spirituality. I ask all of you to join me in answering this call, and in making this vision a reality.

May our good and gracious God – the loving Father, His resurrected Son, and His abiding Spirit – bless each and every one of you.

May 17, 1997

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Book Reviews

---

### MONASTICISM AND THE ASCETIC LIFE: MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

*A Life Giving Way: A Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict.*  
Esther de Waal (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995) pages  
xv+208. \$14.95

Esther de Waal's book is a spiritual commentary on St. Benedict's Rule. This text complements her previous work in monastic and Celtic spirituality. She submits that every Christian, regardless of denomination or vocation, will strengthen his or her own understanding of "Christian discipleship" by reading the Rule of St. Benedict.

De Waal's commentary corresponds, chapter by chapter, to the seventy-three "rules" of St. Benedict. In each chapter, she contextualizes the spirit of the Rule in her contemporary world. Her interests are popular rather than scholarly, and her focus is the modern appropriation of the Rule for a lay society rather than a historical assessment of Benedictine monasticism.

De Waal focuses on several components of the Rule that are essential to understanding St. Benedict. She aptly demonstrates the close relationship between the Rule and Scripture. She says, "the Rule itself is simply a practical guide to living out the teachings of the Gospel" (p. 18). She emphasizes St. Benedict's principal concern for the internal spirit rather than the external appearance. She also addresses the tension between the individual and the community that is so apparent in Benedict. Moreover, in contrast to what she perceives as a ruinous western dualism, she argues that the Rule was holistic, combining the concerns for the soul and the body.

De Waal's appropriation of the Rule for the secular reader often

elides several of the more important elements of the original. She transforms fasting into "a good and positive attitude" (p. 30), and retranslates humility as "being sufficiently relaxed about oneself" (p. 74). She also fails to arrogate sufficiently the special relationship between a novice and his spiritual father. Moreover, she arbitrarily connects St. Benedictine's Rule with Native American spirituality (pp. x, 63) and Zen Buddhism (p. 21). She quotes from her sources inconsistently and often leaves the reader scrambling for the original text. A different type of commentary has recently been written by Terrence Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996). Kardong's text includes a critical edition and translation of the original, and it more faithfully maintains the original spirit of St. Benedict's Rule.

George E. Demacopoulos

*The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes.* Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 5, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996) pages 560. SEK: 330.00.

Jan Olof Rosenqvist's book is a welcome critical edition and translation of the life and miracles of St. Eugenios of Trebizond. The editor and translator of *The Life of Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985), Rosenqvist continues here to demonstrate his philological prowess.

His work focuses on the latter part of a fourteenth-century manuscript (#154) from the monastery of St. Dionysios, Mt. Athos. This dossier is a compilation of four separate texts written by three different authors. Each of the texts discusses St. Eugenios, a martyr in the age of Diocletian. The first text (BHG #609), the encomium, is a fourteenth-century revision of older *passiones* written by Constantine Loukites. The second text (BHG #610) is a collection of ten independent miracle stories collected in the eleventh century by John Xiphilinos (later John VIII (1064-1075) of Constantinople). The third text (BHG #611), written by John Lazaropoulos, bishop of Trebizond (1364-1367), provides the rationale for the establishment of a second feast honoring St. Eugenios (his birthday). The fourth text (BHG



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **A Roman Catholic Point of View about the Limits of the Church: The Article of Professor Phidas and the Roman Catholic Point of View**

---

FR. CHARLES MOREROD OP

I am grateful to Professor Vlassios Phidas for his very interesting article "The Limits of the Church" in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.<sup>1</sup> He says that he wants to explain clearly the Orthodox point of view of this topic because ecumenical dialogue requires a real knowledge of what others think. I totally agree with him. It happens far too often that a common ecumenical text is understood in different ways by theologians of different Churches because the language and the content of the text were not sufficiently clear and I am grateful to Professor Phidas precisely because I now understand better the Orthodox point of view.

Prof. Phidas also presents the Roman Catholic understanding of the limits of the Church. Because I share his desire for clarity, I would like to ask some questions about his presentation of the Roman Catholic point of view, which is honest and on many points correct, but in which I cannot totally recognize myself as a Roman Catholic.

I agree with Professor Phidas when he says that the "*inner relationship between ecclesiology and sacraments is an indissoluble one*"<sup>2</sup> and that we need an ecclesiology of the Body of Christ. I also agree with him when he says that most (I add : most but not all) Roman Catholic ecclesiology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was reacting against the Reformation and offered an image of the Church as a hierocratic society rather than as a spiritual Body. I recognize that many Roman Catholics are still deeply influenced by a socio-

logical and fairly non-spiritual view of the Church, and that there is a danger in understanding the Church only as the People of God, forgetting that the Church is also the Body of Christ; indeed, both aspects are connected in the Second Vatican Council.

I would only like to say that, as a Roman Catholic theologian, I do not accept the possibility that the Holy Spirit could be active outside the Church. It is impossible to imagine the Holy Spirit acting outside the Body of Christ, which is always visible, though we do not always see it because our eyes are not spiritual enough. Professor Phidas says: "*If... divine grace is granted by the Church, in which the historical body of Christ is realized, then how is it possible for divine grace to be bestowed outside his body, which is the Church?*"<sup>3</sup> I agree with this statement, and I believe that a Roman Catholic should say the same, though this does not always happen. But what does it mean to say that no grace is bestowed outside the Church?

### *The Example of Cardinal Journet's Ecclesiology.*

I speak not only for myself. I would like to present briefly, so far as it concerns our point, the ecclesiology of Cardinal Charles Journet, a Swiss theologian who died in 1975. He is in my opinion one of this century's finest Roman Catholic ecclesiologists<sup>4</sup> and had exerted some important influence on the Second Vatican Council and above all on Pope Paul VI.<sup>5</sup>

I choose his ecclesiology because Journet may be considered as truly representative of the Roman Catholic Church, and not only as a theologian expressing his own particular opinions. He was named a Cardinal by Paul VI in 1965 precisely because of his theological work. I note too, that he was the author of several rather polemical books against Protestant theology,<sup>6</sup> and that he used very scholastic (thomistic) language. That means at least that, according to the desire which I share with Professor Phidas, Cardinal Journet did not try to reach an easy and superficial agreement with others. I would then like to look at several texts of the Second Vatican Council in the light of Journet's ecclesiology.

Journet's ecclesiology insists above all on the Body of Christ, the Holy Spirit being the "uncreated Soul" of this Body, and love, which comes through the sacraments, the "created soul" of the Church. I am aware that this could lead to a long discussion about grace as created or non-created. But let me focus all interest on the role of the

Holy Spirit as "Soul" of the Body of Christ.

In speaking of the Holy Spirit as Soul of the Body, Journet refers for instance to St Paul: "*Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you?*"<sup>7</sup> This way of speaking of the Spirit as Soul of the Church was common among the Fathers.<sup>8</sup> For Journet, the Holy Spirit as "Soul" is formal, final and efficient cause of the Church.<sup>9</sup> This means that there is no Church without the Holy Spirit, just as there is no human body without a soul (or else there is only a corpse). The Holy Spirit is not a soul in the usual sense of the word, but He does for the Church what our soul does for our body: He gives life, unity, knowledge. The Spirit gives to the Church the sacraments and thus the life of grace, and keeps the Church in Faith. Journet expresses this by saying that the Holy Spirit gives to the Church a "*sacramental and oriented love*"<sup>10</sup> ("oriented" here refers to the teaching authority).

There is no Body where the Soul is not, and the Soul is "*coextensive with the Body*."<sup>11</sup> Journet cites St Irenaeus: "*Where the Church is, there is the Spirit, where the Spirit is, there is the Church and all grace*,"<sup>12</sup> and St Augustine: "*The Catholic Church alone is the Body of Christ; He is its head and the Saviour of His Body. The Holy Spirit gives life to no one outside this body, because, as the Apostle himself says: 'The love of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us.'*"<sup>13</sup> The reason for this is that "*any one who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him.*"<sup>14</sup> Journet rejects explicitly the idea of some Roman Catholic theologians who suggest that the soul of the Church (they speak in terms of grace) could be extended beyond the body.<sup>15</sup>

At this point he has to face the old formula "*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*." Does this mean that it is strictly impossible for anyone who is not clearly member of the Church, understood either as the Roman Catholic Church or at least a Christian community, to be saved?

Orthodox theologians, according to Professor Phidas,<sup>16</sup> use the concept of the "economy" to tackle this question. Journet has no "economy" and so turns to the old Latin theological principle of "invincible ignorance." Those who cannot know Jesus Christ and/or the Church are not for that reason "guilty."<sup>17</sup> According to their righteousness and in view of their eventual participation in some sacraments, those who do not belong to the Roman Catholic Church still belong to the one Church on a variety of ways, according to a

system of concentric circles: the Greeks and Russians first, Protestants after them, and then the righteous among the unbaptized.<sup>18</sup> Of course Journet sees the Roman Catholic Church at the center, so that members of other communities are also related to the Roman Catholic Church. It is necessary here to say more precisely what it means "to belong to the Church." Where God "touches" someone, where the Holy Spirit leads a person towards a future conversion, the Church is already present. For instance, the sacraments given outside the Roman Catholic Church which recognizes all sacraments in the Orthodox Church and the baptism in the Protestant Churches – "*have a natural tendency to invest some corporeal appearances.*"<sup>19</sup> This means that every action of the Spirit is part of the process of building the Body of the Church, which is thus always visible, though we do not always recognize it.

Journet adds that the frontier of the Church crosses our heart:<sup>20</sup> everyone is a member of the Church in the measure that he receives divine grace. Consequently our sins are not in the Church, even if the sinner is a bishop, for instance. This means also that true love in anyone comes from the Holy Spirit and therefore is a beginning of the Body of Christ. In this way "*the Church may be composed of the just and the sinner and remain holy and immaculate.*"<sup>21</sup> As we see, the problem is not only about the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to people who are outside it, but also about our relationship as sinners to Jesus Christ who is the Head of the Church. To be in the Church means to be under the guidance of its divine Head through the Holy Spirit.

As for the relationship between the visible Body of the Church and grace, Journet also mentions the liturgy, and above all the Eucharist. He says that love "*is absolutely inseparable from Christian worship, such that, if it were possible to suppress this worship in the world, Christian love would be suppressed at the same time.*"<sup>22</sup> The graces received in the world come through the liturgy, even for people who are not aware of it but who at least do not refuse the grace offered<sup>23</sup> and who are led by grace to an always clearer and always fuller membership in the Church.

In this brief sketch I have tried to show that, for Cardinal Journet:

- 1° all graces are given to the world through the Holy Spirit;
- 2° all graces come through the Church, because they come from the Head of the Church and through the liturgy of the Church;

- 3° all these graces build up the Church, the Body of Christ;  
 4° the Body of Christ is always visible, and non-Catholics belong to it in various degrees.

*The Similar Ways of the Second Vatican Council.*

I shall now show by a few texts from the Second Vatican Council that what Journet says may help us to understand the Council's ecclesiology.

The Council recognizes the Holy Spirit as "Soul" of the Church: "*He [Christ] has shared with us his Spirit who, being one and the same in head and members, gives life to, unifies and moves the whole body. Consequently, his work could be compared by the Fathers to the function that the principle of life, the soul, fulfils in the human body.*"<sup>24</sup>

The Council distinguishes the Church as the visible Roman Catholic Church from the Church of Christ: "*This Church, constituted and organized as a society in the present world, subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in communion with him. Nevertheless, many elements of sanctification and of truth are found outside its visible confines. Since these are gifts belonging to the Church of Christ, they are forces impelling towards Catholic unity.*"<sup>25</sup> This text does not relativize the visibility of the Church, it only recognizes, as we see in *Lumen Gentium* 15 and in *Unitatis Redintegratio*, that the Faith in the Trinity and the baptism present in other Churches belong to the Church which, as we confess in the Symbol of Faith, is One. This means that there are several ways of belonging to the Church. These "ways," however, are not equivalent paths set side by side, but rather have a common center which is the "*very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Catholic Church.*"<sup>26</sup> The members of other Churches "*are put in some, though imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church.*"<sup>27</sup> We see various degrees of communion in the third Chapter of *Unitatis Redintegratio* which mentions first "*the special position of the Eastern Churches,*"<sup>28</sup> then "*the separated Churches and ecclesial communities in the West.*"<sup>29</sup>

So the Holy Spirit does not give grace outside the Church. Rather, every grace bestowed by the Holy Spirit serves to build up the visible Body of the Church because the Spirit himself is sent by Jesus Christ

and does not constitute some independent way of salvation. But this One visible Church is realized according to a system of concentric circles which, though reflecting it to different degrees, tend towards the same unity. Of course this situation is not very satisfying: the distinction between these circles (what we usually call the divisions of the Church) should not exist, and that is the reason why there is an ecumenical movement.

I hope I have been able to explain that a Roman Catholic theologian does not need to suppose an action outside the visible Body of the Church, which would mean that the Holy Spirit bestows another kind of Salvation beyond that which comes through Jesus Christ. But to maintain such a position does not necessarily mean either restricting the Church to the Roman Catholic Church or postulating more than one Church of Christ.<sup>30</sup>

I add, in closing, that the ecclesiology of Cardinal Journet was a contemplative one and had its roots in the Liturgy, which was clearly the center of his daily life.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 38 (1993) 119-129

<sup>2</sup> *art cit*, p 122

<sup>3</sup> *art cit*, p 126

<sup>4</sup> Cf Charles Journet, *L'Église du Verbe incarné*, 3 volumes, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, vol 1 1962 (3), vol 2 1951, vol 3 1969 (altogether almost 3000 pages) There is no English translation the translations in the present text are my own

<sup>5</sup> For the Council, cf Fr R Spiazzi, in *Osservatore Romano*, Italian Edition, 18 4 1975, p 1-2 For Paul VI, cf P J -P Torell, "Paul VI et le Cardinal Journet Aux sources d'une ecclésiologie," in *Nova et Vetera*, 1986, no 4, p 161-174

<sup>6</sup> For instance *De la Bible catholique à la Bible protestante*, Paris, André Blot, 1930 This book is not only an expression of the thought of the young Journet later in life he might have changed some words, but the main arguments would have remained the same

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor 3, 16, mentioned in this context by Charles Journet, *L'Église du Verbe incarné*, vol 3, p 96

<sup>8</sup> Cf the texts gathered by Marie-Hugues Lavocat, *L'Esprit de Vérité et d'Amour*, Paris, Cerf, 1968, p 541-547

<sup>9</sup> Cf Charles Journet, *L'Église du Verbe incarné*, vol 2, p 478 Cf also vol 2, p 522-525

<sup>10</sup> Cf Charles Journet, *L'Église du Verbe incarné*, vol 2, p 646-647, 872

<sup>11</sup> Cf *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol 2, Introduction, p XXXIV, p 573

<sup>12</sup> "Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia, et omnis gratia Spiritus autem veritas," *Adversus Haereses* III XXIV (cf *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol 2, p 955-956)

<sup>13</sup> St Augustine, *Letter* 185, chapter 50, in the translation of the series "The Fathers

of the Church," vol. 30, Washington, 1981 (3), p. 189. This text is mentioned in *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 957.

<sup>14</sup> Rom 8, 9 mentioned in this context by St Augustine in his *Commentary on the Gospel of St John* XXVI. 13 and XXVII, 6, cf. *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 1, p. 44).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 1, p. 45.

<sup>16</sup> *art. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. for instance *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 1, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 953.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 903-925 and 1115-1129 (oversight of the Tradition); vol. 3, p. 71.

<sup>21</sup> *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 489.

<sup>22</sup> *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 653. About the relationship between the Eucharist and other sacraments or liturgical acts in this context, cf. also *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 881-883.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *L'Église du Verbe Incarné*, vol. 2, p. 845.

<sup>24</sup> Constitution *Lumen Gentium*, Nr. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Constitution *Lumen Gentium*, Nr. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Decree *Unitatis Redintegratio*, Nr. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Decree *Unitatis Redintegratio*, Nr. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Nrs. 13-18.

<sup>29</sup> Nrs. 19-24.

<sup>30</sup> Of course there are some local Churches, which are together one Church. This is not what I have in view when I speak of more than one Church.

<sup>31</sup> As can be seen in his work *La Messe, Présence du sacrifice de la Croix*, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1957, or some of his spiritual writings.

I express my gratitude to Fr. Edmund Ditton OP, Rome, who corrected my poor English.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Approaching the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Evangelism

---

FR. ALKIVIADIS C. CALIVAS

### *God, Church, and a People-in-mission*

In his infinite love for the world, God continuously pursues his redemptive purposes. The Triune God, writes Father Emmanuel Clapsis, is “*a God-in-mission*.”<sup>1</sup> Acting through his Church, he reveals his universal plan for the world. Through her, he calls all of creation to share in the freedom from bondage to decay and to obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God (Rom. 8:21). Hence, the Church, established by God in order to take the world into herself, is by extension “*a Church-in-mission*.” As with worship, doing theology, and philanthropy, evangelism is an essential activity of the Church.

The Church is in the world for its salvation and renewal. Through her the world shares in the rehabilitation and restoration begun with the incarnation of God’s Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the beginning and the end of all things. The Church, according to Olivier Clement, is “nothing other than the world in the course of transfiguration, the world that in Christ reflects the light of paradise.”<sup>2</sup> In every age and place the Church addresses the world’s ills and problems by declaring and affirming God’s plan for the universe, i.e., its ultimate transfiguration and glorification, already disclosed in the resurrection of Christ and manifested in the Scriptures and in the sacraments celebrated in faith.

In a statement, several years ago, regarding the aims and purposes of theological education the Faculty of Holy Cross noted, among other things, the following:

The catholicity of the Church thrusts to the forefront: the Church's mission to the whole world; ecumenical understanding, cooperation, and pursuit of unity among the divided churches; mutual respect with other religions and cultures; and the ideals of freedom, justice, and peace for all peoples...(We are obliged) to convey critically to the students contemporary global concerns by which they become aware of their responsibility to evangelize the world; participate in God's mission for the liberation of the poor; safeguard the integrity of creation; and advance world peace and dialogue between Christians and other religions... and (to do ) these things without surrendering the missionary fervor and unique Orthodox witness.<sup>3</sup>

According to this statement, the Church's evangelical endeavor is based on a broad multifaceted vision. Evangelism in action involves a number of activities. It sows the seed of faith by proclaiming the good news of salvation and it invites the world to conversion by engaging people with the truths and the values of the Gospel. In addition, it seeks to build-up daily the faith community by nourishing the faith of Christians, explaining to them – and celebrating – the dogmatic statements, the moral principles, the liturgical ethos, and the canonical tradition of the Church. Moreover, evangelism in action relates human life and activities to the mystery of Christ and his Church, elucidating for the faithful and for the world how the Church lives her life of faith by fostering a ministry of generous service to the world.

To accomplish the task of evangelism the Church must do two things. First, in the words of Archbishop Anastasios of Albania, she must “fan the spark of missionary awareness ... (and) awaken an urge for mission ... in view of the development of the modern world.”<sup>4</sup> And second, she must raise up faithful persons who can be models for the Christian life: models of faith and courage, of humility and love, of prayer, of godly action, of vision, of illumined leadership in transforming society, men and women who participate in the will and plan of God for their lives and for their times. In other words, the Church-in-mission seeks to make her people “*a people-in-mission*,” i.e., a people who are aflame in the Spirit, reflecting like mirrors the brightness of the Lord. A people-in-mission, according to one theologian, display neither aggression nor compliance, neither the temptation to lose their identity in the world by following its fashion, nor the opposite temptation to set themselves apart by making them-

selves externally distinct. Their basic requirement is to energize the interior life, to act in good faith, and to persuade others by way of example and intercession.<sup>5</sup> The Church-in-mission seeks to produce behavioral and cultural change in people by creating an environment capable of and suitable for conversion and growth in Christ.

The Church has the evangelical obligation to involve herself in purposeful action forming personal and social life in the direction of God's Kingdom, from which she draws her identity. In the world she is called to evangelize and serve, she must seek to influence the powers that shape the present and form the future by bringing the insights and concerns of her unique biblical and patristic tradition into main-line discussions about the nature and future of our society and the meaning and purpose of all existence. "Like a forest in the middle of cultivated lands," (the Church must become) "an unlimited reserve of silence, peace, and authentic life that makes possible all the good and lasting creations of history."<sup>6</sup>

Let me suggest some areas which require the attention of the Church in her mission to the world in the "complex daily history of today's generation."<sup>7</sup> After addressing briefly the theoretical side of a particular issue, I offer – in very broad strokes – some practical suggestions for tasks that need to be undertaken by the Church as we approach the 21st century.

*Developing a witnessing missionary mentality: the value of ecumenical activities and the need for evangelical endeavors*

The Ecumenical dialogues, once lively and hopeful, appear to be in a state of fatigue. The once urgent search for Christian unity seems to have waned. Churches are retreating into isolation and theologians are less inclined to press forward the search for doctrinal reconciliation.

Though the Orthodox Church is faced with numerous internal problems, she must not retreat from her commitment to dialogue, nor should she abandon the search for Christian unity. In response to her own vision of catholicity, she is obliged to witness to the Apostolic faith. Indeed, the global presence of Orthodoxy today makes it difficult if not impossible for the Church to retreat into isolationism and provincialism. This would only breed suffocating narrowness and empty triumphalism.

Orthodox pastors and theologians have a special responsibility to

help raise the consciousness of the Church on the significance and value of the ecumenical endeavor. The Church, in turn, has the obligation to pursue maximum participation on the various interchurch councils and consultations, and to make the necessary provisions for the establishment of a strong, competent, and united presence in the ecumenical movement.

Participation on various local, national and international councils and consultations affords the Orthodox Church the opportunity to express her concerns, put forth her views, and offer suggestions for the amelioration and/or solution of various problems, including those which inflict pain upon the people of the world and those which put in jeopardy the friendly relations between Christian people.

In and through these forums, the Church can do any number of good and positive things. She can for example: raise her voice on behalf of the poor; lend her hand in the struggle against all forms of oppression; and take up the cause for the advancement of freedom, peace, equality, and justice. In addition, she can bring new perspectives to and deepen the theological dialogue on the nature, purpose, and challenge of evangelization and mission. Furthermore, she can address those sensitive, troublesome, and divisive issues which threaten to unravel the hard won rapprochement of the churches on the one hand and weaken Christian witness on the other.

Among these troublesome and divisive issues two are of special interest to the Orthodox in the current state of affairs between the churches. The first is related to the resurgence and indiscriminate exercise of proselytism by some religious bodies in traditional Orthodox lands. The second is related to the theological positions being promoted in some ecumenical circles which call to question, distort, dilute, or betray basic Christian beliefs and morals.

In the face of these many challenges we would do well to remind ourselves and take seriously the call of the Orthodox Consultation of 1991 held in Chambesy, Switzerland to evaluate the work of the Seventh Assembly of the World Council of Churches. The Report of the Consultation, among other things, came to the following important conclusion: "It is our belief that the Orthodox have much to contribute to the ecumenical movement. It is, therefore, highly desirable that they develop more and more *a witnessing missionary mentality*."<sup>8</sup>

A similar hopeful note was struck by the heads of the Orthodox

Churches gathered in consultation at the Phanar in Constantinople in March of 1992, the first such meeting in the twentieth century. The venerable prelates gave strong witness to the unity of the Church and raised the hopes of all for new pastoral initiatives both for the renewal of our ecclesial life as well as for the reaffirmation of the Church's prophetic role in the world she is called to evangelize and serve.<sup>9</sup>

Sadly, however, the initial enthusiasm and interest for bold initiatives has a way of gradually fading away. Inertia sets in. Present always is the temptation to lose sight of and to forget "the good portion" (Lk.10:42); to retreat into old familiar ways and habits, into less demanding and less challenging tasks, into safer conventional havens. Faithfulness to Christ is often identified with the uncritical preservation of institutions, customs, and traditions. For the lack of vision the prophetic spirit decelerates and weakens; for the fear of change missionary zeal falters and wanes. As evangelical endeavors suffer from the spirit of complacency and accommodation, the faith community more and more becomes insular and protective of the status quo.

To remain vibrant the evangelistic spirit needs to be cultivated earnestly in every generation so that the faithful, clergy and laity alike, come to understand and accept that "Christ seeks neither the defense nor the abolition of historical orders; rather he seeks their renewal and redirection, their conversion toward their proper end and their proper qualities."<sup>10</sup> Christ has called his Church and his people to bear witness to the truth and to become the agents of creative and redemptive action in the evolving historical process.

It is not enough, however, to talk about evangelism and about witnessing. To be true to her own vision of catholicity, the Church is obliged to act vigorously by developing, implementing, and maintaining effective missionary programs on every level of ecclesial life. The times are ripe for a new and thunderous martyrria, for effective evangelical endeavors. Are the Orthodox Churches ready to meet the challenge? Are they ready to respond to the needs of people who are starving for the spirit, the truth, the beauty, the love, and the justice of God? There is, indeed, an urgency today to develop among the Orthodox more and more a witnessing missionary mentality.

Towards this end, allow me to suggest that the Orthodox Christian Mission Center, the co-sponsor of this Conference, undertakes four new projects with the approval and cooperation of the proper

ecclesial authorities and the assistance of the theological schools in our nation. The *first* suggestion is to network with and to create a federation of official ecclesial missionary bodies and legitimate Orthodox missionary societies and foundations for mutual support, the exchange of information and ideas, the training of missionary personnel, the coordination of programs, and the publication and distribution of appropriate evangelistic materials. The *second* proposal is to convene periodically – perhaps every three years – an International Conference on Mission and Evangelism in various parts of the Orthodox world, in order to secure a wider awareness and commitment by Orthodox people for missionary work, thereby sustaining the vibrancy of the evangelical spirit, and advancing the cause of evangelism in local churches. The *third* recommendation is to establish a “Missions Camp” in which a select group of mission minded young people from every part of the globe gather annually to learn from one another and to explore together – with the guidance of competent instructors – the challenges and opportunities for evangelism in the historical realities of today’s world. The participants in the camp would be chosen under strictly observed rules and criteria; and the program would be developed cooperatively between the Mission Center and theological faculty members. The chief aim of the Mission Camp would be to imbue the participants with a witnessing missionary mentality and to help prepare a new generation of visionary evangelists. The *fourth* suggestion is to formulate programs to help parishes establish and maintain vibrant and forward-looking local Missions Committees and to inspire parish leaders to place a line-item in the annual budget of the parish to help fund local, national, and international evangelical activities.

A word of praise is due to the Mission Center of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and to the missions departments of the other Orthodox jurisdictions in this land for their many splendid initiatives and highly successful activities over these many years.<sup>11</sup> I applaud with joy, gratitude, and enthusiasm the leaders and workers of these movements. With equal joy and much hope for the future I welcome with you the decision of the of The Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops to unify the missionary activities of the jurisdictions under the new entity, the Orthodox Christian Mission Center. May the Lord bless all its endeavors and crown them with every success.

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, the other co-sponsor of this Conference, is especially privileged and blessed to be the recipient of a most generous gift from the Missions Foundation of Lancaster, Pennsylvania by which a Chair in Orthodox Missiology is soon to be established. It is hoped that, through this Chair, the School, among other things, will help promote for the Church scholarship, research and publications in the area of missiology; teach the theory and practice of evangelism; train mission-minded people for the tasks of evangelism; and sponsor symposia and conduct workshops on missiology both locally and nationally.

*An unfinished mission: embracing the Oriental Orthodox (Non-Chalcedonian) Churches*

A happy and hopeful sign in the search for Christian unity are the significant steps that have been taken thus far to bring about the reconciliation of the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox (Non-Chalcedonian) Churches.<sup>12</sup> The three agreed statements of the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Churches issued in 1989 on Christology, in 1990 on pastoral issues, and in 1993 on the lifting of the anathemas have been circulated widely. They await the official response of and implementation by the Churches.

The 1990 Statement, for example, issued a set of pastoral recommendations to help implement the restoration of communion. Sadly, these recommendations, for the most part, have gone unheeded. They deserve our attention. They include some of the following points: the exchange of visits by the heads of the churches; where possible, a greater interaction between the clergy and the faithful of the churches; the publication and distribution of informational materials; appropriate programs of instruction in theological schools and seminaries; and mutual cooperation for the promotion and maintenance of humanitarian and philanthropic projects.

It is important that Orthodox pastors and theologians actively support and help move forward the process begun by the Joint Commission by studying closely the adopted formulations and explaining them to the faithful through informative publications and timely discussions both in schools and in parishes. It is equally important that the people of the Church take these recommendations to heart and embrace the process with fervor.



*Sharing in God's providential care for the environment*

Whatever pertains to the integrity of creation and the protection of the environment has missionary implications, since the Church through her sacramental life images the renewed creation, freed from imperfections and transformed by the glory of God.<sup>13</sup> The faithful have a special duty and responsibility to share in God's providential care for the environment.

The world is God's gift of life. His glory is diffused everywhere. It fills the vast expanse of the universe as well as every form of life and existence. The heavens and the earth declare his glory. They speak of his wisdom, his power, his majesty, and his providential love.

"Humanity," notes father Stanley Harakas, "in imitation of God's providential care, is to love the rest of the natural created world and exercise human talent and ability to use it properly, but also to care for it... Concern for the ecology of the planet and even the planetary system is an expression of respect of God's creation, a response to the rights of our neighbor, and an expression of love for our fellow human beings. Our present neighbors all over the world, as well as our yet unborn neighbors – the generations to come – have a right to live in a physical environment that is not further polluted, genetically malformed, or defiled by toxic waste."<sup>14</sup>

The integrity of creation and the protection of the environment are matters of deep concern to the Orthodox. As a sign of the Church's total commitment to the effort to help undo as well as prevent those conditions which lend themselves to the pollution and destruction of the natural environment, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at its meeting of June 6, 1989 decreed that the Feast of the Indiction, the 1st of September, which marks the beginning of the ecclesiastical new year, henceforth be dedicated also to the "Protection of the Natural Environment," and that prayers and petitions be offered for all creation and especially for the environmental protection of the planet.

The Orthodox Church can help uphold the integrity of creation by promoting in various public forums her own unique understanding of the nature and destiny of the cosmos and by speaking boldly against the exploitation and pollution of the environment.

In recent years, the Ecumenical Patriarchate has sponsored an annual conference at which theologians, scientists, and other interested persons address various ecological issues. A wider coverage of these

proceedings as well as the publication and distribution of the papers read at these conferences together with the annual observance of the Feast of the Indiction with its new emphasis on the protection of the natural environment would serve to promote a meaningful discussion among the faithful on ecological questions and make them more aware of their moral responsibility to work for the protection of the natural environment, honoring it as the creation of God.

*Science, technology, and faith: overcoming the false barriers*

The unprecedented achievements of modern science have added greatly to our knowledge of the cosmos and have raised to new and unparalleled heights the quality of our biological existence. Progressing into the twenty-first century scientists promise us an even greater expansion of human capabilities.

The pursuits and activities of science and technology, as reported in a popular national magazine, are leading to "increased human control over the environment, over other living organisms, over mountains of data, above all over one's psychology and genetics and destiny."<sup>15</sup> What all this means for the future of humankind is yet to be decided. As the boundaries of human knowledge continuously expand, the opportunities for good are enormous, as are the possibilities for unimaginable destruction.

At every stage of the scientific process human beings, who both design and manage it, have at their disposal a wide range of possibilities to give form and shape to nature. Who is to help determine and develop the principles of choice by which the scientific process is guided and its purposes and ends are defined? And, how are these purposes related to the ultimate destiny of humanity and the cosmos? For certain, Orthodox theology must play a significant role in this crucial debate. And this role is essentially evangelistic in nature and in scope.

One of the fundamental characteristics of biblical anthropology is the value it places upon human history, science, culture, and civilization. Chapter two of the Book of Genesis, for example emphasizes the stewardship that human beings are called to exercise on behalf of the material world. Through their creative activity they are called to liberate the world from its limitations. The development of science and technology are part of the paradisiac experience. The free research of the human being is initiated and inspired by God. Another

book of the Old Testament, Sirach, underscores this truth. The sages' words about physicians are, I believe, applicable to all men and women of the sciences. Sirach wrote, "Hold the physician in honor, for he is essential to you and God it was who established his profession. From God the doctor has his wisdom" (Sir. 38:1-2). In this same spirit, we recognize and honor the good works of those who use positively their God-given intelligence to probe and explore the mysteries of the natural world, in order to serve humanity by laboring to better the quality of life and uphold the dignity and positive meaning of God's creation.

Through the ages the Orthodox Church has embraced the scientist and has honored his/her vocation, though not indiscriminately and uncritically, as Philip Sherrard has shown in his insightful critique of modern science.<sup>16</sup>

The many unparalleled accomplishments of modern science which have altered and raised the level and quality of human existence, also have helped produce both a climate of intellectual arrogance, aggressive individualism, and unrestrained competitiveness, as well as a rootless, lonely, and detached people who are absorbed with and trapped by man-made environments and things. In such a world there is little, if any, room for God. In it people become all the poorer for the cruel hoax of their supposed autonomy, self-sufficiency, and self-determination.

Human beings are always open to the temptation to build a world apart from God, to erect and to follow idols. As one teacher noted:

In the Bible, idol-worship is not a matter of praying to stones or statues. Idol-worship is the celebration of the man-made as the highest achievement in the world. What is wrong with idol-worship, with worshiping human achievements as if they were the ultimate accomplishment, is not just that it is disloyal or offensive to God. The sin of idol-worship is that it is futile. Because it is really an indirect way of worshiping ourselves, it can never help us grow. As a result we find life flat and uninspiring, and don't realize why.<sup>17</sup>

Put another way, without God human beings are less than human. As Sherrard observes, "It is not accidental or a cause of surprise that man's attempts to be only human – to fulfill the ideals of the non-religious humanism of the last century – results in a dehumanization both of man and of the forms of the society which he has fabricated around himself."<sup>18</sup>

Science and technology are but one aspect of human activity. To live at the highest levels one must go beyond the world of nature and penetrate the realm of the divine. To do this human beings must find the courage to abandon both the pretension of their self-sufficiency and the illusory myths and belief systems by which they struggle to affirm the meaning and purpose of their existence. People must seek ardently after the majesty of God's hidden glory both within their own heart and in the world around them.

The full meaning of science and technology cannot be comprehended without first recognizing that human beings have been called to a higher human destiny, to find personal fulfillment in God.<sup>19</sup> It was the Gospel and the teaching of the Fathers that helped human beings affirm themselves before nature. That same Gospel message, as explicated by contemporary Orthodox theology, will help men and women today affirm their sovereignty, even in the face of technology.<sup>20</sup>

In the dialogue with the scientific world the Church-in-mission has to bring clarity of purpose to the scientific process, in order that the aspirations, desires, pursuits, and activities of human beings are of the highest order, endowed with ultimate meanings and moral content. More precisely, the Church needs to help people heighten both their sense of injustice and their thirst for the righteousness of God, so that they may discern better among the many activities and desires of humanity those which Christ is using to draw and lead the world towards its recapitulation in himself.

To accomplish this end, Father Dumitru Staniloae once suggested that the Church should "help people achieve a new spirituality, a spirituality proportional both to the cosmic dimensions of science and technology, and to the universal community."<sup>21</sup> Surely, such a meaningful spiritual life both begins and ends in a personal encounter with the transcendent greatness, beauty, holiness, and tender love of the Triune God.

Towards this end, the theological and evangelical endeavors of the Church have the obligation to do at least the following things.

First, the Church must proclaim the Gospel in a way that would help people set aside: their childish understandings of God; recover the gift of faith; regain the sense of reverence and holiness; discover the power of prayer; and experience the mystery of humility, repentance, love, and communion.

Second, people must be helped to know that reason is not the only faculty by which we acquire knowledge. In concert with our patristic tradition we must make people aware that human beings also possess a spiritual intellect (*nous*). Distinct from natural reason and in ways inaccessible to it, "the spiritual intellect is capable of immediate intuition and experience of the inner, eternal, absolute nature of everything that is."<sup>22</sup> Clearly, however, the spiritual intellect does not abolish or replace natural reason, nor does it negate the scientific endeavor. It complements and enriches them. To the extent this supra-rational capacity for knowing is energized and developed, we are able to attain direct union with God and to discern with greater clarity the moral dimensions of life and the purposes of God's creation.

Third, we must help people overcome their subservience to the man-centered and reason-dominated world view of modern science by affirming the truths of our Orthodox anthropology. The secular spirit fostered by modern science has thrown "a veil of opacity between God and man, God and the world, (keeping) them in a state of false division and disunity."<sup>23</sup> By affirming the Greek patristic understanding about the nature and destiny of the human being, we can help people recover the roots of their true identity and bring as well clarity of purpose to human endeavors and creativity.

Fourth, we must help people overcome two false notions: the division between faith and science, and a value-free science and technology – inasmuch as every human being operates within a value system. Someone once said that everything is bounded by mysteries. Science and faith, with their common as well as differing elements, are two ways of dealing with reality and opening the wondrous mysteries of the created order. "Faith and science," notes Father Stanley Harakas, "are part of a larger single whole which transcends them both, which on the one hand neither confuses science with faith, nor transmutes the one into the other, but on the other hand does not separate them so that they are unconnected, nor are they so contrasted that they stand in some sort of absolute contradiction to each other."<sup>24</sup> While Orthodoxy acknowledges the autonomy of the scientific enterprise, "this autonomy does not free the scientific endeavor from the spiritual and moral claims which theology sees as coming from God."<sup>25</sup>

Finally, we must reaffirm the significance and value of authentic

Christian asceticism as a meaningful response to the utilitarian view and use of nature that have led to the unbridled consumerism and greedy exploitation of the natural world which are severely compromising the ecological system. By affirming the sacramentality of the cosmos and the humanity's unique role in it, as stewards and priests, we can contribute significantly to the development of a new ethos, a new attitude, a new culture.

Science and technology are profound gifts and activities. They can employ human intelligence either to help sanctify nature by bringing it into communion with God, or to associate nature's purpose and meaning with the insatiable self-satisfaction and pleasure of the fallen world.

*The decline of modernity and the challenge of the social sciences*

All human problems eventually come to rest in the single most difficult problem of all – man's own inner conflict. In the vicissitudes of daily life we are confronted by all the hidden dimensions of the human psyche. We can scarcely talk about effective missionary endeavors without taking into account the prevailing theories which influence people in the way they think about themselves, about the world they live in, and about the meaning and purpose of their existence.

The origin and nature of the psychic conflict as well as its solution have been the object of study and research by the natural and social sciences, and most especially by the diverse and multifaceted disciplines which fall under the general category of psychology. In fact, it has become the practice in our time to read and interpret the whole of the human condition mostly, if not exclusively, from the perspective of one or another of the schools of psychology, most of which interpret the human condition in materialistic and humanistic terms.

It is true that modern psychology has contributed to our knowledge of the human person and of human sexuality and behavior. It is also true that it has advanced the treatment of illnesses, abnormalities, and conflicts in the human personality, especially through the instrumentality of chemical and pharmacological therapy.

Yet, in spite of these and other positive and useful properties, as the psychologist Paul Vitz has argued,<sup>26</sup> much of modern psychology has an anti-Christian prejudice, traceable to the anti-religious philosophical ideas of the last century that unleashed the forces of

modernity, i.e., the ideological mind-set that loathes the past and exalts in the superiority of the modern. Indeed, all modern social and natural sciences have been unduly influenced by the assumptions of modernity. "The philosophical center of modernity is no dark secret," writes Thomas Oden.

It is a narcissistic hedonism that assumes that moral value is reducible to now feelings and sensory experience. It views human existence essentially as spiritless body, sex as orgasm, psychology as amoral data gathering, and politics as the manipulation of power. It systematically ignores the human capacity of self-transcendence, moral reasoning, covenant commitment, and self-sacrificial agape.<sup>27</sup>

Modernity, according to Oden, has three distinct strata of meanings comparable to a target of three concentric circles with a bull's-eye.<sup>28</sup> The outer circle refers to "the overarching intellectual ideology of a historical period whose hegemony has lasted from the French Revolution to the present." The key features of this historical period are moral relativism, narcissistic hedonism, naturalistic reductionism, and autonomous individualism. The second circle defines modernity as "a mentality, found especially among certain intellectual elites, which assumes that chronologically recent ways of knowing the truth are self-evidently superior to all premodern alternatives." The inner circle "is modernity in the sense of a later-stage deterioration of both of the preceding viewpoints." It represents the decline of modernity, which began to emerge rapidly three decades ago. "We are now in a postmodern period," writes Oden, "wherein the assumptions of modernity are no longer credible... Within this situation we are challenged to reappropriate a classic critique of modernity, without cynicism and with charity toward all."<sup>29</sup> And he cautions correctly, "There is no good reason to reject modernity in an indiscriminating way, but rather only its pretensions, self-deceptions, and myopia."<sup>30</sup>

Modernity has brought about the autonomization of the various spheres of existence, each with its own norms with little if any reference to religious tutelage. Modernity has produced the secular culture with its postive and negative qualities. In an insightful and instructive passage Olivier Clement writes the following about secular culture. "Secularization," he notes,

is here to stay: it is a transforming of the relationship of human beings to reality. Its beneficial effects are clear. Having torn itself away

from a clerical stranglehold, society has done some prodigious exploring, ranging from the quark to the quasar, and some prodigious creating too – the most remarkable being, without doubt, western music, the exploration of the cosmos, on the one hand, and of humanity on the other. In spite of setbacks, the human lifespan has been extended and the number of human beings has multiplied. The planet is being unified. Western culture is an open culture, with a tendency to recapitulate all others, all the arts, all the myths. Its implicit philosophy is a philosophy of the other, accepted in his otherness. Politically speaking, secularization is linked to democracy: nobody has the right to impose his/her personal truth; there is no state ideology, the state being unable to aspire to total knowledge. Nevertheless, secularization also has ambiguous and terrifying effects.<sup>31</sup>

Among the great deceptions perpetrated by modernity is the obsessive concern for the self. Humanistic selfism, i.e., the cult of self worship, – with its vague goal of self-actualization; with its promotion of self-improvement techniques centered on accomplishments bereft of substantive value, meaning and purpose; and with its emphasis on the isolated, independent, adaptive, and mobile individual, – has become widespread. Its value system has permeated the fabric of modern society and has intruded into all aspects of human life and activities. By disregarding or denying the existence of external valid principles and criteria and by dismissing religious faith as “a foolish, uncultured, bigoted remnant of premodern superstition,”<sup>32</sup> humanistic selfism has turned people into narcissistic, self-indulgent individuals and has fostered an atmosphere of permissiveness and hostility to social bonds as expressed in tradition, community structures, and the family. The social result is an increase in social pathology, domestic violence, corruption and crime, greed and discrimination, economic and political malaise, radical ethical relativism, sexual aberration, the loss of rootedness, alienation, the creation of mindless sects, and the inability to sustain interpersonal covenants.

The failure of the self-theories to deliver on their promises for human self-deliverance is becoming more apparent. People, bereft of a viable and sustaining belief system, are suffering badly from an identity crisis. They are in search of meanings. Unfortunately, many are seeking answers in the wrong places, while others are simply escaping from their predicament through sensation and pleasure, or through an opportunistic careerism, or through the search for an altered state of consciousness.



Defusing the deleterious affects of modernity and the value system of selfist ideology is a formidable task that requires a multidimensional response.

First of all, the faithful, clergy and laity alike, must become fully aware of the depth of the malaise that is now tearing at the fabric of society, with its many negative implications for our ecclesial life. At the same time, the Church must become, through the efforts of her theologians and pastors, a competent and trustworthy interpreter of the historical process, free of triumphalism and empty slogans, so that her critique of modernity and its consequences is persuasive. Simultaneously, she must formulate her doctrine of salvation and her anthropology in expressions and definitions that are proper, relevant, and comprehensible to the people living now both within and without the Church. However crucial this enterprise is, in the final analysis, the effectiveness of the Church's missionary effort rests in her ability to translate her teachings into action and life; to project through the example of God's people a dynamic, refreshing, challenging, convincing, and fulfilling alternative way of life, i.e., the new life in Christ, centered on the Kingdom and reflecting the reality of the resurrection.

Second, theological faculties must consider the appropriateness and the effectiveness of creating several conjunctive theologies. Conjunctive theologies link theology to one or another of the many disciplines in the arts or the sciences. Orthodox ethicists in recent years, for example, have been engaged with numerous social and medical issues. In the process they have developed new conjunctive theologies such as Orthodox Christian social ethics and bioethics. Among these pioneers are Father Stanley Harakas and Professors Georgios Mantzarides and Vasilios Gioultsis of the Theological School of the University of Thessaloniki. A popular conjunctive in recent years has been the pairing of theology and psychology. Ioannis Kornarakis, Professor emeritus of the University of Athens School of Theology, is among the Orthodox pioneers of this discipline. Using the anthropological and soteriological principles of our biblical and patristic tradition, the conjunctive theologies can help us learn to discern with greater clarity and accuracy what is valid and criticize what is deficient in the theories of the natural and social sciences concerning the nature and destiny of the human person and the human community.

Third, in reverse fashion, the Church should encourage and provide the opportunities for faithful and committed professionals in the arts and the sciences to study theology and experience more fully the liturgical ethos of the Church through appropriately designed programs at Orthodox schools of theology.

Fourth, where feasible, the Church should establish centers of counseling and social services manned by committed and competent clergy and lay therapists and social workers able to provide guidance and assistance to persons and families in accordance with the Orthodox view of life. Resourceful campus and hospital ministries are especially needful.

Often the parish priest – the pastor-theologian – who is charged with the care of souls is obliged to provide such services. It is important, therefore, that theological schools and seminaries prepare the clergy properly for these tasks. In addition to his theological education and pastoral training, the parish priest should have a substantial general education in the humanities and the natural and social sciences, including psychology. Such an education broadens and deepens the care-giver's perceptions and helps to increase his ability to recognize and respond to the different conditions and developmental stages of the life cycle. It is important, however to note that, the pastoral care-giver must not lose his theological and priestly identity nor confuse his role with that of the psychotherapist or another of the helping professions. His ministry is something other. Also, regardless of the extent of his education and training, to be fully adequate he must be lead and taught by God through his personal experience of and guidance by the Holy Spirit. This makes it all the more imperative that the Church is concerned continuously to evangelize the evangelizer through appropriate means, such as systematic programs of on-going education and periodic retreats.

Equally important are the efforts to impart to the laity the fundamental beliefs, the ethos and phronema, and the spiritual and liturgical traditions of the Church. The systematic production and distribution of thoughtfully-written, informative, and attractive books, periodicals, and tracts as well as video and audio tape programs on the Orthodox way of life and on the basic beliefs and practices of the Church geared towards young people, families, and inquirers is a fundamental requirement of the missionary effort.

Nowhere is the effectual power of theology and evangelism more

apparent than in the local parish and in the lives of its individual members. It is in these fundamental contexts that theology and mission play themselves out. People experience the Church primarily in and through the parish. It is a community of small communities and the place where the most fundamental ecclesial activities are experienced and enacted. It is here that the work of evangelization begins. A parish that is organized in a manner that unites the faithful dynamically, makes Christian truths live in the hearts of people, and integrates these truths into life and acts upon them in concrete significant ways signifies that the theological and evangelical enterprises of the seminary and the parish are well focused, vibrant, and effective. However, where the secular mode of living and doing business has crept in; where spiritual identities have been compromised; and where individual and parish activities have become ambiguous, both the parish and the seminary are obliged to reconsider their agenda, redirect their priorities, and revitalize the theological and evangelical enterprise.

Hence finally, the constant renewal of parish life is of the utmost importance in advancing the Gospel in this post-modern period. In part, this can be accomplished by: reaffirming the theological bases and dimensions of parish life; accentuating the identity of the parish as a faith community; establishing clergy leadership that is educated, competent, caring, and Spirit-filled; cultivating effective pastoral work and persuasive preaching and teaching; providing inspired and intelligible liturgical experiences; encouraging enlightened participatory management and leadership in governance; creating opportunities for substantive personal relationships; and providing quality participatory programs for each of the interrelated constitutive activities of the Church – worship, theologizing, evangelization, and philanthropy.

I would be remiss if I did not mention in this context the significant contributions of Orthodox monasticism to evangelism and to the cultivation of the eschatological perspectives of Orthodox life and worship. Throughout history monasticism has been a vital force in the life of the Church. Monasteries have been the place where the spiritual life is vigorously cultivated, theological reflection is advanced, and missionary activity is fostered. For these reasons, the establishment and support of authentic monastic communities – where the prophetic spirit and a witnessing missionary mentality are consciously developed – should be among the primary concerns of the Church-in-mission.

*The American context: a testing ground for Orthodox identity and mission.*

Each succeeding generation of Orthodox immigrants has experienced a culture shock in its encounter with the American way of life.<sup>33</sup> More than a difference in language and custom, Orthodox immigrants were met with a difference in ethos, *phronema*, and faith. One can learn a language and adapt to new circumstances. It is far more different, however, to change a way of thinking, a way of doing, and a way of being. The Orthodox were schooled differently. They had learned the ways and habits of the heart in a different school. They valued this heritage greatly and were convinced that it must survive and be imparted to their posterity. As the heirs of this legacy, we are compelled to understand and appreciate it. We are also obliged to define and live it in our historical circumstance in accordance with our vision and responsibility to the historical process.

There are those who believe that the American way is suspect and even corrupt. They maintain that to survive, Orthodox people are obliged to live as a remnant in artificial islands, isolated from the main stream of American life. This attitude, however, is inherently wrong. It is a prescription for the transformation of the Church into a sect and for her ultimate demise as a spiritual force in our society.<sup>34</sup>

No one culture is final and definitive. Father Georges Florovsky reminded us that while the Church is not of the world, she is compelled to be in the world. Though she is not identified with any one single race, society, or culture, she is nevertheless incarnated into various cultures in order to make history an anticipation of the Kingdom. As Christians we are required to build and rebuild cultures.<sup>35</sup>

As Orthodox Christians in America we need not be apologetic about the fact that we carry with us cultural values that have been hammered out in places and times other than our own. This fact acts as the very reminder of our own task to be active and creative participants in the historical process.

The Church looks at herself in two ways, inwardly and outwardly. Looking inwardly, she must make certain of her own integrity. Looking outwardly, she is compelled to see the world as it really is and seek its conversion. The conversion of the world always begins to occur on the local level, in the life of one community or one human being. If we are to be truly a Church-in-mission we must look first at and enable the local parish to: teach the truths of the faith with power

and clarity; observe the canonical tradition of the Church; honor and celebrate the prayer of the Church; and reflect the realities of the new, resurrectional life in all its endeavors.

The greatest area of concern today is the need for a more fully evangelized and evangelizing community of faith. The pressures of the secular world where the media repeatedly mock the Gospel, challenge ecclesial authority, and strip people of personal worth and dignity, weaken the community and make it difficult for Christian families to communicate the faith and the ethos of the Church to the next generation. There is, therefore, an ever-increasing urgency for the promulgation of a sound ecclesiology and the advancement of sound evangelical activity. In the process we need to pose and ponder many questions, among which are some of the following:

What of the past do we keep and what of the present is becoming to the Church? What of the past do we remember, should remember, or rediscover? What have we accepted unwittingly into our churches only to find that it is harmful and disruptive to our ecclesial life? What threatens that life? What in the present is compatible with the truths of the Gospel as Orthodox Christians know and experience them? How clear is our teaching and how faithful is it to our theological and spiritual tradition? In our attempt to be relevant, are we allowing strange ideologies, questionable liturgical and devotional practices, and dubious theological currents to color our instruction and our images of God, his Church, and his world? Are we unwittingly diluting our spiritual and ecclesial identity in ways that compromise or nullify our authenticity? How much ground has been given up to the secular way of doing business in our communities? To what extent is Christ's self-giving love both the source and the power that sustains and nourishes our lives in a communion of freedom and love? How seriously do we take the dominical command to care for the least among us?

The theory that America is a melting pot no longer seems to be in vogue. Sociologists are pointing more and more to the pluralistic character of American society. Yet, while America is indeed a nation of many people of diverse racial, ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds, who are free to hold and cultivate their customs and languages, no cultural tradition is able to remain completely autonomous or unaffected by the lure of the "American Way." The process of Americanization is inevitable and inexorable. Indeed, accultura-

tion becomes easier with each succeeding generation.

The American context, with all its problems, challenges, and possibilities has become a testing ground for Orthodox self-identity. We are obliged to ask and debate the question, who it is that we are as a Church in America and where it is that we want to go. We have arrived at a new, unprecedented frontier. While we strive to preserve the fundamental elements of our heritages, the imperative of the Gospel requires that we embrace America and engage her history, cultural diversity, and religious pluralism with apostolic fervor. We must dare to believe that we have a place and a mission in this society. It is our task to discern this mission and to articulate it convincingly in the arena of public life. In doing so, we must be clear about who we are as a faith community and be well-prepared for the tasks of “tradition-maintenance, liturgical continuity, canonical procedure, and moral definition.”<sup>36</sup> While we may rejoice in and embrace whatever is authentically of the Church, wherever it is to be found, we must also take care not to align ourselves with movements and coalitions that manipulate the centers of political power, nor to serve as a refuge for those who fear change, or see in history only decadence, or only evil in modernization.<sup>37</sup>

The impact of Orthodoxy on the American way of life remains to be judged and measured. It is only in the last fifty years that the Orthodox Church has emerged as a viable spiritual force within the spectrum of religious bodies in America. The full unequivocal commitment of the Church to meet the challenges and opportunities presented to her, both now and in the future, awaits a more precise clarification and decision. If Orthodoxy is to become more than a marginal contributor to the system of values and principles that form the American way of life, the Church is obliged to rethink her priorities and reconsider and reconstruct her tasks in relation to her own internal development as well as her distinct role and mission in America.

The historical moment is charged. Faithfulness to our tradition requires that we take the risk and allow Orthodoxy to take deep roots in America, as our ancestors in the faith did in other places and at other times. It is our obligation and our mission. Father John Meyendorff summed it up best when he wrote, “The restoration of the right priorities – of which the great event of Pentecost is the eternal model – is the primary condition for maintaining and constantly

reviving the universalism of the Orthodox tradition. As the culture of the contemporary world has become universally secular, it is not the medieval model of symbiosis between culture and religion which is applicable, in practical terms in our situation, but rather the model of early Christianity, when the Church was conscious of its 'otherness' and its eschatological mission. Let us remember that it is this consciousness which made the Christian mission truly universal."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Emmanuel Clapsis, "The Holy Spirit in Creation - Missionary Implications," in *The Holy Spirit and Mission* (WCC -Geneva, 1990) p 16

<sup>2</sup> Olivier Clement, *The Roots of Christian Mysticism* (New York, 1995) p 95

<sup>3</sup> *Self-Study Report of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology* (Brookline, MA, 1991) p 66-67 The Report is available in the School's Library

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Anastasios, "Preface," in George Lemopoulos, ed, *Your Will Be Done - Orthodoxy in Mission* (Geneva, 1989) p 2

<sup>5</sup> Olivier Clement, p 286

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 287

<sup>7</sup> Eugene Stockwell, "Foreword," in G Lemopoulos, *Your Will Be Done*, p 5

Material in the sections that follow are based in part on my previous article, "Orthodoxy and Contemporary Global Issues" in N M Vaporis, ed, *Rightly Teaching the Word of Your Truth Studies in Faith and Culture* (Brookline, MA, 1995) p 137-151

<sup>8</sup> *Final Report of the Inter-Orthodox Consultation of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox WCC Member Churches on the 'Orthodox Churches and the World Council of Churches'* (Chambesy, 1991) In addition, see Gennadios Limouris, ed, *Come Holy Spirit Renew the Whole Creation* (Brookline, 1990) and Georgios Lemopoulos, ed, 'Η Ζ Γενική Συνέλευσις τοῦ Π Σ Ε (Katerini, 1992)

<sup>9</sup> See, "The Message of the Primates of the Churches" in *Ἐννήμερωσις*, 8 (1992/ 3-4)

<sup>10</sup> James M Gustafson, "The Theologian as Prophet, Preserver, or Participant," in Joseph Papain, ed, *Christian Action and Openness to the World - The Villanova University Studies*, vols 2,3 (Pennsylvania, 1978) p 109

<sup>11</sup> For a brief description of the organization and the many activities of the Mission Center see any recent *Yearbook of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America* which are published annually in New York

<sup>12</sup> See the Communique of the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches issued in Geneva on November 6, 1993

<sup>13</sup> For a fuller discussion on issues related to theology and ecology see, among others, the following studies John Zizioulas, *Ἡ Κτίσις ὡς Εὐχαριστία* (Athens, 1992) This book contains in Greek translation the author's lectures delivered at King's College, "Preserving God's Creation - Three Lectures on Theology and Ecology," *King's Theological Review*, 12, 1-2 and 13, 1 (1989 and 1990) Ecumenical Patriarchate, *Orthodoxy and the Ecological Crisis* (Gland, Switzerland, 1990) Elias Oikonomou, *Θεολογική Οἰκολογία - Θεωρία καὶ Πράξις* (Athens, 1994) Gennadios Limouris,

ed., *Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation - Insights from Orthodoxy* (Geneva, 1990). Stanley S. Harakas, "The Integrity of Creation" in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* (SVTQ), 32 (1988) p. 27-42. Emmanuel Clapsis, "Population, Consumption and the Environment" (a paper submitted for publication to the Boston Theological Institute, 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Stanley S. Harakas, *Living the Faith - The Praxis of Eastern Orthodox Ethics* (Minneapolis, MN, 1992) p. 216-217.

<sup>15</sup> *Time* (Special Issue, Fall, 1992) p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Philip Sherrard, *The Eclipse of Man and Nature: An Enquiry into the Origins and Consequences of Modern Science* (West Stockbridge, MA, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Harold Kushner, *Who Needs God?* (New York, 1989) p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Philip Sherrard, p. 27

<sup>19</sup> See the article of the late Fr. Dumitru Staniloae, "The Problems and Perspectives of Orthodox Theology" in the collection of his studies, *Theology and the Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1980) p. 213 -226. See also the pertinent articles on science and faith in Megas Farantos, *Δογματικά και Ήθικά* (Athens, 1983); and in the Journals: *Σύναξη*, 17 and 18 (1986); and *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (GOTR), 37 (1992).

<sup>20</sup> This theme is developed by D. Staniloae, *Theology and the Church*, p. 225.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>22</sup> P. Sherrard, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> Stanley Harakas, "Orthodox Christianity Facing Science," *GOTR*, 37 (1992) p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Paul C. Vitz, *Psychology as Religion: The Cult of Self-Worship* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979). See also Ioannis Kornarakis, *Pastoral Psychology and Inner Conflict* (Brookline, MA 1991).

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Oden, *After Modernity What? - Agenda for Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1992) p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104-105.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>31</sup> Olivier Clement, "Witnessing in a Secular Society," in George Lemopoulos, ed., *Your Will be Done - Orthodoxy in Mission* (Geneva, 1989) p. 120-121.

<sup>32</sup> P. Vitz, *Psychology as Religion*, p. 111.

<sup>33</sup> The themes in the section are based, in part, on my previous article, "Orthodox Worship in the American Context," in *GOTR*, 38, 1-4 (1993) p. 57 -70.

<sup>34</sup> See Alexander Schmemmann, "That East and West May Yet Meet," in P. Berger and R. Neuhaus, eds., *Against the World for the World: The Hartford Appeal and the Future of American Religion* (New York, 1976) p. 126-137. The article also appears in his *Church, World, Mission* (Crestwood, NY, 1979) p. 193-208.

<sup>35</sup> Georges Florovsky, *Christianity and Culture* (Belmont, MA, 1974) p. 9-30.

<sup>36</sup> T. Oden, *After Modernity What*, p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> O. Clement, "Witnessing in a Secularized Society," p. 124.

<sup>38</sup> John Meyendorff, "Ethnic Particularities and the Universality of Orthodoxy Today," in N.M. Vapori, ed., *Rightly Teaching the Word of Your Truth*, p. 98.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

methods used in the study of history to a topic generally regarded as theological, and therefore sometimes neglected by students of ancient history. She has identified the social, economic, and legal – that is to say, the more “institutional” basis of female asceticism, and reconstructed *the model of the family* as well as *the model of complete detachment* from society based on the charismatic personality and the doctrinal affiliation of the leaders associated with these. The process of the organization of female asceticism illustrates a problem central to the history of Christian thought and establishments, namely the conflict between religious institutions and sectarian enthusiasm. The hierarchy of the Church were obliged, especially during the formative years of the 330s, to employ various methods in order to solve the tensions and to resolve the extremes which developed out of the very teachings of the Gospel that they preached.

As Elm so articulately argues in this book, the ascetic and monastic personalities of this period were much less innovators than reformers. Their newly developed notions of ascetic life – suited to the demands of contemporary society (especially in regard to sexual discrimination and segregation), and conformed to the development theology (particularly in regard to orthodoxy of creed) – were heralded as traditional, while long-standing ascetic communities and convictions were branded as “heretical innovations”. In light of this, Elm accordingly addresses the need for a revision of the conventional picture of asceticism.

John Chryssavgis

*Asceticism*, Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (eds.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) pages xxxiii + 638.

This important and impressive volume includes papers and proceedings from an international conference convened at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in April 1993. However, it is much more than a collection of essays, because the editors have added significant sections of research, covering a historical sketch of the study of asceticism, selected bibliography, and a useful index of names and subjects.

The themes examined and the contributors writing embrace a wide range of confessional backgrounds, religious experiences, and as-

cetic disciplines. There are general articles considering the origins and meanings of asceticism, papers exploring the hermeneutics of asceticism, and a fascinating group of essays treating the aesthetics and politics of asceticism. With the exception of the final section entitled "Ascetica Miscellanea" (chs. 36-42), the other 35 chapters include responses at the conclusion of every three papers, is also a general response (by Elizabeth Clark).

Asceticism itself ranges from devotions of solitude and silence to more rigorous disciplines of self-denial. And it is not a uniquely christian element, constituting a deep, even universal religious response to and intuition concerning God. Whether mild practices or extraordinary austerities, even bordering on pathological excesses – in classical, medieval, and modern times – asceticism has long been the subject of popular respect and academic interest.

The proceedings that appear in this book are as broad as the concept itself of asceticism, raising challenging issues of postmodern ethics, sexual renunciation and gender distinction, monasticism and mysticism, pain and power, food and fasting, piety and art, meditation and flagellation. The religious persuasions considered include Christianity, Judaism, the ancient Mediterranean, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. The christian traditions explored cover both East and West, and specifically the Greek, Syriac, Palestinian, Ethiopian, Byzantine, and Alexandrian. The light of philosophy, literature, psychology, art, and sociology is brought to bear on this subject, which functions as a window to the history of religious thought and life through the ages across the centuries.

The inter-disciplinary and cross-cultural approach is stimulating, but the primary concentration is on the christian experience. Scholars of the monastic or ascetic traditions will discover crucial material with fresh insights and evidence, particularly in the papers by (Bishop) Kallistos Ware, Gillian Clark, Samuel Rubenson, Bernard McGinn, Averil Cameron, Sidney Griffith, Yizhar Herschfeld, Robert Wilken, Charles Kannengiesser, and Verna Harrison.

The volume concludes with a panel discussion, chaired by one of the editors, Richard Valantasis, and including academics (such as Elaine Pagels) and a solitary monastic (Paul Julian).

Rarely is the publication of conference proceedings able to be consulted generally, except perhaps for the inclusion of a select number of key writers or writings. Nevertheless, the present book will, I feel,

prove useful as a general work of reference, so long as scholars and students of asceticism will be able to afford its purchase (UK £ 80, US \$125). This is an important book for all those interested in “the way of the ascetics” in any religion or generation.

John Chryssavgis

*The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia.* Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by John Wortley. *Cistercian Study Series*, Number 159. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1996) pages 225.

With the publication of Paul of Monembasia's *Beneficial Tales*, Cistercian Publications has added to its impressive and welcome catalogue of works of ancient and medieval ascetical literature from all points of the Christian compass. While most of the long list of its titles over the past twenty years are, understandably enough given this press' origins and name, devoted to the Medieval West, Orthodox readers must be grateful, indeed, for the substantial and increasing number of Eastern texts that have appeared in the series, including many of the classics from the Egypt, Palestine, and Syria of the fourth through sixth centuries. Aside from the several works and monographs of Irenée Hausherr (*Penthos, Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, and *The Name of Jesus*), Tomas Spidlik (*The Spirituality of the Christian East*), and Sergei Bolshakoff (*Russian Mystics*), however, Paul of Monembasia's *Tales* is only the second primary text to appear in the series which comes out of medieval Byzantium, the one other being Symeon the New Theologian's *Theological and Practical Treatises*, and the *Theological Orations*. John Wortley's edition of the *Tales* is thus a particularly welcome addition.

For a reader familiar with the literature of fourth and fifth century monasticism, the stories included in this collection should ring a number of bells. Motifs and incidents from stories appearing in the *Apophthegmata*, the *Historia Monachorum*, and the *Lausiac History*, in addition to such later compilations as John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow*, reappear with striking frequency. The type of the ascetic woman, naked in the wilderness (recall Mary of Egypt), appears four times (*Tales* 1, 12, 15, and 27), the concelebration of angels (cf. Daniel 7 and Theodore of Pherme in the *Apophthegmata*) with or sometimes

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

This description of prayer suggests freshness, variety, freedom, and opportunity. Variation and integration of prayer methods may assist us in appreciating God from different vantage points. Similarly, this approach to prayer will inevitably reveal our inner and true selves. Casey states that the further we advance towards God, the more we are established in the truth about ourselves: "It is hard to know which comes first, self-knowledge or an appreciation of the richness of God, but it is certainly true that they are closely associated" (p. 61).

Finally, who would benefit most from the material in this book? Several groups of people may find this work edifying and worthy of attention. Let me first begin by noting that this book may not be intended for novice practitioners of prayer. Verbose and sometimes scholarly in approach, this volume is more involved than the works of other Roman Catholic authors such as Henri Nouwen or Mother Teresa of Calcutta. That being said, I believe that *Towards God* deserves a warm and wide audience. Roman Catholic readers will appreciate the blend between historical perspectives and contemporary application. Eastern Orthodox readers can reflect on the similarities and nuances within Eastern and Western traditions of prayer. Other Christian and non-Christian audiences will appreciate the informative yet non-threatening approach taken by the author. Whatever our faith background, Michael Casey ultimately invites the reader to "live our life here on earth as a journey *towards God*" (pg. 2).

Alexander Goussetis

*Askese, Mönchtum und Mystik in der Orthodoxen Kirche*, Theodor Nikolaou (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1995) pages 215.

The author of this book is well-known, particularly in the Greek and German theological world, having taught from 1971-1984 at the University of Bonn, having established the Institute for Orthodox Theology at the University of Munich in 1984, and being the founding editor of the journal *Orthodoxes Forum*. The present volume is the third in a series of publications by the Institute.

The first section of Prof. Nikolaou's book sets the theological background for an appreciation of monasticism, by perceiving the latter within its *eucharistic* and *communal* context from the moment of the creation of humanity. The emphasis is on the *social* monasticism of

St. Basil, the *baptismal* sources of the “life in Christ”, and the *charismatic* element in the life of asceticism.

The next section analyzes fundamental aspects of “following Christ” through asceticism: sexuality and abstinence, the hesychastic attitude, the trans-cultural and trans-confessional dimension of monasticism, and the significance of the heritage of spiritual direction. In they regard, two chapters are devoted to monastic life on the Holy Mountain Athos, and the ways in which the expression there of the “spiritual impulse” transcended national limitations.

The final section explores the mystical nature of the monastic phenomenon which aims at “participation in divine nature.” The emphasis once again is on the social dimension of spirituality and the sacramental dimension of asceticism. This section also constitutes the patristic, and perhaps more philosophical, underpinning of the previous section. Prof. Nikolaou introduces the reader to the ascetic thought of Gregory of Nyssa and Plotinus, the mystical theology of Dionysius and Maximus, as well to the ecumenical and ecclesial mind of Basil the Great and Nicholas Cabasilas.

There is, finally, a useful bibliography (with an emphasis on relevant Greek and German publications), and helpful indices (of Scriptural references, names, and subjects).

The underlying theme throughout this book is that monasticism is not an individualistic life-style, an escape from society, or an isolation in order to be with God. The fundamental principle that pervades monastic life and thought from earliest years is *love*. Asceticism at least in its most genuine expression – is a way of loving and knowing God, one another, and oneself. We need to remember this, and Prof. Nikolaou has offered us a very articulate reminder.

John Chryssavgis

*Handmaids of the Lord: Holy Women in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Joan M. Petersen (ed.), Cistercian Studies Series No. 143, (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996) pages 441.

This book is intended for the growing number of readers in two areas: first, for those interested in the history of the early Church and in the world of late antiquity; and second, for those concerned with the position of women in the Church and in society generally. The editor, Joan Petersen, was educated in Oxford and London. Her doc-

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



---

## **Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church and the Manner in Which It Is Declared: The Orthodox Church in Montenegro**

---

PROF. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS  
*METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION*

In this brief article, examination of this fundamental matter in the life and administration of the Church – Autocephaly – is based on the holy canons and decisions of Ecumenical Synods *per se* or on canons of Synods and Fathers of the Church which have been ratified by Ecumenical Synods (Canon II of the Quinisext Ecumenical Synod of Trullo). It is, in other words, based on the decisions which are mandatory, in terms of their application, for all the local Churches which together make up the “One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.” This examination is also based on the canonical tradition of the Church, as this was formed since the Ecumenical Synods by the decisions of the Patriarchal Endemousa Synod of Constantinople, which also laid the foundations for Canon Law and governance throughout the Orthodox Church.

It ought to be stressed at the outset, at this point, that any uncanonical and arbitrary intervention in the matter of the autocephaly of a local Church on the part of political personages and forces devoid of any ecclesiastical or canonical status – especially those foreign to Orthodoxy – which serve political ends rather than the pastoral work and needs of the Church, does not create Law. It is, moreover, a reprehensible interference in the internal affairs of the Church and constitutes a violation of religious freedom, as enshrined in international treaties and Organizations.

1. On the formation of the metropolitan system, which was firmly

and canonically safeguarded by the First Ecumenical Synod (325), every metropolitan province was autocephalous. Autocephaly is principally expressed through the election and consecration of the bishops and the *primus* of a province, as well as through the right to bring them to trial.<sup>1</sup>

The metropolitan system was formed from the need to maintain the unity of a local Church. The synods were called for this purpose, all the bishops of a province taking part under the chairmanship of the bishop of the capital of the province (the metropolis), and pronounced on matters concerning the needs of the local Church.

The provincial synod under the Metropolitan elected, consecrated and assessed the Metropolitan and the bishops of the province. In his commentary on canon II of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381), Balsamon states: "Note, therefore from the present canon, that formerly all the metropolitans of provinces were autocephalous and were consecrated by their own *Synods*."<sup>2</sup>

2. The supra-metropolitan jurisdiction was given canonical form by the Second Ecumenical Synod (381)<sup>3</sup> and was consolidated by the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451). Metropolitans were now subject to the Patriarchs, the patriarchal system of church administration having been established. The Autocephalous Churches are now the five Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, together with the Church of Cyprus. With the establishment of the patriarchal system, autocephaly was withdrawn from all the metropolitan sees, the administrative organization of the Church was finalized and seniority among the Patriarchates was defined, through irrevocable decision of the Ecumenical Synods. Metropolitan synods retained their jurisdiction over the election and consecration of bishops as well as the right to pass judgement on them in the first instance. The Metropolitan of each province was elected and consecrated by the Patriarchal Synod, while any appeal by a bishop now fell within the jurisdiction of the Patriarchal Synod.

The canonical organ for the declaration or canonical recognition of a local Church as autocephalous is the Ecumenical Synod. Both the metropolitan and the patriarchal systems were established by legislation passed at the First and Fourth Synods respectively. After the Ecumenical Synod, this right passed, in the East, to the broadly or more narrowly constituted Endemousa Synod, called by the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Synod also made decisions on other

matters of administration of more general interest. This canonical competence on the part of the Endemousa Synod was exercised at the time of the recognition of the partial autocephaly of the Churches of Bulgaria (10th, 11th and 13th centuries) and of Serbia (13th century), both of which continued to be under the supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Endemousa Synod also had the canonical right to elevate a local Church to the rank of a Patriarchate. Thus, the elevation of the Church of Russia to the rank of a Patriarchate by the Ecumenical Patriarch Ieremias II (1589)), was confirmed by the Endemousa Synod in Constantinople (in 1590 and 1593). Also taking part in the broadly-constituted Endemousa Synod were the Patriarchs of the senior, ancient Patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) or their representatives. It was this Synod which, at the time of Patriarch Ioakeim III proclaimed the Serbian Church autocephalous (1879), through a Patriarchal and Synodical Tome, while in 1920 it elevated it to the rank of Patriarchate. During the last century and the present one, this Synod also declared autocephalous the Churches of Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, Georgia and made autonomous the Churches of Czechoslovakia, Finland, Estonia and Lithuania.

4. Today's Metropolitan See of Montenegro and the Parathalassia (Seaboard) region is a continuation of the diocese of Zeta (1219) or Cedige (Cetina, Cetinje). Neither the titles nor the geographical boundaries of this province ever remained stable. The state of flux within the province of Montenegro can also be seen from the fact that, in 1485, Bishop Varvilas transferred his see to the town of Ketigni (Cetinje), and Metropolitan Daniel bore the title of "Ketigni, Skodra, Montenegro and the Parathalassia."<sup>4</sup>

The *Syntagmation*, published by Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem (Venice 1778), confirms the fluidity, not only of the Province of Montenegro, but of all the provinces which were subject to the Archbishop of Pec, whether they were inside the Ottoman Empire, as was the diocese of Cetinje, or were part of Austrian domains. "It ought further to be noted that the Thrones there are often altered, elevated or demoted, while two Provinces are often united as one, in the sense of both being under an Hierarch, as times and needs require, so that not even their designation is agreed by all to be one and the same..."<sup>5</sup>

The *Syntagmation* of Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, based on a variety of Ordinances (*Tactica*) and "sporadic references," also

refers to the autocephalous archdioceses of the preceding era. Among these, according to this *Syntagmation*, was also numbered the Archdiocese of Pec. The Archbishop of this see bore the title: "Archbishop of Serbia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Western Pontos and beyond the Danube," and enjoyed "metropolitan autonomy." The provinces under Pec are also mentioned. Among these is included the diocese of Cetina. Prior to the Austro-Ottoman war, all these provinces lay within Ottoman domains. After the Treaty of Karlowicz (1699), they were divided into two, some, as before, remaining in the Ottoman state, while others passed to Austria. The diocese of "Cetinje," i.e., Montenegro, is mentioned as part of the first group.<sup>6</sup> Having examined on this matter, the present president of the same Archdiocese of Pec, Moses, and his two predecessors in the post, Athanasios and Kallinikos, we may arrange them in the following manner, according to what they told us, *viva voce* or in writing.

The Provinces subject to the Archdiocese of Pec which existed in the Ottoman state:

The Metropolitan of Skopje  
 The Metropolitan of Privena  
 The Metropolitan of Erseke  
 The Metropolitan of Starivlacha or Raska  
 The Metropolitan of Bosna Saraj  
 The Metropolitan of Belgrade  
 The Metropolitan of Timisoara  
 The Metropolitan of Valiovo  
 The Archbishop of Samokovo  
 The Archbishop of Kesetndili  
 The Archbishop of Nis  
 The Archbishop of Zepce  
 The Bishop of Cetinje.

The Provinces subject to the Archdiocese of Pec which were part of the German domains:

The Metropolitan of Budum  
 The Metropolitan of Karlowicz and Strem  
 The Archbishop of Batina  
 The Bishop of Enovo and Ionopol

The Bishop of Gyulaj and Lipova  
The Bishop of Pozega

“It ought further to be noted that the Thrones there were often altered, elevated or demoted, while two Provinces were often united as one, in the sense of both being under one Hierarchy, as times and needs required, so that not even their designation was agreed by all to be one and the same...”

After the abolition of the autonomous status of the Archdiocese (“Patriarchate”) of Pec (1766), the Archdiocese and all its provinces were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The province of Montenegro, like others, became independent, vis-a-vis the Archdiocese of Pec, but was under Patriarchal jurisdiction – that of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. From the mid-19th century, it was referred to as “autocephalous,” not in the sense of an autocephalous Church, but more as an “autocephalous archdiocese in relation to the Metropolitan,” though still under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.

In the “Order of the Thrones”<sup>7</sup> of the year 1895, “of the Orthodox Eastern Church, under the four Patriarchal Thrones of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and the autocephalous Churches of Russia... etc.” the title of the Metropolis of Montenegro is not mentioned among the autocephalous Churches. In chapter IX of this “Order,” however, the Metropolis of Montenegro is entitled “autocephalous.” According to note 2,<sup>8</sup> however, it is referred to in this way in the Russian *Syntagma*, not in that of the Ecumenical Patriarchate – where it is not mentioned at all – although this was the body competent to grant autocephaly. In this Russian *Syntagma*, the Metropolitan of Montenegro has the title: Metropolitan of Shkoder and Parathalassia, Archbishop of Centinje, Exarch of the holy throne of Pec, Despot (Vladika) of Montenegro and Verda.” The “*Exarch of the holy throne of Pec*,” makes clear its dependence on Pec, even if this was only theoretical at that time, given the abnormality of the political situation. In any case, no Patriarchal and Synodical Tome has ever been published on the autocephaly of the Metropolis of Montenegro.

5. It may be concluded from the above that the province of Montenegro, lying in Eastern Illyricum, under various orders and titles, and within geographical boundaries which fluctuated during the

course of its history, came under the Ecumenical Patriarch (8th cent.) and then, after that, (13th cent.) locally, under the Archdiocese of Pec. From the 18th century onwards, because of the prevailing political conditions, its links with the Archdiocese became more slender, though moral and spiritual ties remained, since the Metropolitan of Montenegro was also called "Exarchate of the Holy Throne of Pec." This Metropolis of Montenegro was also called "Exarchate of the Holy Throne of Pec," but was never autotcephalous in the real sense of the term, despite the fact that it was referred to as such in the 19th century. It was autocephalous vis-a-vis the Metropolitan, remaining, though, under Patriarchal jurisdiction, that of the Ecumenical Patriarch at first, and, that of the Patriarch of Serbia later on. It ought to be noted here that in the history and practice of the Church and in the Ordinances of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, one does come across "autocephalous" Archdioceses, not in the sense of an autocephalous Church, but only vis-a-vis the Metropolitan, that is the first bishop in rank in a metropolitan area and president of the provincial synod of bishops. Such an "autocephalous" Archbishop reports directly to the Patriarch under whose jurisdiction he is.

6. It was in agreement with the general principles laid out above concerning the proclamation of a local Church as autocephalous, and consonant with the spirit of these principles, that decisions were taken a few years ago by the Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Committee of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church (Chambésy, 7-13 November 1993), which are to be submitted to the Prosynodal Conference for approval.

According by, the procedure for the proclamation of a local Church as autocephalous is, and must be, strictly, ecclesiastical. Autocephaly is granted by the proper Church Authority on purely pastoral grounds, not political ones, so that the *flock* in the local Church may be better tended. Involvement by political forces and personalities, especially those who are not believing Orthodox Christians, is inadmissible, uncanonical and invalid and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the Church and an infringement of the religious freedom enshrined by international treaties (Helsinki) and international organizations (UN). Anything imposed as a result of political or other pressure, or interference, is not a *fait accompli* deserving recognition and does not create Canon Law.

<sup>1</sup>Canons 4 and 5 of the First Ecumenical Synod define the manner of the election and consecration of bishops while 6 and 7 refer to the preservation and safeguarding of local traditional customs concerning consecration

<sup>2</sup>G A Rallis and M Potlis, *Συνταγμα τῶν θειῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, Athens 1852, vol 2, p 171

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>4</sup>Ioannis Tarnanidis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Σερβικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, ἐκδόσεις Ἀφῶν Κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, p 92

<sup>5</sup>Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, *Συνταγματικόν* Venice 1778, p 55

<sup>6</sup>Chrysanthos, *op cit* p 55

<sup>7</sup>G A Rallis and M Potlis, *op cit* Athens 1855, vol V, p 513 ff

<sup>8</sup>G A Rallis and M Potlis, *op cit* Athens 1855, vol V, p 529

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



difficulty not being touched by the frightening moral tale of “The Proud Monk” (138-143), or moved by the lively intercession of the loving abbot in “The Monk in the Cave”, or else frankly amused by the plight of the robber chieftain who finds himself, by virtue of a totally unexpected and undeserved miracle, taken as a holy man in the very convent he had set out to despoil (134-137), or the reluctant confession of virtue by an imperial administrator of brothels in “Sergius, Demotes of Alexandria” (119-126). This is not heavy stuff. It deals with neither the intricacies of divinity nor the solemn and exalting mysteries of the masters of the spiritual life, but it is edifying – sometimes – and nearly always a pleasure to read, perhaps especially to read aloud.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

Archimandrite Vassileios (Gondakakis), *Beauty and Hesychia in Athonite Life; Europe and the Holy Mountain; and Monastic Life as True Marriage*: Numbers 1, 2, and 4 resp. of the *Series: Mount Athos*, tr. Dr. Constantine Kokenes (1 and 2) and Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff(4), pub. by Dr. John Hadjinicolaou, (Montreal: Alexander Press, 1996).

Archimandrite Vassileios is already familiar to American readers from the St. Vladimir’s Press translation of his earlier work, *Eisodikon (Hymn of Entry, NY: 1984)*. Abbot successively of two Athonite monasteries, Stavronikita (1968-1990) and Iveron (1990-present), his writings on the Orthodox spiritual tradition draw on both learning and experience, study and decades of prayer. The three pamphlets listed above, running from seventeen to just over thirty pages each, are part of series begun recently through the efforts of Dr. John Hadjinicolaou. They are beautifully printed, illustrated with cover icons in color and black and white line drawings within the text, and are well served by the clear and idiomatic translations that we have come to expect, in particular, from Dr. Theokritoff, the translator for St. Vladimir’s Press of both *Eisodikon* and C. Yannaras’ *He Eleutheria tou Ethous (The Freedom of Morality, NY: 1984)*.

Father Vassileios’ writing is remarkable. He quotes his sources on occasion, but far more often is content with allusion. The Cappadocians, Desert Fathers, Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus Confessor, Isaac of Nineveh, Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas figure most prominently, together with echoes of the liturgy

and the conciliar teaching of the Church. Yet the prose is never labored nor, certainly, “academic” in tone. The reader has the impression instead of the sort of thing one feels in St. Symeon, an immersion in the Tradition which is so complete that the author can write freely since he has made the mind of the saints his own.

Another result of this immersion is that the three little treatises published here tend to blend into each other. To be sure, each one has its ostensible topic, but each is also, at root, about the one mystery of *theosis* under one or another of its aspects. Thus *Beauty and Hesychia*, the first in the series, speaks of the comeliness of creation, both as it appears to even the casual observer – thus the splendid opening passage (pp.7-8) describing the luminescence of an Athonite sunset – and, more particularly, as restored in the crucifixion, resurrection, and transfiguration of humanity in and through the monastic life as a participation in Christ. The second, *Mount Athos and Europe*, takes as its starting point the question, “what has Athos to contribute to the emerging European union” (pp.7-10), sketches the fusion of cultures, Jewish and classical Greek, that Eastern Christianity effected (11-14), in order to move on to the “kenotic”, communitarian society incarnated by the life of an Athonite monastery (15-25). The latter is at once “conciliar” and, therefore, Trinitarian (26), echoing the liturgy (27-30) and thus revealing all humanity as the one, new man” in Christ (30-32). *Monastic Life as True Marriage*, the fourth in the series, returns in a sense to the specific themes of the first pamphlet, the at once universal and personal aspects of union with the Son of God which are revealed in monastic life as the transfiguration of *eros* (7-12). Balancing the first two pamphlets, however, with their macrocosmic and communitarian emphases, Father Vassileios brings up in this little treatise the ancient – both Christian and pre-Christian – theme of the human being as microcosm: “Each Christian becomes by grace the place of Him [Christ]...a Church in miniature” (17). This note of the believer as the “place” of God, the *topos theou*, is a theme at once rooted in ascetic literature and in the lexicon of the Old Testament tabernacle and temple. The author extends the image through a consideration of the “stretching” of the soul in order to make “room” for Christ, “the infinite extension” of human possibilities through cooperation with uncreated grace (18-22). The soul’s expansion through the spiritual marriage with Christ leads Father Vassileios on to another traditional image, though an unusual one: the recovery of the

beauty of the image through spiritual “pregnancy” and “childbirth” (23-25). At the end of this process lies the miracle of heaven itself, that concelebration of opposites – divinity and humanity, infinity and boundedness, motion and repose – which is the *telos* of the transfiguration of *eros* (26-27). The whole meditation concludes (28-32) with an extraordinary paean of praise to St. Isaac of Nineveh as the exemplar of all these qualities. Here the author’s language clearly appears to want to break into poetry, with sentences collapsing into fragments. He does this effectively, though, since the breakdown, as it were, of his grammar is deliberate, intended to serve and underline the sense of paradox and wonder.

These three works, particularly the latter two, might serve very well as the base reading for an adult study group, though the group in question would have to be fairly advanced and, moreover, be graced with a leader versed in the thought and literature of the Church. Given that, however, each little pamphlet turns out to be wonderfully dense, a kind of distillate of the cosmology, ecclesiology, spiritual life – and not to forget Christology and Triadology as well – of the Orthodox Tradition. “Unpacking” them, to use a modern expression, would be to take the participants on a grand tour of the scriptures, the liturgical tradition, and the fathers.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea and his “Life of Constantine”: A Heretic’s Legacy**

---

K. R. CONSTANTINE GUTZMAN

Among the matters upon which the Seventh Ecumenical Council passed in 787 was that of the fidelity of a fourth-century bishop to the Orthodox faith.<sup>1</sup> In declaring Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea an Arianist heretic, the fathers assembled at Nicaea brought the last great council of the Catholic church to a close on the same issue that had prompted St. Constantine to call the first: trinitarianism.

That Eusebius’ teaching on the question of the relation between Father and Son should have merited such high-level attention more than four centuries after his death requires some explanation. It will be the goal of this paper to explain the Council’s verdict, to tell why Eusebius remains a significant figure today, and, most importantly, to show how his work affected the Orthodox understanding of the proper relationship between society generally and Christ’s Church in particular. Eusebius of Caesarea was a subordinationist heretic, but he was also the first great, Christian historian and the first and most important hagiographer of St. Constantine; his subordinationism and his historiographical technique shaped his portrait of St. Constantine. Had Constantine’s foremost biographer not been an exponent of the Levant’s (and perhaps Christendom’s) regnant understanding of the relation between Father and Son, the Church’s teaching on the proper relationship between Church and State and of the proper behavior of a Christian king likely would have been completely different.

Eusebius’ station at Caesarea, the capital city of the Roman province of Palestine, was an extremely important one. As Metropolitan, he was one of the four or five most important men in the entire Church.

From his strategic position, Eusebius himself was responsible for toppling the Patriarch of Antioch in 330, and he intervened to similar effect in a dispute involving the Patriarch of Alexandria in 335. In recognition of his prominence and learning, Eusebius was offered the position of Patriarch of Antioch in 331 (on which more below).

Eusebius' writings, even as winnowed by time and the vicissitudes of manuscript life, are voluminous. He was particularly well-situated to describe many of the central events in Christianity's progress, and he believed it was therefore his duty to record them. He gave a similar reason for writing a life of Constantine, saying that God must have conferred Constantine's "acquaintance and society" on him with that in mind.<sup>2</sup>

### *Eusebius and Subordinationism*

Eusebius' views on the questions of the subordination of the Son and the preexistence of the Father were similar to those of the Arians and of Origen (as indeed were those of many bishops).<sup>3</sup> Yet, it does not seem that he ever systematically arrived at a comprehensive Arianism; that is, he was not an Arian on every theological point.<sup>4</sup> It may be that, like many Origenists, he simply agreed with Arius on the priority of the Father, then came to see as the dispute unfolded that he could not subscribe to the entire Arian system.<sup>5</sup>

His theology was, in the main, that of his teachers;<sup>6</sup> he was theologically at sea.<sup>7</sup>

Eusebius' starting point was the notion that a transcendent God requires a mediator between Himself and Creation; this made it virtually impossible for him to arrive at a truly trinitarian understanding.<sup>8</sup> His attempts to unite the mediator/*theos* and the Father were failures, as he himself recognized. His formulations are consequently inconsistent, which is not to say that he showed any trace of doctrinal development, i.e., growing understanding;<sup>9</sup> he was often simply incoherent.<sup>10</sup> Origen's influence was strong, as was that of Dionysius of Alexandria, whom Eusebius followed in rejecting the *homousion* (which explains why he appeared at Nicaea, in need of rehabilitation); he also followed the latter in holding the Son's begetting to have been an act of the Father's will.<sup>11</sup>

Like Origen, Eusebius distinguished the *ousia* of the Son from that of the Father.<sup>12</sup> He additionally proved unable to decide whether

the Son was one of the *geneta*, taking each of the three possible positions (that He was on the Father's level, that He was merely a creature, and that He was between the Father and Creation) at various points.<sup>13</sup> Eusebius also held, in the *Ecclesiastica Theologia*, that Father and Son have separate *hypostaseis*. In the *Contra Marcellum*, he forthrightly defended the Arians (though, significantly, without numbering himself among them).<sup>14</sup>

"...most textual and exegetical work on the Bible was intended for local use in the church for which it was produced and became known to a wider audience only slowly,"<sup>15</sup> and Eusebius' time was the last in which there was a large degree of local autonomy in such matters. It was of course the goal of St. Constantine in calling the (First) Nicene Council to define Orthodoxy; what is implicit, yet easily overlooked, in that statement is that Orthodoxy had been in some way undefined. For such a befuddled theologian as Eusebius to find himself astride the defining debate of his time at exactly the moment of St. Constantine's victory must be counted his great misfortune. If he had lived fifty years earlier, no ecumenical body would ever have considered his beliefs.

### *Eusebius as Historian*

Eusebius' greatest contribution is in historiography. His works provide the sole sources for many different types of information relating to the early church and to the late Roman Empire. His methods of historiography were also path-breaking.

Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* is the prototype of classical historiography. Scrupulously attentive to facts and disinterested in interpretation, the great Athenian did not hesitate to invent soliloquies, etc. Where memory did not serve, fabrication did.<sup>16</sup> This tendency became more pronounced in subsequent classical authors, some of whom (e.g., Plutarch) paid little attention to history *qua* history. While the pagans may have been interested in historiography for the purpose of memorializing ancestors or simply as entertainment, and willing to shape it to those aims, for Eusebius it had a new meaning: it charted the realization of God's plan. Literal truth thus assumed a new importance.

Therefore, Eusebius rarely invented facts.<sup>17</sup> In his *History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, for example, he relied on the

historian Josephus, on the martyrdom accounts, and on documents to which he had access.<sup>18</sup> Reliance on documentary sources is not equivalent to rigorous use of those sources, and Eusebius tended to be highly credulous.<sup>19</sup> From time to time, however, he asserted himself – the tale of Exodus and the Constantinian visions struck him as incredible.<sup>20</sup> His work as historiographer and politically important Christian did affect Eusebius' theology; for example, Constantine's conquests won Eusebius over to the idea that violence was appropriate if employed on behalf of the Church.<sup>21</sup>

This is a logical outcome of Eusebius' first principle as a historian. His Christianity shaped his analyses. Some critics of Eusebius have ignored this fact. One historian has said, "The real novelty in Eusebius's thought, and the key to his approach to politics, is this apologetic conception of history, which encouraged him to incorporate the present into an ongoing, biblically grounded *demonstratio evangelica*."<sup>22</sup> What seems the most strikingly novel manifestation of that tendency to me is the way Eusebius squared empire with Christianity.

Illustrative of Eusebius' concerns is the introduction to his "Life of Constantine." He will address, he says, only those facets of Constantine's career that bear on the Church. The traditional subjects of imperial (indeed of all) biography – military campaigns and politics – will be left to another author.<sup>23</sup> In the course of telling Constantine's story, especially in his account of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Eusebius expected to persuade his readers that God's power had now been seen in action – only He could have given Constantine that victory.<sup>24</sup>

### *Eusebius and Constantine*

The First Ecumenical Council was perhaps the pivotal event in Eusebius' life. There, Constantine endeavored to patch over the Arian controversy and to settle the dispute about the date of Pascha. He was far more successful in regard to the latter. Constantine may have thought that the trinitarian questions were "small and very insignificant,"<sup>25</sup> but Eusebius' statement that all agreed to the Nicene Creed is untrue. The heretics, including two bishops, suffered the customary punishment: excommunication and banishment.

Eusebius signed the Council's final act. He then had the difficult



task of trying to explain to his diocese why he had been willing to contradict his own established teaching. He artfully insisted that he had not done so, and on some matters, his statements were plausible (though inaccurate);<sup>26</sup> on others, such as the *homoousion* (which he had explicitly rejected before Nicaea), he stood exposed, and not merely as one who had been in error: Nicaea led to no alteration in Eusebius' theology, which made him simply dishonest.

After Nicaea, the Creed was Constantine's policy.<sup>27</sup> Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, however, does not give that impression. Eusebius included fourteen of the twenty-two Constantinian documents available to him in the book, and the eight he excluded were precisely those dealing with Arianism (and, by implication, with subordinationism generally).<sup>28</sup> He also interpolated a statement by Constantine to the effect that there were more than one *ousiai* in the Godhead, and this at the close of a Council whose conclusion had been precisely to the contrary.<sup>29</sup> Eusebius was not averse to using dishonest tactics in his reportage. The question is, What is reliable in Eusebius?

When he says that he would not believe the story of the *Chi Rho* vision if Constantine had not told him the story himself, we can probably believe him. (His flattery of the emperors was a sort of ecclesiastical diplomacy.<sup>30</sup>) If Eusebius was conscientious enough to risk saying the equivalent of, "I find it hard to believe, but the emperor said...", we can probably extrapolate that he is reliable on other issues in which he had no personal stake. On those in which he was personally involved, such as Nicaea, he is unreliable. Why would he have recorded his own and his fellow subordinationists' humiliation?

Eusebius' agreement to the Nicene Creed was in keeping with his view of Constantine's role in the divine scheme. Somewhat puzzling, though, is his refusal to conform to the Nicene teaching after the Council. Constantine, in Eusebius' account, ascribed the power to express "the Divine will" to Ecumenical Councils.<sup>31</sup> God was not, to Eusebius, to become known through mental contact, but through His Revelation. If Constantine's imperium was the successor to the Incarnate Word as tangible proof of God's action, one would think a good Christian would find himself impelled to submit to the Council.<sup>32</sup>

Constantine was himself laid to rest in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.<sup>33</sup> In death, as in life, his kingship was to be an icon of the heavenly kingship. This theme of Constantine's

propaganda lent itself to subordinationist elaboration, and Eusebius said the emperor was to be the Son's image as the Son was the Father's.<sup>34</sup> The emperor, who was above mere commoners in Eusebius' scheme, was just below the Holy Spirit.

Eusebius apparently gave little thought to the possibility that Constantine should give everything he had to the poor; indeed, the New Testament scriptures (and which those were, as the History of the Church shows, was unclear to Eusebius<sup>35</sup>) say little about the way a Christian in government should behave, still less about a man whose will was effectively law. The Apostles' successors (such as Eusebius) had to formulate a model for Constantine to follow, and some think they betrayed Christianity;<sup>36</sup> the Church disagrees.

Eusebius' view that Constantine's Empire was the culmination of history, the emperor the Church's savior became the official position. The coincidence of a well-placed, subordinationist Church historian and the first Christian emperor gave the emperors a place in Christian theology we might not otherwise have had, one somewhere between God and man. A Christianized Roman Empire acting as God's vehicle and ruled by God's special friend<sup>37</sup> would transform the lives even of laymen into holy vocations until the end of the world. This was to be the Byzantine vision for eleven centuries, and that of the rest of Europe for many more,<sup>38</sup> and Constantine's role as the originator of this mode of kingship is still celebrated every May 21. Despite the fact that Eusebius is now remembered as a heretic.

<sup>1</sup> J. Stevenson, *Studies in Eusebius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 105, see also fn 3, below

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series I* Eusebius (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), "Life of Constantine, I chapter 10, 484

<sup>3</sup> E.g., he referred to the Logos as "deuteros theos" and refrained from calling Him "ho theos" or "alethinos theos," reserving those appellations for the Father and preferring to call the Logos simply "theos" *Studies in Eusebius*, 78-9, D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1960), 128-9. This language is similar to that of Origen, whom the Fifth Ecumenical Council had anathematized, the Seventh reiterated this verdict. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume XIV The Seven Ecumenical Councils* (1900), 549-550

<sup>4</sup> For example, he insisted that the Logos was immutable *Studies in Eusebius, op cit* 85. He also condemned the Arian doctrine that the Son had been produced "ex ouk onto" *Studies in Eusebius, ibid* 133

<sup>5</sup> Colm Luibheid, *Eusebius of Caesarea and the Arian Crisis* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1981), 26

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in Eusebius, ibid* 78

<sup>7</sup> He said of the “begotten of the Father before all ages,” for example, that “there was, though there was not a time, when the Son was not.” *Studies in Eusebius*, *ibid.* 88.

<sup>8</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, *ibid.* 128-9, 137-8.

<sup>9</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, *ibid.* 121.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., “God the Father is ‘the only Creator and Demiurge and King of the universe,’ ‘the Creator of the universe and Savior,’ whereas the Word of God not only endows those creatures who possess them with sensory perception, ability to reason, and intelligence, but is also ‘the maker of the world and creator of all.’” Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 100.

<sup>11</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 131; Colm Luibheid, *Eusebius of Caesarea and the Arian Crisis* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981), 33.

<sup>12</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 129; P.S. Davies, “Constantine’s Editor,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 42:1 (April 1991), 610-618, at 611.

<sup>13</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 121

<sup>14</sup> “Constantine’s Editor,” 616-7.

<sup>15</sup> *Constantine and Eusebius*, *ibid.* 194.

<sup>16</sup> Pericles’ famed funeral oration is a notable example of an event Thucydides probably did not remember word for word.

<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that he never lied, on which more below.

<sup>18</sup> Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, tr. G.A. Williamson (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), xx; *Constantine and Eusebius*, 92.

<sup>19</sup> Robert M. Grant, “Eusebius and Imperial Propaganda,” *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, 658.

<sup>20</sup> Michael J. Hollerich, “Myth and History in Eusebius’s [sic] *De Vita Constantini*: Vit. Const. 1.12 in its Contemporary Setting,” *Harvard Theological Review* 82:4 (October 1989), 421-45, 421; *The First Christian Histories*, 172-4.

<sup>21</sup> He approved an Armenian rebellion on the same basis. *The First Christian Histories*, 134. By the end of his life, he advocated to Constantine’s sons that the establishment of Christianity should be vigorous, too. *The First Christian Histories*, 111.

<sup>22</sup> Michael J. Hollerich, “Religion and Politics in the Writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the First ‘Court Theologian,’” *Church History* 59:3 (September 1990), 309-325, 324.

<sup>23</sup> The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series Volume 1: *Eusebius*, “Life of Constantine,” chapter 11, 484. This approach became characteristic of Christian historians, and it helps explain Christians’ relative lack of influence in the fields of biography and political historiography. Arnaldo Momigliano, “Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.,” *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 88. The presence of traditional material in the “Life of Constantine” has been attributed to Eusebius’ leaving the work unfinished at his death. *Constantine and Eusebius*, 265, 268.

<sup>24</sup> This seemed to Eusebius to make Constantine’s example superior to Moses’ in the sense that the former’s feat, unlike the “Hebrew’s,” was (then) verifiable. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 1: *Eusebius*, “Life of Constantine,” chapter 12, 485.

<sup>25</sup> The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series, Volume 1: *Eusebius*, “Life of Constantine,” chapters 61-73, 515-8.

<sup>26</sup> “Gennethenta ou poiethenta,” he insisted, simply distinguished between Logos and Creation

<sup>27</sup> “Constantine’s Editor,” 614

<sup>28</sup> *Studies in Eusebius*, 114-5

<sup>29</sup> “Constantine’s Editor,” 612, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 271

<sup>30</sup> *The First Christian Histories*, 123

<sup>31</sup> The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 1 *Eusebius*, 525

<sup>32</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 137 Eusebius even called Constantine the “saviour” [sic] of His people History of the Church from Christ to Constantine, 331

<sup>33</sup> Constantine’s possible propaganda purposes were noted by Eusebius The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 1 *Eusebius*, “Life of Constantine,” chapter 60, 555 See also “Eusebius and Imperial Propaganda,” 680

<sup>34</sup> *The First Christian Histories*, 143, 159-60 Eusebius said “Epi pasi the toutois mnemoneuin thei theomimon endi pragma vasilea” Norman H Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London University of London, 1955), 172 For a contrary view about the prevalence of this conception, “Constantinus Christianus,” 188 In *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, Eusebius said, “The Word ‘first chose the souls of the supreme emperors’ and ‘then brought out into the open His own disciples’” xxiii

<sup>35</sup> The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 1 *Eusebius*, “The Church History of Eusebius,” Book III, chapters 245, 152-157

<sup>36</sup> Constantine versus Christ is based on precisely the notion that Constantine’s behavior was unchristian

<sup>37</sup> It was common in the fourth century for pagans to refer to a king as the Logos of God Eusebius never gave Constantine that appellation, but he did make him His special friend *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, 170

<sup>38</sup> The Stuarts and Louis XIV would rely on it thirteen centuries later *The First Christian Histories*, 174 It would be the central tenet of the Russian and other Orthodox monarchies until their disappearance in the twentieth century

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **Bringing Back the Prodigal: Evangelism and Revival in North American Orthodoxy – How Can it be Accomplished?**

---

FRANK SCHAEFFER

An entire generation seems to be missing from some of our Orthodox communities. Of course this is a drastic generalization, but my own very unscientific “study,” made while visiting and speaking at eighty or so parishes of all jurisdictions, seems to bear out this observation. Often after I speak, some mother, father, grandfather, or grandmother will come up to me and say, “I wish my son (or daughter) could have heard you, but he (or she) refuses to come to anything at the church now.”

As to why there are so many Orthodox who seem to lose interest in the life of the Church, of course there is no simple answer. Obviously at the heart of this problem is a spiritual battle beyond human explanation. Nor is this loss of faith confined to the Orthodox. Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews have all suffered from attrition as well. Nevertheless, here are a few personal observations largely drawn from my own conversations with grandparents, parents, young people, priests, monks, and bishops across North America.

Let us remember that we live in a very secular culture. This is true even though it is also a very “religious” culture. However, from the Orthodox point of view, the various religions of North America – for instance, modern Protestantism and post-Vatican II “user-friendly” Roman Catholicism – are themselves now very secularized compared to Orthodoxy. For instance, post-Vatican II Roman Catholics do not fast for the day preceding Communion. Most Protestants do not even know what Lent is, let alone how to keep it as Christians. I know. Not that long ago I considered myself very religious, and yet I lived a completely irreligious life as measured by any historical Christian

standard of Orthodox practice. As a Protestant, the idea of ascetic struggle, an idea that has been at the heart of Christian spirituality for two thousand years, was completely foreign to me. I would have had no understanding whatsoever of what St. Thalassios, or anyone of the desert Fathers, was writing about, or why struggle against the passions was important in the journey of salvation.

St. Thalassios writes:

Ascetic struggle – fasting, vigils, patience, forbearance – produces a clear conscience. He who patiently endures unsought trials becomes humble, full of hope and spiritually mature.<sup>1</sup>

The Orthodox idea of struggle as the road of salvation – ascetic struggle, that is – is almost completely foreign to all Western Christians today. This has been the case in Protestant circles for over four hundred years. An antimonastic attitude has been part of the Protestant ethos from the time of Martin Luther on. And in Roman Catholic circles, since the 1960s, this antimonastic attitude has been growing also. However, many Orthodox seem unaware of how vast the gulf is that separates Orthodoxy from the Western religions of today.

It seems to me that we have failed to grasp the fact that, from an Orthodox point of view even the so-called religious elements of our society are, in fact, secular. Indeed, when I refer to the “secular culture” or “secularism,” it seems to me that these terms accurately describe both the overtly secular parts of our society and most of the religious ones as well.

Because of the lack of awareness by the Orthodox of the profound secularity of Western Christianity, I believe that many Orthodox immigrants severely underestimated the impact that the surrounding American culture would have on their children.

It seems that the Orthodox faithful who emigrated to North America had a vague notion that America was a “Christian country” and that, while the rubrics of Orthodox worship were superficially different from those of Protestantism and Catholicism, the values, teachings, and practices were “the same.” Nothing could be further from the truth.

It seems the Orthodox naiveté about the North American culture into which we brought our families has cost us dearly. It has cost us many of our children.

On a Greek island or in a traditional Palestinian, Ethiopian, or

Russian village, society and religion were once mutually supporting. The necessity to instruct, explain, defend, and train up one's children in the Orthodox way against the surrounding society was not a paramount concern since church and society shared the same beliefs and taboos. Of course there were exceptions to this rule in Orthodox history. In both Russia and Greece, imported Western humanism began to influence some Orthodox, especially from the eighteenth century onward. But usually priest, teacher, and neighbor were the friend of the Orthodox villager's moral values and religious aspirations. Society was a prop and support for the Orthodox parent's worldview. The need to defend one's family from foreign philosophies was itself a foreign idea. Even under the Turks, Greek village life often had a normal (i.e. traditional Orthodox) quality to it.

In the "old country," the Orthodox faithful expected that if they went to church, prayed, worked, and lived according to the Orthodox ascetic rule of prayer, fasting, and self-discipline, their children would follow in their footsteps. A grandchild would keep Lent, go to Communion, and pray at his grandmother's side. A son would join his father in the church for vespers. The Church calendar taught the Christian faith. The national holidays were the feasts of the Church. The life of the Church and the life of the culture were largely one and the same. Someone who preached a contrary vision of life, for instance "sexual liberation," atheism, or moral relativism, would have been driven from the village.

The situation changed radically for the Orthodox when they emigrated to North America. They were no longer living in a mutually supporting society. They became spiritual refugees. Whether they knew it or not, they were surrounded by a culture hostile to the Orthodox way of life. Soon this culture would begin to obliterate Orthodox faith in the hearts of the second and third generation Orthodox.

Today our North American schools, particularly our universities, teach the *exact opposite* of what we Orthodox believe to be true. The secular worldview is taught on a whole range of topics, from psychology, sociology, and literary studies to sexual morality and the ultimate meaning of life.

While maintaining its outward friendliness and commitment to pluralism, our society is not on the side of the traditional Orthodox parent. In fact, the ethos of North America is dead against the Orthodox



parent's deepest beliefs. The veneer of tolerance and pluralism merely covers up humanistic-Enlightenment hostility to traditional religion and, above all, to traditional lifestyles. Everything America stands for is at variance with Orthodoxy. America is an egalitarian society, and we Orthodox believe in a hierarchy that begins on earth and stretches to the throne of God. America is profoundly materialistic and consumeristic, and we Orthodox believe that self-denial and ascetic struggle are essential for salvation. In stark contrast to the Orthodox idea of moral absolutes, the only absolute in modern America is that there are no moral absolutes. One is free to believe anything personally, as long as one does not commit the faux pas of saying it is true in an absolute or binding way that excludes falsehood or that would brand another philosophy as wrong. This relativistic worldview places the Orthodox, whether we acknowledge it or not, on a collision course with not only secular America but pluralistic religion as well. The problem is that many Orthodox do not realize how profoundly secular North American society truly is.

The sad irony is that the very desire to "arrive" and to "make it," for the sake of their children, expressed by the hard work of the first generation of Orthodox immigrants, often has *cost* them their children. The ambition to give our children "the chance we never had"—the desire to see our children have a "good education"—is at least part of the reason that so many Orthodox families lost our children to the secular society and to American-style Protestant sects.

It seems to me that the tragedy of the loss of our children occurred for two reasons. First, the Orthodox underestimated the power and attraction of secular propaganda. (This virulent propaganda has been part and parcel of the North American Protestant-Humanist educational system since the late nineteenth century.) Second, having misunderstood North America, we Orthodox failed to equip our children intellectually to withstand the secular onslaught. We have sent our children out into the world no more spiritually and intellectually prepared than they would have been back in the old country two hundred years ago. But the environment in North America is radically different than that of the old country of two centuries ago. The results have been disastrous.

Many traditionalist Protestant and Roman Catholic parents have also made the mistake of underestimating the corrosive power of pluralistic, secular America. Life in a small English or Sicilian village

was no better preparation for surviving the New Babylon – North America – than life on Crete or Patmos. However, there is one big difference between the Orthodox and most other religiously believing emigrants to North America. The difference is the availability of support systems.

The Protestant emigrant is raising children in a culture that, to the extent that it is still religious at all, is supportive of Protestant-style religion. For instance, the Protestant parent is living and raising his children in an environment in which many evangelistic ministries, such as the Billy Graham crusades, publishing companies, and various Protestant schools, help to provide respite from the pervasive secularism of our cultural elite, media, and educators. The Roman Catholic parent also has had help. This help has come through a network of parochial schools. Until the post-Vatican II self-immolation of the American Roman Catholic Church, these schools were quite religious, even ascetic, in character.

The Orthodox parent receives scant help from his own church, let alone from the Roman Catholic or Protestant subculture. The prevailing religious Western subculture, to the extent that its members are even aware of us, is as hostile to Orthodox Christianity as it is to pure, humanistic secularism. Mormonism, Protestantism, post-Vatican II Roman Catholicism and the other Western religions do us precious little good. Indeed, the multicultural pluralism of North America simply makes it harder to pass on the Orthodox Tradition. Why fast when there are “many ways to God?” Why struggle when all you have to do is “accept Jesus into your heart?” Why keep Lent when no one else does?

The Orthodox young person faces not only the subtle – or not so subtle – hostility of his or her secularized, often atheistic, college professors and high school teachers, but also a host of fervent Protestant believers who doubt the quality of his or her salvation. The Orthodox young person is often assaulted by Protestant fundamentalists asking questions such as, “Have you accepted Jesus as your personal savior?” or “Why do you have all those outward forms of worship? Don’t you know this is idolatry?”

From today’s Roman Catholic the Orthodox young person hears comments like, “We’re historic and liturgical, but we don’t have to keep all those old-fashioned rules about fasting anymore! Why do you have to do all that stuff? It must be terribly hard to be Orthodox!”

Or "How come you're so closed? Our priest will let you receive Communion in our church if you want to take it. We welcome everyone! How come your priest won't let us receive in your church?"

I believe there are good answers to all these questions, just as there are good answers to the secular challenge to our faith. But the Orthodox believer may not know what those answers are. Nor may the believer know how bankrupt both Roman Catholic and Protestant Western theology, faith, and practice has become, or that many disillusioned Protestants and Roman Catholics are seeking the spiritual treasures that have been preserved in Orthodoxy.

It seems to me that another important factor is also at work. Orthodox ignorance of the surrounding culture has been compounded by an Orthodox leadership that has been silent because of its long association with ecumenism.

It seems to me that some of our Orthodox leaders have not stood up and clearly addressed the issues of the day. They have not taught what the fundamental differences are between Orthodox and Western Christianity. It seems to me that perhaps they have not spoken out because they do not wish to offend other Christians. But if the bishops and priests refuse to teach, who will lead the people? How can the leadership expect the faithful to understand the differences between Orthodoxy and Protestantism or Roman Catholicism or secularism if they themselves are seen in fraternal dialogue with the non-Orthodox and never draw a clear line between Orthodoxy and heterodoxy?

It seems to me that too often the Orthodox have been taught, by example if not by word, that "making it" in America is life's only real priority. What Orthodox immigrant, bent on success, is going to speak up, or alienate "the Americans," whether these are fellow students, clients, friends, educators, proselytizing Protestant neighbors, or modern Roman Catholics, if the price is going to be paid in the currency of one's worldly achievements? Who wants to risk the family business for the sake of Orthodox Truth when even some priests and bishops are silent?

Another thing that Orthodox immigrants were hardly prepared for, through no fault of their own, is the fact that in the West not all "Christians" are believers. Naturally we cannot judge individuals but the general trend of secular attitudes prevailing within religious bodies is clear. In fact today many "Christians" are merely secularists in

religious garb.

The Orthodox had no experience with what we call liberal Protestantism or liberal Roman Catholicism. Orthodox ignorance of liberal Christianity is understandable. There is no equivalent of Aristotelian-Augustinian rationalism within the Eastern Church. Except when it was imported from the West, humanistic rationalism was foreign to Orthodoxy. But in the West things developed differently than in the East. From the thirteenth century on, with the rise of the Aristotelian-Scholastic movement, the Christianity of the West evolved into an altogether different religion than the Christianity of the East. Nor was there a reformation, or, more accurately, a rebellion in the Orthodox Church comparable to the Protestant Reformation. Nor did German rationalism, in the guise of so-called higher critical methods of biblical study, invade the Orthodox Church as it invaded the Western churches by degrees from the early nineteenth century onward.

The Orthodox immigrant had little experience with Protestant and Roman Catholic liberals who were not religious, pastors who had no faith, theologians who were in fact philosophers, and a spirituality that asked only that you feel fulfilled.

The Orthodox drew false comfort and a false sense of security from the fact that there were so many churches and apparently religious people in America. What they did not realize was that North American religion is often empty, and that where it bears a theological resemblance to Orthodoxy, it nevertheless is completely dissimilar when it comes to the idea of how to achieve salvation. In fact, the idea of divinization is so foreign to Western Christians that to them this belief is a “proof” of Orthodoxy’s “cultic” status!

It seems to me that the Orthodox faithful naively walked into a cultural battle for their children’s souls with no or little understanding of the protagonists which were, and are, roughly divided into three groups:

1. Conservative Roman Catholics and Protestants who regard Orthodoxy as foreign and cultic.
2. Liberal Protestants and Roman Catholics who despise all traditional religion. •
3. Anti religious secularists who do not even believe in the concept of truth let, alone religious truth.

What the Orthodox faithful failed to realize was that not one of

these categories of persons were friendly to Orthodoxy or even necessarily aware of it. (This is not to say that on an individual level many Americans were not sympathetic to individual Orthodox.)

The Orthodox mistook pluralism and tolerance for neutrality. They mistook the official liberal Protestant commitment to ecumenism for a desire to learn about the truth in order to be enlightened by it. In fact, it seems this ecumenical tolerance was no more than a desire on the part of the Protestants to prove how "open-minded" and "pluralistic" they were. There was room for the Orthodox at the relativistic banquet at which all truth claims had to be laid aside as the entrance fee to the feast of intellectual respectability. But there was no room for the changeless Holy Tradition or the changeless Christ to Whom the Tradition bears witness. When it came to the truth claims of religion pluralism demanded that everything, including the historic Christ, be negotiable.

The Orthodox learned too late that North Americans are not as neutral to Orthodoxy as they at first thought them to be. To the extent that the "Americans" are aware of its ascetic call to holiness and its monastic traditions of denial in order to curb the passions, they are hostile to it. Indeed, it seems to me, the very "weirdness" of Orthodoxy to "mainstream America" has been reason enough to further feed the sense of ethnic inferiority on the part of some Orthodox and their desire to "keep quiet and work hard," to "fit in," and to "make it."

The desire to hide one's Orthodox identity, to not appear different or odd to "the Americans," has resulted in some Orthodox not keeping to our fasts and feasts, ascetic struggle, and prayer. It has also resulted in the Orthodox involving themselves in the dead end of "ecumenical dialogue" instead of concentrating on true missionary work.

It seems to me that the goal of today's Orthodox involvement in ecumenism is no longer to make converts and to see the Church grow, but to make friends. It seems to me that the desire to be liked has resulted in the Orthodox keeping perversely quiet at the outrages perpetrated by some other members of the World and National Council of Churches to which we Orthodox presently belong. It seems to me that one compromise leads to another. Silence soon becomes cowardice, and the true Orthodox witness evaporates in a haze of insubstantial good feeling and self-congratulation.

It seems to me that the Orthodox reticence to evangelize North America has cost us dearly. It has not only cost us in the practical area of growth but has cost us our spiritual integrity. We have denied one of the central tenants of the Holy Tradition. We have abandoned our call to preach the Gospel.

St. Maximos the Confessor writes:

A person who through the grace of God partakes of divine blessings is under an obligation to share them ungrudgingly with others. For Scripture says, 'Freely you have received, freely give (Matt. 10:8).' He who hides the gift in the earth accuses the Lord of being hard-hearted and mean (cf. Matt. 25:24) and in order to spare the flesh he pretends to know nothing about holiness; while he who sells the truth to enemies, and is then revealed as avid for self-glory, hangs himself, unable to bear the disgrace. (cf. Matt 26:15, 27:5)<sup>2</sup>

Our reticence to stand up and be counted, as we have pretended to "know nothing about holiness," has eroded Orthodox parents' ability to inculcate the faith of the Fathers in their children. A retiring, silent witness is no witness. It seems to me that bishops and priests more interested in "ecumenical dialogue" or "union with Rome" than in holiness of life and Orthodox missionary work have not only failed to preach the Gospel but have let their young people down badly.

Silence in the face of falsehood is no virtue. St. Maximos the Confessor calls this silence "selling the truth" to our enemies.

We teach by example. A whole generation of Orthodox do not know that evangelism is an important part of Orthodox Holy Tradition. They have not seen their priests and bishops evangelizing North American Protestants, Jews, atheists, humanists, and Roman Catholics. In fact the word *proselytize* has been a dirty word and has somehow been confused with the word *evangelize*. No wonder many Orthodox are confused as to the truth claims of our faith. If Orthodoxy is not worth sharing, why is it worth keeping? If it is only to be talked about in ecumenical dialogue, as if a middle ground between Truth and falsehood exists, then how can it be true in the sense that it is worth struggling for?

The lack of evangelistic zeal has been contagious. It seems to me that the fact that a whole generation of Orthodox were raised by parents who rarely, if ever, tried to convert the non-Orthodox has a lot to do with the fact that they also did not go to confession, rarely re-

ceived the Eucharist, treated parish business like old country politics, and often gave grudgingly to their churches.

Children who grow up in homes where there is no evangelistic zeal, and where money, education, "getting ahead," "being accepted," "fitting in," and "making it" are venerated, or even worshipped, will be silent and consumeristic themselves, whatever lip service their priest and parents pay to the Church and however many icons hang in the kitchen. And if a young person's priest and parents have failed to grasp the true nature of the place they are living in, and what it will do to their parishioners and children, then there is little reason to expect that the second generation of Orthodox will remain Orthodox.

There are many examples of the price we have paid by not speaking boldly. The Orthodox young woman who has never heard her priest and bishop courageously and frequently denounce the murder of unborn children can blame them for the sin of her abortion. And the Orthodox young man who has heard his ecumenist priest, bishop, or hierarch say that, "We are to be reunited with Rome," or, "We are really all Christian" can scarcely be blamed if he ceases to fast, go to confession, or keep the Orthodox rule of prayer.

It seems to me that the time has come when we Orthodox again must begin to concentrate on preaching the Gospel to our own people and to the world. In order to do this, perhaps we should try to understand what our Orthodox immigrants would have seen if they had looked clearly and unsentimentally at the society to which they were emigrating. Had they taken a hard look, this is what they would have seen:

1. America is not a Christian culture in the Orthodox sense.
2. American culture is informed by a mixture of Western, humanistic, modern Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Enlightenment ideas.
3. All the elements of American society agree on one thing: sacramentality, hierarchy, tradition, and asceticism are "out" pluralism, relativism, egalitarianism, democracy, self-realization, progress, and individualism are "in."
4. America, with the possible exception of the late Soviet Union, is the most materialistic culture the world has ever produced in the sense that the "scientific method" has deeply stirred the American imagination. Faith in "progress" is now almost absolute. The words

*new, improved, progressive, and open minded* might as well be our secular beatitudes.

5. Most Orthodox immigrants-1900s to the 1960s-arrived in America while the nation's elite was in a period of historic transition from Protestant-religious-humanistic belief to a purely humanistic, secular, "liberal" philosophy. This philosophy soon began to express itself in outright hostility to all traditional religion.

6. The ideals that America were founded on are derivative of the Aristotelian/Enlightenment/Western philosophical worldview. This worldview is the opposite of Eastern Orthodox belief in mystery and salvation through ascetic struggle, let alone the belief in the possibility of divinization.

7. The very concept of Holy Mystery, ascetic life, and a hierarchy of archetypal meaning that gives meaning and order to reality (let alone monastic contemplation), does not exist in America or in most of the post-Enlightenment Western European culture of which America is a derivative.

8. The American landscape is dotted with churches but not monasteries. (This is an unintentional visual reminder of American hostility to Orthodox ideas of spiritual struggle. The American God "loves you and has a wonderful plan for your life," but he does not want you to have to struggle to realize it.)

9. In these churches a variety of religions are taught, whether "feel good" materialism, Augustinian-Calvinism, "touchy-feely" liberal post-Vatican II Roman Catholicism, Protestant "psycho babble," "New Age" eco-earth worship, atheism, social collectivism, "charismatic" faith as group psychosis, higher-critical biblical studies, but any illusion that somehow this fever swamp of abundant religiosity is equivalent to the many Orthodox monasteries of Greece and Russia is just that - an illusion. It is the illusion of religion without ascetic, life changing struggle. It is the illusion of the crucifixion without nails, of salvation through self-realization, of worship as entertainment. It is a "people's democratic religion," not the faith of the Fathers believed by all Christians everywhere since the beginning.

10. The American landscape is dotted with educational institutions, most of which have some sort of historical Roman Catholic or Protestant affiliation. But that the life within these schools and the monolithic atheist worldview taught in them is now unremittingly antagonistic to all traditional religious worldviews.



\* \* \*

It seems to me that the Greek, Russian, Arab, or African Orthodox Christian who thought that in coming to America he had escaped persecution and barbarism forever had no idea of the level of intolerance toward traditional religious ideas that would confront his children. He may have escaped the Turk or the KGB, but he had merely traded overt brutality for covert hostility to the faith of his fathers. He had exchanged persecution for seduction. He had been fooled by the pluralistic veneer and had failed to comprehend what lay under the surface. He could now choose where his son or daughter went to university, but what he did not realize was that wherever they went to school, they would be taught the same materialistic philosophy that had been preached by Marx and Lenin and practiced by the KGB. The only difference was that the professor would wear a tweed jacket or skirt rather than jack boots and that he or she would not have Orthodox students shot but merely give them an "F" on their sociology paper if they did not "broaden their outlook."

In looking for reasons as to why some Orthodox have lost their children to the secular culture, it may seem as if I am exclusively laying the blame at the parents,' or priests,' and bishops' door. This is not so. The Orthodox who have been enticed from the Church bear a heavy responsibility for their own choice. The overly ambitious young person who is now "too busy" for the Church in favor of "making it" in the so-called fast lane of secular society shows bad judgment. The Orthodox who have abandoned the Church in favor of the secular West have left dry land for the "safety" of a berth on the Titanic.

The secularized Orthodox is not the only tragically misguided person. The formerly Orthodox person who joins one of the thousands of Protestant "born-again" sects, in hopes of finding a deeper spiritual experience, exhibits the same intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy as the person who abandons the Church for secularism.

A person who abandons the Orthodox Church of the ages for a more trendy, modern, or even fun "Christianity" reminds me of someone too slothful to go to Europe and goes to Disney's Epcot Center instead! "It is," they say, "easier, and you get to see a lot of European stuff all in one place." But there is a problem. Epcot is a fake. It is a plastic, predigested, trivialized "Europe." It may be easier, more fun, nicer, and even more meaningful to some, but it is not the real thing.

It seems to me that the Orthodox young person or adult who drifts

away from the faith is living in a state of delusion. The delusion is that their secular, Protestant, or modern Roman Catholic life is going to work. What they do not realize is that it will only work by inertia. It will only work for a time. In other words, the sheer depth of the spiritual roots they have, even long after they have been wrenched from their source, still provides a sense of sacred meaning to their lives. However, this spiritual legacy will eventually run out. Moreover, the children of the lapsed will begin their spiritual journeys where the lapsed have ended theirs. This same principle is also at work in our secular society. Our secular culture draws on past art, music, literature, and ideas of civility that could never have been produced by post-Enlightenment, modern, post-modern, or nihilistic philosophy. The secular persons who listen to Bach and read Dante are cheating. They are secular themselves, but they keep their sanity through enjoying the piety of others and the artistic beauty produced by a deep sense of the sacred.

It seems to me that the lapsed Orthodox take what is good from their Church, culture, and parents but refuse to hand it on to their own children. Their lives were given shape and meaning by their grandmother's prayers, their mother's selfless hard work, their father's simple piety, yet they will never provide these strengths or memories to their own children and grandchildren. The lapsed are truly desert valleys that soak up the water of life but refuse to let others taste it. They live on the borrowed currency of the sweet memories of incense. The taste of the Eucharist lingers on their lips. The scent of basil stirs echoes of blessings far off. The sound of a bell; the sight of a bearded figure in a *rasson*; the flavor of a certain kind of sweet their grandmother once baked; the smoke from a charcoal grill; the dark interior of an ancient, white church on a sunny hill; the faded icon in a corner – all these things evoke a certain memory, a certain longing, a stirring of their conscience. But they refuse to listen to the still small voice of God. As a result, their children and children's children will never know the Truth.

Ironically, the lapsed Orthodox have left their Church, their families, and their culture at the very hour the secular/Protestant society they are so eager to join is in moral despair. The secular society is looking for the exact kind of meaning that we Orthodox have always possessed. What do you think the New Age movement is if not a desperate search for spiritual meaning in the spiritual desert created

by faith in reason and science? What do you think the Protestant and Roman Catholic charismatic movement is if not a frantic, misguided attempt to rediscover the mystical, sacramental aspect of worship the Roman Catholics destroyed after Vatican II and the Protestants abandoned centuries earlier? What do you think all the self-help and so-called codependency groups are if not a sad counterfeit of Orthodox community life? What do you think psychological counseling is if not a pitiful imitation of confession to a priest? Why do you think millions of bewildered and unhappy secularists go to Billy Graham crusades or watch religious television programs, if not to find the sacred meaning of life? Why do you think thousands of former feminists are quitting their jobs, having babies, and fighting with their employers in order to stay home with their children, if not to try and rediscover their own deepest human spiritual roots?

The secular culture of the West, produced by the Roman Catholic Church, the Enlightenment, and the Reformation, has failed! Millions of people in the West are now looking for spiritual, sacramental, and human meaning. Specifically, they long for mystical religious meaning in their lives. They long to return to the sacred. The problem is that it is easier to seek meaning than to find the Truth. Once the historic bonds with Truth have been severed, it is difficult to reestablish them.

I believe that if we are to call the lost Orthodox back to the Church, prevent further attrition, or evangelize our culture, the Church must be a place full of spiritual light. In other words, plenty of secular organizations can offer basketball leagues, Hellenic cultural events, psychological counseling, ecumenical dialogue, higher-critical biblical studies, and deluxe coffee hours, but the Orthodox Church is the only place in which Christ is fully present in His sacramental community.

It seems to me that we must concentrate on strengthening what is *unique* within the Orthodox Church. I do not believe that our call is to try to compete with the world. It seems to me that it is ridiculous to use secular tools like ecumenical politics, psychology, or entertainment to achieve spiritual ends. This is self-defeating. The sacramental, ascetic, and spiritual must be emphasized, while the academic, social, political, and entertainment aspects of church life should be kept in perspective and subordinate to the Orthodox Church's calling.

Let me put this in another way. It seems to me that the first and

second generations of Orthodox in America achieved a genuine miracle. Ordinary people who were not missionaries or monks sacrificially built churches out of the fruits of their toil and labor. They established the Orthodox presence in North America. They brought priests to America to serve their communities. This is a magnificent achievement. But now the question is, "What must we do to build on this wonderful foundation?"

It seems to me that what we need to do is to actively, dare I say aggressively, work for a spiritual revival *within* the Church. It seems to me that this revival can only be achieved by introducing into the North American context the missing element of American Orthodoxy. I am speaking of monasticism and the monastic spirit of contemplation, confession, fasting, prayer, and evangelism.

Since, historically, America is a secular-Protestant nation, presently in a historical transition from Westernized Christianity to pure paganism and since the whole concept of monasticism is meaningless to the desacralized Western mind (the Western churches do not believe in the possibility of divinization, and thus, the ascetic struggle for perfection – to be like Christ – makes no sense to them,) and since we Orthodox ourselves have often become secular in our mentality, it seems to me that nothing is more important to the health of the Church than the introduction of monasticism into America.

If we have no one to imitate, how will we know how to be Christians? If monasticism is absent, how can the contemplative, ascetic, evangelistic spirit of monasticism be present in our hearts? If our only idea of a leader in our church is an Orthodox bureaucrat in dialogue with the heterodox, how will we learn to be different than the world? How will we learn to evangelize the Protestant and secular culture with the good news of Orthodoxy?

It is for all these reasons that I pray for the day when we have as many Orthodox monasteries, sketes, and hermitages in North America as Orthodox churches. Then the Church will truly be established here. Then we will evangelize by example. And then, and only then, will an authentic revival of Orthodox life be possible within the North American Orthodox Church.

It seems to me that the establishing of monasteries will not come about easily, though lately there have been encouraging signs that this is beginning to happen. While we wait for the Holy Spirit to bring us holy monastics, it seems to me that what we must do is to

begin to practice the monastic rule as best we can in our own lives. For instance, we should seek out a traditional relationship with a spiritual father and confessor. We should begin to keep, as much as possible, the calendar and rule of prayer of the Church. Fasting can no longer be a joke or “left up to the individual” as if it were optional. We should teach and emphasize the rule of personal prayer. We should encourage pilgrimages to monastic centers of life, such as they are, here in America and to well-established, well-disciplined monasteries abroad. And we should cease to be silent and begin to preach the Gospel with the zeal of Saints Cyril and Methodios.

Above all, we must learn about the Orthodox ideal of divinization through ascetic struggle, prayer, fasting, and confession and stop acting as if we can make ourselves Orthodox by merely involving ourselves in secular social activities like ecumenism, dances, basketball leagues, and food festivals. Spiritual cancer is not cured with basketball! The gushing wounds of sin are not closed with donuts and coffee! No one will be saved from Hell in this life or the next through polite dialogue!

In the end a deep spiritual revival will attract more people – even worldly people – and retain them than all the tricks, church politics, bells, whistles, and entertainments which, after all, the world can produce far better than we can. I know this very well. As a secular movie director and novelist, I do not long for more of what Hollywood and New York can offer me. Rather, I long for what the Orthodox Church alone can offer. I did not convert to Orthodoxy because it was trendy or ecumenical, but because it is true. I am not looking for psychological counseling but forgiveness.

It seems to me that we need to expose our young people, and ourselves, to authentic holiness in the persons of monks, nuns, priests, and lay people who have practiced the ascetic way for many years. Such people make a lasting impression and give the rest of us an example. This is, of course, harder to do than selling raffle tickets or putting on a dance or entering into an endless and largely meaningless ecumenical “dialogue” with other ecclesiastical bureaucrats. It may even require that we ourselves become holy!

When it comes to teaching and education, we can no longer only teach what we are *for*. It seems to me that we also need to teach what we are *against*. For instance, we cannot simply say that God is the God of life. We also need to add that the Church is against abortion,

infanticide, euthanasia, fetal experimentation, and the whole oppressive culture of death that surrounds us.

We need to tell the truth about the horrors of secularism and secularized Western religion. We need to quote the Fathers on such topics as sexual perversion, abortion, and child sacrifice. Unless teaching is specific to the issues of our day, we are sending our children out into the world as lambs to the slaughter.

We must make a real effort to understand the culture we are in and to answer that culture with the living, Orthodox spiritual alternative based, not on one more political or utilitarian, humanistic set of psychological principles, but on holiness of life. In other words, we must teach our children that all of life and creation is sacred, because God is the Creator, and because He has sent His Son to us in order that we might be restored to our proper relationship with Him.

It is precisely the loss of the sense of the sacred that is destroying us. And it is this sacramental inheritance that the Orthodox Church alone can restore. It seems to me that this is the only true road back to recapturing and retaining our children and our children's children. And it is the only way we will evangelize our society.

It is the sense of the sacred that is unique and beautiful in Orthodoxy. It is this pearl of great price for which we must fight. When we do so, the lost may, by God's grace, come home.

<sup>1</sup>Third Century On Love, Self-control and Life... :14-15, *The Philokalia* Vol. II, London 1979, pp. 321-322.

<sup>2</sup>First Century on Theology 29. *The Philokalia*, Vol. II: London, 1979 pp. 119-120.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Concerning the Balamand Statement

---

JOHN H. ERICKSON

Few ecumenical statements to which the Orthodox have been party have gained the notoriety of the Agreed Statement "Uniatism. Method of Union of the Past, and the Present Search for Full Communion" issued at the VIIth Plenary Session of the Joint International Theological Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, Balamand, Lebanon, June 23, 1993.<sup>1</sup> Negative reactions, some from within canonical Orthodoxy, more from Old Calendarist Greek circles, have been widely circulated in North America.<sup>2</sup> Some of these reactions suggest unfav-

<sup>1</sup> Text available most conveniently in *The Quest for Unity Orthodox and Catholics in Dialogue*, ed J Borelli and J H Erickson (Crestwood NY St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996) 175-83

<sup>2</sup> E g, "The Balamand Union A Victory of Vatican Diplomacy" (Etna CA Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, translated from an article originally published in *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐνημέρωσις* no 14 (July - September 1993), a publication of the Old Calendarist Monastery of Sts Cyprian and Justina, Fili, Greece, a six-page typescript "Orthodox and Vatican Agreement" by Fr John S Romanides, which subsequently appeared in Greek in *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* (March 1994), an open letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople from the Sacred Community of Mount Athos, originally published in *Ὁρθόδοξος Τύπος* (March 18, 1994), translated into English with an introductory article entitled "Christ Recrucified" in *The Ark* 39-40 (Ridgewood NJ, August 1994) and from there reprinted by *Orthodox Life* 44 4 (1994) 26-39, a publication of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia or "the Synod", and an encyclical "Warning to the Faithful" issued by the North American diocese of the Old Calendarist True Orthodox Church of Greece, 1994 Of other critiques emanating from Greek circles, the most sweeping is that of Fr Theodore Zissis, who along with Bishop Chrysostomos of Peristerion has represented the Church of Greece on the Joint Commission to this point "Τό Νέο Κείμενο περί Οὐνίας τοῦ Μπαλαμάντ," serialized in *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* in spring 1994 The main lines of Zissis' thought on the subject can be seen in a paper which he presented at the Vienna 1990 meeting of a subcommittee of the Joint Commission "Uniatism A Problem in the Dialogue Be-



miliarity with the continuing work of the Joint Commission and with the place of the Balamand Statement within that work. Others appear to be simply new installments in a continuing attack on Orthodox involvement in the ecumenical movement, as this has been pursued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and by canonical Orthodoxy generally. Distortions, misrepresentations and outright falsehoods abound. The present review attempts to situate the Balamand Statement within the broader context of Orthodox/Roman Catholic relations and to respond to the major accusations that have been made by the statement's critics.

The Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church was formally established in 1979, with "re-establishment of full communion between these two churches" as its declared purpose.<sup>3</sup> Since then its membership has included up to thirty Orthodox (typically a bishop and a theologian appointed by each of the universally recognized autocephalous and autonomous churches), headed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Archbishop Stylianos of Australia, and thirty Catholics appointed by Rome, headed by Cardinal Willebrands (and now Cardinal Cassidy) of the Secretariat (now Pontifical Council) for Promoting Christian Unity. It held its first plenary session in 1980, when it agreed to a plan for its future work. The Commission agreed to begin "with the elements which unite the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches,"<sup>4</sup> above all a sacramental understanding of the Church, so that when discussion did reach such controversial issues as papal primacy and "uniatism" there would be a solid agreement concerning basic issues on which to build. Three important agreed statements followed: "The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity" (Munich 1982 – a text widely praised by the Orthodox for its approach to the

---

tween the Orthodox and Roman Catholics," published in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 35 (1990) 21-31. See also the comments of Metropolitan Christodoulos of Dimitrias, as reported in *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 425-27. Finally, of particular significance in view of the authority of the issuing body is the long-awaited official reaction of the Permanent Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, December 8, 1994, published in *Εκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* (January 16, 1995), which declares the Balamand Statement "unacceptable to the Orthodox."

<sup>3</sup> "Plan to Set Underway the Theological Dialogue Between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church," available most conveniently in *Quest for Unity* 47-52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II.1, p. 47.

issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit), "Faith, Sacraments and the Unity of the Church" (Bari 1987), and "The Sacrament of Orders in the Sacramental Structure of the Church" (New Valamo 1988).<sup>5</sup> The 1990 plenary session in Freising was to have addressed the "Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Structure of the Church: Conciliarity and Authority."

Meanwhile, however, as sweeping changes were taking place in Eastern Europe, the question of "uniatism" became more urgent. In 1988 at New Valamo, a special subcommission was formed to deal specifically with the question. By the time it met next, in Vienna in January 1990, the Berlin Wall had fallen and the ecclesiastical situation in Eastern Europe was changing rapidly. Despite a long-standing policy that only the full Joint Commission could issue official statements, the conclusions of the Vienna subcommission meeting were released to the press (by the Orthodox side, it should be noted, in order to exert pressure on the Vatican to curb perceived uniate hostility). The statement presupposes that the relationship between Orthodox and Catholics must be based on an "ecclesiology of sister churches"; from this it follows that "uniatism can no longer be considered a model" for reunion and that "any form of soteriological exclusivism" and "any kind of proselytism violating the religious freedom of conscience and using illicit or illegitimate means" must be rejected.<sup>6</sup>

The Vienna statement also contains two sentences which subsequently have been misunderstood due to misquotation and/or misrepresentation:

– "[T]he use of the liturgical rites and vestments which belong to the traditional heritage of one or the other of the two Churches by the communities and members of the clergy of the other Church is to be rejected *if this is done with a view to proselytizing*" (our emphasis). Regrettably, this last phrase has been omitted by some critics who wish to claim that the Vienna statement unequivocally condemned the use of Byzantine rites and vestments by Catholics or else completely misquoted. For example, one writer asserts that the Vienna subcommission advocated strict prohibition of use of vestments belonging to another church "*because it is done with a view to proselytizing.*"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Available in *Quest for Unity* 53-64, 93-104, 131-42 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Full text in the Greek and French editions of *Episkepsis* 433 (February 15, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> E. Clapsis, "The Roman Catholic Church and Orthodoxy: Twenty-Five Years after Vatican II," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 35 (1990) 235.

– “While the Orthodox members of the subcommission appreciated the reasons for the position of the Roman Catholic members that Churches which have long existed should not be requested simply to be amalgamated into another Church even if their origin is subject to criticism, they [*i.e.*, the Orthodox] still had to recall the decision of the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Rhodes which states that ‘the abolition of Uniatism and the incorporation of the members of the Uniate Churches either in the Latin Roman Catholic Church or in the Orthodox Church, upon free choice,’ should be the solution to the problem.” In some translations of this sentence the word “Orthodox” in the first line was omitted, giving the false impression that all the members of the subcommission, Catholic as well as Orthodox, favored this solution. Among other things, this created a very negative impression among Eastern Catholics in Transylvania, where one of these translations was published by the Orthodox. In addition, the reference to the Pan-Orthodox Rhodes Conference, introduced into the statement on the force of a paper by Fr. Theodore Zissis<sup>8</sup> and repeated many times since by critics of the Balamand Statement and of the process leading to it, in fact is altogether inaccurate. The Third Rhodes Conference in 1964 did issue a sharp critique of Vatican II’s decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* and of uniatism generally, but the suggestion that it made abolition of the uniate communities an indispensable prerequisite for dialogue comes from a commentary on the conference by Prof. John N. Karmires.<sup>9</sup>

These two examples give an idea of how many of the “facts” adduced by critics of the Balamand Statement have come into being.

Also in January 1990, high-level discussions in Moscow between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church led to “Recommendations for the Normalization of Relations between Orthodox and Catholics of the Eastern Rite in the Western Ukraine.”<sup>10</sup> Much to the chagrin of both Moscow and the Vatican, these very practical recommendations (*e.g.*, for equitable division and/or sharing of church properties on the basis of present-day religious identification) were rejected by the local Ukrainian Catholics, who insisted on *restitutio in integrum* of all properties held by them be-

<sup>8</sup> “Uniatism: A Problem in the Dialogue Between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics,” cited n. 2 above.

<sup>9</sup> Included in his *Δογματικά Μνημεία* II.1007-8.

<sup>10</sup> Published in *Information Service* 71 (1989, III-IV) 131-33 and *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1990, no. 5, 8-9.

fore the Soviet suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946. Nevertheless, largely at the insistence of the Orthodox, the recommendations and general principles set forth in the 1990 Moscow discussions as well as in the Vienna statement are repeated, sometimes practically verbatim, in subsequent international Orthodox/Roman Catholic statements on uniatism, from Freising (1990) through Ariccia (1991) to Balamand (1993).

By the time the sixth plenary session of the Joint Commission met in Freising in June 1990, relations between Catholics and Orthodox in Eastern Europe had deteriorated still further. At the insistence of the Orthodox membership, the Commission set aside its draft document on "Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Structure of the Church" and, interrupting the normal progression for the dialogue as set forth in its original "Plan," turned its attention exclusively to the subject of "uniatism." The resulting Freising Statement, developed "on the spot" without the usual preliminary drafts, was issued at the request of the Orthodox, who considered it highly favorable to Orthodox interests and therefore have invoked it repeatedly since then in an effort to pressure the Vatican into restraining the uniates more effectively.<sup>11</sup> The statement acknowledged "uniatism" as "an urgent problem to be treated with priority over all other subjects to be discussed in the dialogue" (para. 6a). It then goes on to define "uniatism" in this context to mean "the effort which aims to bring about the unity of the Church by separating from the Orthodox Church communities or Orthodox faithful without taking into account that, according to ecclesiology, the Orthodox Church is a sister-Church which itself offers the means of grace and salvation. In this sense... we reject 'Uniatism' as a method of unity opposed to the common Tradition of our Churches." (para. 6b) "Today, when our Churches meet on the basis of the ecclesiology of communion between sister-Churches, it would be regretful [sic] to destroy the important work for the unity of the Churches accomplished through the dialogue, by going back to the method of 'Uniatism'." (para. 6d) The statement then goes on to various practical recommendations, among other things emphasizing the need for religious liberty (para. 7a) and rejecting "proselytism" as "a misuse of pastoral energy" (para. 7c).

<sup>11</sup> Text in *Information Service* 73 (1990, II) 52-53, SOP no. 149 (June-July 1990) 25-27, *Sourozh* no. 43 (February 1991) 24-27.

The Freising Statement concluded by noting that “the study of this question will be carried forward” Returning to its standard operating procedures, the Joint Commission entrusted preparation of a draft text for consideration at its plenary session to three joint subcommittees and then to its joint coordinating committee, which completed this task at Ariccia (near Rome) in June 1991 Contrary to standard operating procedures, however, this draft text was published later that month in the *Information Bulletin* of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, again because it was regarded as highly favorable to the Orthodox position, and subsequently in numerous other publications, in English,<sup>12</sup> Greek, French and Russian The Ariccia draft thus enjoyed wide circulation and received many favorable comments among Orthodox and some Catholics in North America and Western Europe, though it was regarded by many uniates as a sell-out of their interests It was precisely this Ariccia draft which served as the basis for discussion at Balamand in 1993, where it was adopted by the full Joint Commission with only minimal additions and modifications Thus, far from being hastily adopted in an atmosphere of secrecy, as its critics have implied, the Balamand Statement represents the culmination of a long and relatively public process unprecedented in the history of international Orthodox/Catholic dialogue

The Joint Commission was to have held its seventh plenary session at Balamand in June 1992, but civil strife in Lebanon forced postponement to 1993, and even then some travel restrictions impeded preparations When the Joint Commission did meet, six of fifteen Orthodox Churches were not represented This has prompted considerable speculation Did the churches in question refuse to participate? Were they not invited? In fact the reasons for these absences differ from church to church

- Civil war was raging in Georgia, even on the streets of Tblisi, making travel impossible

- The Patriarchate of Jerusalem stopped participating in the work of all the theological dialogues in which the Orthodox are engaged as early as 1986, though without officially withdrawing from any of them As anyone familiar with that Church knows, its reasons for doing so

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1991, no. 10, 60-62, reprinted in *Sourozh* no. 47 (February 1992) 32-37

may have less to do with theological principle than with its desire to maintain the control of the predominantly Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher over the properties of a Church whose flock consists largely of Palestinians. Virtually any effort to address Palestinian concerns on the part of the Protestant and Catholic Churches there (whose heads at this point, in contrast to the Orthodox Patriarchate's, are all native Palestinians) is denounced by the Patriarchate as proselytism.

- The Bulgarian Orthodox Church was still trying to cope with its internal schism.

- The Church of the recently separated Czech and Slovak Republics had its own internal difficulties, as it began the transition to life as two loosely linked semi-autonomous churches. Initially, Metropolitan Dorotheos of Prague and the Czech element favored sending representatives, while the two bishops of Eastern Slovakia did not. In order to avoid further disintegration, the Metropolitan in the end decided not to send representatives.

- The Serbian Orthodox Church, wracked by strife in the former Yugoslavia, declined to send representatives not because of problems with uniatism or proselytism but because of the Vatican's perceived support for Croatia, Macedonia, and other anti-Serb interests.

- The Church of Greece, on the other hand, refused to participate in the Balamand meeting precisely because "agreement on documents would not in itself bring sufficient change in the objectionable aspects of Rome's behavior" in the matter of uniatism.

It might be noted that both the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Church of Greece had also boycotted an earlier plenary session of the Joint Commission (Bari), that time because they interpreted an exhibition of Macedonian icons in the Vatican Museum as evidence of Roman Catholic recognition of the schismatic "Macedonian Orthodox Church" and of the former Yugoslav republic's claim to the name of Macedonia.

The purpose of Joint Commission in issuing the Balamand Statement was preeminently practical. Roughly half the document is devoted to recommendations for rules and guidelines intended "to lead to a just and definitive solution to the difficulties which the Oriental Catholic Churches present to the Orthodox Church" (para. 17). These rules and guidelines call for:

- reciprocal exchanges of information about various pastoral projects (para. 22);

- avoidance of those forms of philanthropic activity that might be construed as attempts to “buy” new adherents to the detriment of the other Church (para. 24);
- open dialogue at the local level;
- avoidance of all forms of violence;
- mutual respect for each other’s places of worship and even sharing of facilities when circumstances require (para. 28);
- respect for the spiritual life and sacramental discipline of the other Church (para. 29a);
- consultation before the establishment of new pastoral projects which might unnecessarily parallel or even undermine those of the other Church in the same territory (para. 29b);
- dissipation of inherited prejudicial readings of the historical record, especially in the preparation of future priests (para. 30);
- resolution of differences (*e.g.*, over property) through fraternal dialogue rather than by recourse to the civil authorities or to merely legal principles (para. 31);
- objectivity in the presentation of events and issues in the mass media (para. 32).

The similarity of these rules and guidelines to positions long advocated by the Orthodox is evident.

The Joint Commission hopes that, “by excluding for the future all proselytism and all desire for expansion by Catholics at the expense of the Orthodox Church,” it has “overcome the obstacles which impelled certain autocephalous Orthodox Churches to suspend their participation in the theological dialogue” (para. 35). To this end, the statement reaffirms a position already set forth in the Vienna, Freising and Ariccia documents: that uniatism “can no longer be accepted either as a method to be followed or as a model of the unity our Churches are seeking” (para. 11, cf. 2). At the same time, the statement acknowledges the Eastern Catholic Churches’ “right to exist and to act in answer to the spiritual needs of their faithful” (para. 3). How is this second affirmation to be understood in relation to the first? Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople has expressed in characteristically direct terms the view of most mainstream Orthodox on the subject:

The common declaration of Balamand, in renewing the condemnation of uniatism as a method of restoring unity, certainly bears witness, even if in an indirect manner, to a change of heart by the Western Church concerning an unacceptable method it has used in centuries past. But also, in all that is said there about the rights and pastoral needs of the ecclesial communities of eastern rite born of uniatism that are in full communion with the bishop of Rome, it becomes clear that the Orthodox tolerate an abnormal ecclesiological situation out of love for the peaceful coexistence of the disputing parties in the regions of conflict, until such time as the uniate churches finally realize where they belong.<sup>13</sup>

The Balamand Statement aims at fostering an atmosphere in which fruitful theological dialogue can resume. It therefore speaks of itself simply as “a necessary stage” (para. 15). Clearly the existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches in their present form remains an anomaly, an “abnormal ecclesiological situation,” to use the patriarch’s words. We may hope that renewed discussion of ecclesiological issues, in accordance with the Joint Commission’s original working plan, will remedy this situation and carry Orthodox/Catholic relations beyond Balamand’s “necessary stage.”

Thus far, reception and implementation of the Balamand Statement has varied from region to region:

– The Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church formally accepted the statement at its meeting of July 6-7, 1993, and agreed to continue dialogue provided that the statement’s recommendations are “accepted and applied by both sides.” On the other hand, Romanian uniates have attacked the statement as an example of “anti-Catholic ecumenism,” objecting especially to para. 31, which calls for fraternal resolution of property disputes rather than *restitutio in integrum* of properties as they were in 1948. A vitriolic diatribe by Bishop

<sup>13</sup> *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 500-501. Patriarch Bartholomew has since expressed himself even more forcefully on the subject in an address to Pope John Paul II on the occasion of an official visit to Rome for the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 1995, published in *Episkepsis* no. 520 (July 31, 1995) and in English translation in *Eastern Churches Journal* 2.3 (Autumn 1995) 29-31. The patriarch expresses surprise not only that the local situations have not improved since Balamand but also that “the provisional toleration of the irregular regime of uniatism, tolerated only by ecclesiastical economy, has been considered by the Church of Rome as a total amnesty granted to uniatism; in other words, that uniatism has become a definitively regularized situation and thus a legitimate ecclesial model.”



Georges Gutiu presents the unia as the source of Romanian national enlightenment and liberation from the dark domination of the "Greco-Bulgarian Church."<sup>14</sup> The same bishop has also asserted that "no one can oblige us to accept all the points of the document in question because this is not a dogmatic issue expressed by the Holy Father or by a Vatican Council which would demand our acceptance."<sup>15</sup> Clearly this bishop, like so many uniates in Eastern Europe, remains frozen in a pre-Vatican II mindset which cannot conceive of Catholic/Orthodox relations in anything other than the confrontational terms of 1948.

– Also discouraging is the situation in Slovakia, where Eastern Catholic/Orthodox relations are complicated by national tensions between those identifying as Slovak and those identifying as Rusin. The close association of Eastern Catholic Bishop Hirko (and his patron the Slovak Cardinal Tado) with the present Slovak government initially created a number of difficulties for the Orthodox especially in property matters.

– More hopeful may be the situation in the former Soviet Union. A joint communiqué issued after high-level discussions between representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Vatican in March 1994 signaled Moscow's acceptance of the Balamand statement and called attention especially to the need to implement its practical rules. Since then, in the context of semiannual discussions between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, both parties have urged "that above all efforts must be intensified so that the Balamand document and its suggestions may be better known, received and put into practice."<sup>16</sup> On the Ukrainian Catholic side, a letter from Cardinal Lubachivsky to Cardinal Cassidy, President of the Pontifical Council for Christian Unity and co-chair of the Joint Commission, expressed initial unhappiness over specific points in the statement, such as its rejection of uniatism not only as a method but also as a model and its failure to ascribe even partial responsibility to the Russian Orthodox Church for complicity in the suppression of the uniates in 1946.<sup>17</sup> Both in that letter, however, and in a subsequent pastoral letter "On Christian Unity,"<sup>18</sup> Cardinal Lubachivsky also praised the statement and pledged to implement its recommendations.

<sup>14</sup> English translation in *Eastern Churches Journal* 1.2 (Summer 1994) 49-52.

<sup>15</sup> *OCA News*, July 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Joint communiqué of the January 12-13, 1996, meeting, as quoted in *Eastern Churches Journal* 3.1 (Spring 1996) 215

<sup>17</sup> English translation in *Eastern Churches Journal* 1.1 (Winter 1993-94) 29-35.

<sup>18</sup> English translation in *Eastern Churches Journal* 1.2 (Summer 1994) 7-47.

Since then the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been particularly active in attempting to make post-Vatican II Catholic principles of ecumenism better known in Eastern Catholic circles. Nevertheless, practical problems are bound to arise, particularly given the canonical fragmentation of Orthodoxy in Ukraine at the present time: With which of the three rival jurisdictions are the uniates to cooperate?

— The most negative responses to Balamand from the Orthodox side—precisely the responses which are being widely circulated in the United States—have been coming from Greece, not only from Old Calendarists and Mount Athos but also from some official church spokesmen and most recently from the Permanent Holy Synod of the Church of Greece itself.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that these criticisms are by no means uniform and monolithic. In some cases the Balamand statement is criticized as self-contradictory (How can the uniates exist without the uniatism which Balamand claims to condemn?) and unrealistic in its expectations. In other cases (*e.g.*, among Old Calendarists) Balamand is regarded as yet another sign of the utter betrayal of the Orthodox faith by the Ecumenical Patriarch and his fellow ecumenists. In yet other cases, personal idiosyncrasy may play a role. Great care must be taken to evaluate each critical statement on its own merits. At least one common element may be noted: a strong antipathy to Rome in general and to the unia in particular. This may at first seem odd, since unlike Romania and the former Soviet Union, where uniates are numerous and practical problems in everyday relations are legion, Greece has only a very negligible uniate population. Out of approximately 60,000 Catholics, only about 2300 belong to the “Byzantine Apostolic Exarchate.” But that Exarchate does represent some of the worst aspects of uniatism. It was created by proselytization precisely as a token of Rome’s opposition to the ecclesial claims of the established Orthodox Church, without even pretending to be a real union of churches. Its continued maintenance by Rome today is understandably taken as a deliberate affront by the Orthodox of Greece.

Finally, it should be noted that the Balamand Statement has received a generally favorable response from Orthodox and Catholic theologians in the West. In its response to the Balamand Statement, the U.S. Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation, while noting certain limitations, referred to the statement as “a strong and positive contribution to the theological dialogue between our churches.”<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>19</sup> See n. 2 above.

<sup>20</sup> Para. 17; text in *Quest for Unity* 184-90 at p. 190.

Catholic/Orthodox Mixed Commission of France (whose membership includes such noted Orthodox theologians as Olivier Clement, Nicholas Lossky and Boris Bobrinskoy) declared that it “adheres fully to the great ecclesiological principles of the Balamand Statement” and pledged its full support for its implementation: “We express to God-Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – our common thanksgiving and our joy at this Balamand Statement, and we wish to cooperate with all our strength, in our country and elsewhere, to see this Statement received and put into effect in every field where there is a need to work for an authentic life of Sister-Churches ‘that the world may believe’.”<sup>21</sup>

A major question at this point is whether Rome has the will and capacity to bring the Eastern Catholic Churches into compliance with the provisions of the Balamand Statement, given the resistance of local uniates like Bishop Gutiu. The statement itself hints that this may be a problem. Especially striking is para.16, which was absent in the earlier Ariccia draft:

The Oriental Catholic Churches... have the rights and obligations which are connected with this communion [with the see of Rome]. The principles determining their attitude towards the Orthodox are those which have been stated by the Second Vatican Council and have been put into practice by the Popes who have clarified the practical consequences flowing from these principles .... These Churches, then, should be inserted, on both local and universal levels, into the dialogue of love... and enter into the theological dialogue, with all its practical implications.

Orthodox critics of the Balamand Statement have seized upon the words “enter into the theological dialogue,” as though this represented a novel development. In fact, at least two Eastern Catholics, appointed by Rome, have been members of the Joint International Commission from its inception. More significant, in light of local uniate resistance, is the stress on their obligation to follow Vatican II principles in relations with the Orthodox and to accept the “practical implications” of the theological dialogue (*e.g.*, Balamand’s proposed rules and guidelines). For its part, Rome appears to be making an effort to explain these matters to the local Eastern Catholic leaders. For ex-

<sup>21</sup> English translation in *Eastern Churches Journal* 1.2 (Summer 1994) 57-62.

ample, after their initial very negative reaction to the Balamand document, the Romanian Greek-Catholic bishops were invited to Rome and (among other things) spent an entire day with Cardinal Cassidy of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity reviewing the document in the light of contemporary Catholic teaching on ecumenism. Also noteworthy was a seminar on ecumenism, jointly organized by the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, in which representatives of eleven Eastern Catholic churches of the Byzantine tradition heard Cardinals Cassidy and Willebrands explain Rome's ecumenical policies with regard to the Orthodox (Venice, September 26-29, 1994). Whether the Eastern Catholics will take heed remains to be seen. In part this depends on whether the local Orthodox will remain as patient and cooperative as they were when the Balamand Statement first appeared. In any case, Archbishop Stylianos (Orthodox co-chairman of the Joint Commission) estimates that the "reception process" will be going on for some time to come, and he has stated that the theological work of the Joint Commission will not resume until some progress in this area is evident.

While most of the churchmen who have supported the process leading to the Balamand Statement – and also many of those who have criticized this process – have been most concerned about practical problems relating to the revival of the uniate churches in Eastern Europe, some critics of Balamand have focused on questions of ecclesiological principle. This has been especially true in the literature of Greek provenance which has circulated so widely in the North America. Issues include the concept of "sister churches," presentation of the historical record of Orthodox/Catholic relations, and the practice of rebaptism.

It is ironic that the concept of "sister churches" has been singled out for criticism, since, as is evident from the foregoing account of discussions leading to Balamand, this is precisely the concept which Orthodox on the international level have been trying hardest to advance. In employing the language of "sister churches," the Orthodox have in mind the ecclesiology which was characteristic of the first millennium of the Church's life and is still characteristic of Orthodoxy, according to which the Church is conceived as a *κοινωνία* of local sister churches. As church history shows, full communion between these churches, expressed preeminently in eucharistic

fellowship, sometimes has been broken by disputes of various sorts, including disputes over doctrinal issues. The fourth and fifth centuries are filled with examples; so is the history of relations between Rome and Constantinople in the early Middle Ages. Yet even then, certain other aspects of *κοινωνία* (veneration of holy places, charitable assistance, *etc.*) continued, allowing hope for future reconciliation, and the same basic understanding of ecclesiology remained in place. From the eleventh century, this began to change in the West. Popes began to claim Rome as the “universal mother Church.” Against such claims the East reasserted its ancient understanding. For example, at the beginning of the thirteenth century Patriarch John X Camateros writing to Innocent III insisted that “Rome is the first among equal sisters of the same dignity.”

The expression “sister church” did not cease to be used for the Western Church after full communion ended. It is therefore inaccurate to assert that the expression is never used “to describe a Church that is not in total doctrinal agreement with her,” that “the only Sister Churches for an Orthodox Church are the other Orthodox Churches.” In the nineteenth century, for example, N.A. Muraviev, Assistant Ober-Procurator, and Metropolitan Platon of Kiev both referred to the Western Church as the “sister” of the Eastern Church; in 1948 Patriarch Alexis I – certainly no friend of Roman Catholicism – nevertheless called the Roman Church a “sister church.”<sup>22</sup> What is remarkable about the use of the term since 1963, when Patriarch Athenagoras I and Pope Paul VI reintroduced it into modern Orthodox/Roman Catholic dialogue, is not that the Orthodox should use it with reference to the Roman Church but that Rome should use it with reference to the Orthodox Churches. While the precise significance and practical implications of the expression have not been fully explored – it is not, after all, a technical term in canon law –, virtually everyone has acknowledged that its use by modern popes represents a breakthrough in relations.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Further references in Bishop Maximos Aghiorgousis, “‘Sister Churches’: Ecclesiological Implications,” in *Ἐπιστημονική Παρουσία Ἑστίας Θεολόγων Χάλκης Τόμος Γ΄: Ἐκατονπεντηκονταετηρίς Ἱερᾶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης 1844-1994* (Athens 1994) 349-99.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the articles by E. Lanne and J. Meyendorff on “Eglises-soeurs,” *Istina* 20 (1975) 47-74 and 35-46 respectively, and the major book by W. Hryniewicz, *Kościół i Stosunek, dialog katolicko-prawosławny 1980-1991* (Warsaw: Verbinum, 1993).

A further source of complaint about the Balamand Statement is its presentation of the genesis of the uniate churches and their impact on relations between Orthodox and Catholics (para. 6-11). In its efforts to achieve brevity and even-handedness, the presentation at points becomes vague or imprecise. As a result, Orthodox have complained that the statement fails to do justice to the great wrongs which they suffered in the creation of the uniate churches, while the uniates have complained that the statement fails to recognize the Orthodox Churches' complicity in the suppressions of 1946-48. In fact the statement deliberately refuses to render specific judgments or to apportion blame in a precise way. But to say that "faults leading to separation belong to both sides" (para. 30) is not the same as to say that both sides are equally to blame or that the historical causes of division are a matter of indifference. Accurate and dispassionate historical study is precisely what is needed in order to correct the uncritically received misinformation that abounds on both sides.

This is particularly true when the origin and nature of the uniate churches are discussed. In fact they differ considerably one from another. They range from the Byzantine Apostolic Exarchate in Greece on the one hand, whose leading characteristics already have been described, to the Melkite Church on the other, whose beginnings, continuing history and actual life by no means conform to stereotypical images of "uniatism." Somewhere in between is the Ukrainian Catholic Church established by the Union of Brest. As recent studies indicate, the situation in the lands of Kievan Rus' in the period of Brest is much more complex than older Roman Catholic or Orthodox presentations suggested.<sup>24</sup> Brest is a story not only of political and social pressures and episcopal ambition but also of frustrated hopes for a genuine reunion of the churches – hopes held not only by ambitious unionists but also by sympathetic figures like Prince Constantine of Ostrog who ultimately do not accept union as it was engineered at Brest.

Another example of the need for further investigation and exposition of the historical record can be seen in para. 10 of the Balamand Statement and in reactions to it. The paragraph describes a situation in which

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, the contributions of Hryniewicz, Meyendorff and Pavlov to the volume *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39 - 1989*, ed. G. Alberigo (Louvain, 1991).

missionary activity tended to include among its priorities the effort to convert other Christians, individually or in groups, so as 'to bring them back' to one's own Church. In order to legitimize this tendency, a source of proselytism, the Catholic Church developed the theological vision according to which she presented herself as the only one to whom salvation was entrusted. As a reaction, the Orthodox Church, in turn, came to accept the same vision according to which only in her could salvation be found.

In response, critics of the Balamand Statement assert that

It was not as a reaction against Unia that our Holy Orthodox Church began to believe that she exclusively possessed salvation, but believed it before Unia existed, from the time of the Schism, which took place for reasons of dogma. The Orthodox Church did not await the coming of Unia in order to acquire the consciousness that she is the unadulterated continuation of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, because she has always had this self-awareness...<sup>25</sup>

In fact the question is more complex. Certainly the Orthodox Church has always had the self-awareness of being the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. The question is, when and how did the Orthodox Church develop the awareness that the Roman Catholic Church was altogether outside this reality? And conversely, when and how did the Roman Catholic Church develop the awareness that the Orthodox Church was altogether outside this reality? When were the "limits" of the Church defined in such a way as completely to exclude the other? No one acquainted with church history would attempt to give a precise date for this, whether 1054 or any other. Certainly many aspects of *κοινωνία* continued between the Churches long after the formal schism of that year.

The Balamand Statement does oversimplify on this point. As the U.S. Orthodox/Catholic Consultation has noted in its response to the Balamand Statement, its "historical account does not highlight the important role which the Protestant Reformation played in the West and its impact on Roman Catholic ecclesiology. Mention of this would help to explain how attitudes of exclusivism, justly criticized in the Document, developed among Roman Catholics not primarily in response to the Orthodox but to other crises and controversies."<sup>26</sup> But

<sup>25</sup> Letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople from...Mount Athos, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Para. 8, *Quest for Unity* p. 187.

eventually this “soteriological exclusivism” was applied to the Orthodox. By the early eighteenth century, the Congregation for the Propaganda was forbidding any *communicatio in sacris* with the “dissident orientals” and Latin missionaries were flooding the East to make converts of individuals or fragmented groups, judging a partial union a partial success. Gone was any conception of a reunion of sister churches. And the Orthodox responded in kind by prescribing the rebaptism of Latins (1755) – hence the words “as a reaction” in the Balamand Statement.

Para. 10 of the Statement continues, with implied criticism: “To assure the salvation of the ‘separated brethren’ it even happened that Christians were rebaptized....” Para. 13 is more emphatic: “it is clear that any rebaptism must be avoided.” In commenting on these passages, critics of Balamand have offered the following account of Orthodox practice: “The Orthodox Church according to ἀκρίβεια (strictness) baptizes those coming from heretical groups because there is no authority for recognizing the validity of sacraments performed by those who are outside the Church. At times, however, the principle of οἰκονομία has been employed in the acceptance of converts. They are not baptized but rather received by chrismation or at times by profession of faith, so that the baptismal rite performed outside the Church may become a sacrament.” Various versions of this theory of sacramental economy have been invoked in Orthodox critiques of the Balamand Statement. According to most, acceptance by “economy” does not in itself constitute “a judgment on the validity or non-validity of the sacraments of the Church of origin, since there are no mysteries outside the Body of Christ” (Romanides). Hence Balamand’s emphatic rejection of rebaptism is regarded as a dangerous innovation.

The theory in question, though taken as axiomatic by many of Balamand’s critics, in fact is itself a relatively recent innovation, having been developed in the wake of the controversy over Latin baptism in the mid-eighteenth century and given definitive expression in St. Nicodemos the Haghiorite’s commentaries on the *Pedalion*. Most scholars these days would agree with Fr. Georges Florovsky, who dismissed the theory as “a private ‘theological opinion,’ very late and very controversial, having arisen in a period of theological confusion and decadence in a hasty endeavor to disassociate oneself from Ro-



man theology as sharply as possible.”<sup>27</sup>

In fact, prior to the eighteenth century, Roman Catholic (re)baptism of the Orthodox is much better attested than the converse. Massive rebaptism of the Orthodox in Bulgaria and Hungary in the later Middle Ages was the subject of complaints by Emperor John Cantacuzenos to the papal legate. Farther north, the Poles and Teutonic Knights preferred to regard their Orthodox neighbors as pagans – and thus as subjects for baptism – in order to justify their conquest. Only in the sixteenth century was this practice mitigated by the substitution of conditional baptism. Muscovite Russia for a time responded in kind, by rebaptizing (though without developing a theory of sacramental economy). But generally the Orthodox followed a practice which St. Basil the Great (canon 1) already considered ancient, distinguishing between the forms which separation might take. Only heretics in the narrowest sense of the word, who were “wholly cut off and estranged from the faith,” such as the Gnostics, were to be received by baptism. “Schismatics,” whose separation “can be remedied” and whose ranks included many whom we might label heretics, and also “parasynagogues” (adherents of illegal congregations) were to be received by anointing with chrism or simply by profession of faith. In practice this meant baptism only of those not already baptized in the name of the Trinity.

It should also be noted that, given the present situation in Eastern Europe, Balamand’s strictures against reiteration of the sacraments may be more applicable to Catholics than to the Orthodox. As Cardinal Lubachivsky indicates in his pastoral letter “On Christian Unity,” many Ukrainian Catholics have been questioning the validity of ordinations performed in the Moscow Patriarchate because of its alleged collaboration with the former communist government. He therefore states that “the Catholic Church unequivocally recognizes all the sacraments of the canonical Orthodox Church, without any reservation.” The same holds true for Balamand’s unusual emphasis on apostolic succession (para. 13 and 30), which contrasts with the more nuanced approach taken in the Joint Commission’s earlier Valamo Statement.

<sup>27</sup> In “The Limits of the Church,” *Church Quarterly Review* 117 (October 1933) 125. On the subject see also J. Erickson, “Sacramental ‘Economy’ in Recent Roman Catholic Thought,” *The Jurist* 48 (1988) 653-67, and F.J. Thomson, “Economy: An Examination of the Various Theories of Economy in the Orthodox Church,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965) 368-420.

According to several participants in the Balamand meeting, the language and conceptual framework of an older scholastic sacramental theology was employed here precisely to avoid possible misunderstanding on the part of local churchmen, whose contact with theological developments effectively ended in 1945, if not in 1918.

Notwithstanding the indignant rhetoric of so much of the current anti-Balamand literature, it in fact contains a number of internal contradictions and inconsistencies as well as misinformation. For example, presentations by several Old Calendarists in the United States and even the open letter to Patriarch Bartholomew from the Athonites appeal to the authority of Florovsky, without noting not only that Florovsky was a noteworthy ecumenist but also that he was an outspoken opponent of the economic approach to sacramental theology and the exclusivist ecclesiology which they present as true Orthodoxy. The old maxim "Consider the source" should be kept in mind. Behind the current round of tendentious attacks on the Balamand Statement are the groups which for so long have been attacking the Ecumenical Patriarchate and indeed the whole of canonical Orthodoxy. What is needed at the present time is sobriety and a sense of balance, not hysteria; truth and candor, not deliberate disinformation.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Eucharistic and Therapeutic Spirituality

---

PETROS VASSILIADIS<sup>1</sup>

Studying the new three-volume reference work, *Christian Spirituality*,<sup>2</sup> one immediately is led to the conclusion that among the various expressions of Christian spirituality, the most important have been *monastic* and *liturgical* spirituality. The two were, after all, the tendencies which, from the very beginning, developed within Christian ecclesiology: the therapeutic or cathartic, and the eucharistic or liturgical, which for one reason or another have been connected with the above expressions of Christian spirituality.<sup>3</sup>

The brief study which follows concerns these two expressions of Christian spirituality. It consciously revolves around three groups of terms/axes, which at first glance etymologically seem diametrically opposed. On the one hand, ecclesia-liturgy-eucharist, all suggestive of gathering together, collectiveness, and corporate reality; and on

<sup>1</sup> This article first appeared in Greek in my book *Lex Orandi: Μελέτες Λειτουργικής Θεολογίας* (Thessaloniki, 1994) 107-135. This translated version has undergone only necessary minor modifications.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Jill Raitt-Bernard McGinn-John Meyendorff, (New York: Crossroad, 1985ff.). This 3-volume work is part of a 25-volume encyclopedia of world spirituality under the general title, *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*. This work with substantial Orthodox contribution is to be placed next to the 3-volume work by L. Bouyer-J. Leclercq-F. Vandenbroucke, *A History of Christian Spirituality* (New York, 1982) (translated from the French *Histoire de la spiritualité* (Paris 1965); cf. also for the Eastern spirituality L. Gillet, *Ὁρθόδοξος Πνευματικότητα* (Greek transl. by S. Agouridis) n.d. and the 2 volume work by T. Spidlik, *La Spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien* (Roma: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> See the introductory to the above trilogy article by J. Zizioulas, "The Early Christian Community," B. McGinn-J. Meyendorff (eds.), *Christian Spirituality I. Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1985) 23-43 id., *Θέματα Ἐκκλησιολογίας* (Thessaloniki, 1991), pp 25ff.

the other, monasticism-anchoritism-hermitism, suggesting isolation and seclusion. Both of them in connection to the eschaton, which in contrast to both of the above groups of terms which are related to historical realities, is clearly understood as a transcendent, or at least meta-historical event. Only within a dialectical relationship and juxtaposition of these three basic components of Christianity can one grasp the subject we are examining.<sup>4</sup>

I will attempt, therefore, to approach critically and very briefly the development of these two essential expressions of Christian spirituality, analyzing as far as possible their relationship, differences and mutual impact, having as basic point of reference the radical biblical eschatology of the primitive Church. This extremely fragmentary introduction, of necessity, will naturally be limited primarily to the East, the domain most familiar to me, and for the most part will reflect the prism of the Eastern Church's ecclesiology and liturgical evolution.

Christian spirituality is unquestionably determined by the teaching, life and work of Christ. His teaching, however, and especially his life and work, cannot be properly understood without reference to the eschatological expectations of Judaism. Without entering the complexities of Jewish eschatology, we could say very briefly that it was interwoven with the expectation of the coming of the Messiah. In the "last days" of history (the *Eschaton*) he would establish his kingdom by calling the dispersed and afflicted people of God into one place to become one body united around him. The statement in Jn 11:51-52 about the Messiah's role is extremely important. There, the writer interprets the words of the Jewish High Priest by affirming that "he prophesied that Jesus should die... not for the nation only but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad" (RSV).<sup>5</sup>

Throughout the Gospels, Jesus identifies himself with this Messiah. We see this in the various Messianic titles he chose for himself, or at least as witnessed by the most primitive Christian tradition ("Son

<sup>4</sup> It is exactly for that purpose that I have pointed out on another occasion that authentic Christian spirituality – despite the fact that it is generally identified with "the inner dimension of the human person, which in different traditions is called *pneuma* where it is open to the transcendent dimension, and lives in ultimate reality (from the working definition of *World Spirituality*, [*Christian Spirituality I*, xiii]) – is in fact related to the *Holy Spirit*, without of course denying the human person (see my "La pneumatologia ortodossa e la contemplazione," *Vedere Dio* (Bologna, 1994), p. 86)

<sup>5</sup> Regarding this Messianic perception, see Is 66 18, Mt 25.32, Rom 12 16, *Didache* 9:4b; *Mart Polyc.* 22:3b; Clement of Rome, 1 Cor 12 6 etc

of man", "Son of God", etc., most of which had a collective meaning, whence the Christology of "corporate personality"). We see it as well in the parables of the kingdom, which summarize his teaching, proclaiming that his coming initiates the new world of the Kingdom of God, in the Lord's Prayer, but also in his conscious acts (e.g. the selection of the twelve, etc.). In short, Christ identified himself with the Messiah of the *Eschaton* who would be the center of the gathering of the dispersed people of God.

It was precisely on this radical eschatological teaching of the historical Jesus about the Kingdom of God (which as modern biblical research has shown moves dialectically between the "already" and the "not yet;" in other words, begins already in the present but will be completed in its final authentic form in the *eschaton*) that the early Church has developed her spirituality. From the writings of Paul, John, and Luke, in addition to other works, we see this teaching reflected in images of the Church as the Body of Christ, as Vine, and especially as Unity. The apostle Paul in particular was absolutely convinced that all who have believed in Christ have been incorporated into his body through Baptism, completing their incorporation into the one people of God with the Eucharist. The fourth Gospel develops this radical eschatological teaching even further in regard to the unity of the people of God around Christ and their incorporation into Christ's body through the Eucharist above all. However, even during the period of oral tradition there were clear indications of similar concepts as witnessed, for example, by the account of the multiplication of loaves and the words of institution<sup>6</sup> of the Eucharist.

The main contribution, which primitive Christian theology has made to the development of this Messianic eschatology, was the common belief of almost all theologians of the early Church, emphasized and underlined most sharply by St. Luke, that with Christ's Resurrection and especially with Pentecost, the *Eschaton* had already entered history. They also believed that the Messianic eschatological community becomes a reality each time the Church, the new Israel, the dispersed people of God, gathers "ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό" (in one place), especially when it gathers to celebrate the Holy Eucharist.

The spirituality, therefore, which stems from the awareness of this eschatological nature of the Church has a dynamic, radical, and corporate character. Naturally, therefore, the missiological imperatives

<sup>6</sup> More on this in my "The Biblical Foundation of the Eucharistic Ecclesiology," *Lex Orandi: Studies of Liturgical Theology* (Thessaloniki, 1994), 29ff.

of the early Church had to do with the witness of the Kingdom of God “on earth as it is in heaven” (Mt. 6:10 par).<sup>7</sup> The Apostles were commissioned to proclaim not a set of given religious convictions, doctrines, moral commands etc., but the coming Kingdom, the Good News of a new eschatological reality, which had as its center the crucified and resurrected Christ, the incarnation of God the Logos and His dwelling among us human beings, and his continuous presence through the Holy Spirit, in a life of communion, experienced in their “eucharistic” (in the wider sense) life. The faithful are called to become holy, not as individuals, but as a corporate ecclesial entity. For this reason they are called ἅγιοι (holy); because they belonged to that chosen race of the people of God. That is why they were considered βασιλείον ιεράτευμα (royal priesthood); because all of them, without exception (not just some special caste, such as the priests or levites) have priestly and spiritual authority to practice in the diaspora the work of the priestly class, reminded at the same time to be worthy of their election though their exemplary life and works.<sup>8</sup> That is why they were called to walk towards unity (“so that they may become perfectly one”, Jn. 17:23), to abandon all deeds of darkness and to perfect themselves. They are to become saints (ἅγιοι) because the one who called them out of darkness into light, “from nonexistence into being,” who took them as non-members of the people of God and made them into genuine members of the new eschatological community (1 Pet 2:10, “Once you were no people, now you are God’s people”) which is holy and perfect. “I sanctify myself that they also may be sanctified in truth” (Jn. 17:19, see also Mt 5:48 “You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect”). The writings of John are particularly replete with evidence of the understanding that with the entrance of the *Eschaton* into history all of the characteristic elements of the end – judgment, resurrection, kingdom, and consequently sinlessness, purity – begin to act mystically in the world.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See St. John Chrysostom’s comment on the relevant petition of the Lord’s Prayer: “(Christ) did not say ‘Your will be done’ in me, or in us, but everywhere on earth, so that error may be destroyed, and truth implanted, and all wickedness cast out, and virtue return, and no difference in this respect be henceforth between heaven and earth” (PG 57 Col. 280).

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), has redetermined on the part of Protestant biblical theology the real meaning of the term “βασιλείον ιεράτευμα,” which has so vigorously discussed since the time of Luther. Cf. R. Brown, *Priest and Bishop: Biblical Reflections* (London: Chapman, 1971).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. S. Agouridis, “Sin and Sinlessness in the 1st Epistle of St. John,” *Χαριστήριον*.

No doubt, this initial *horizontal historical eschatology* – which identifies the Church not by what she is in the present, but by what she will become in the *Eschaton* – determines the struggle of humankind for perfection on the ground of the dynamic journey of the people of God as a whole towards the *Eschaton*. It has, nevertheless, become interwoven from the very first days of the Church's life with a *vertical* one, which put the emphasis on a more personal understanding of salvation. No matter for what reasons,<sup>10</sup> from the time of St. Paul there has been a shift of the center of gravity from the (*eucharistic*) *experience* to the (*Christian*) *message*, from *eschatology* to *Christology* (and further and consequently to *soteriology*), from the *event* (the *Kingdom of God*), to the *bearer* and *center* of this event (*Christ*, and more precisely his sacrifice on the cross).<sup>11</sup> However, the Eucharist (the *Theia Koinonia*) always remained the sole expression of the Church's identity.

A little later, on this same biblical foundation we also meet Irenæus, who speaks of "recapitulation" (*Adv. Hær.*, III) and finally Athanasius the Great, who articulated this concept more definitively in his classic statement that "He [God] became man so that we could become god" (*On the Incarn.*, 54). For many Orthodox<sup>12</sup> this doctrine of dei-

---

Τμητικὸς Τόμος Ἀμύλα Σ. Ἀλβιζάτον, (Athens 1958), 537-569, 568; also idem, "Time and Eternity (Eschatology and Mysticism) in the Theology of John the Apostle," *ΕΕΘΣΘ* (1958), 109-156, and 4 (1959), 29-61.

<sup>10</sup> D. Passakos, in his recent doctoral dissertation under my supervision (*Eucharist and Mission: Sociological Presuppositions of the Pauline Theology*, 1997), tried to analyze this "paradigm shift" at that crucial moment of early Christianity and claimed that "the Eucharist in Paul was understood not only as an icon of the *eschata*, but also as a missionary event with cosmic and social consequences. The Eucharist for him was not only the sacrament of the Church, but also the sacrament of the world. Within the pauline communities the Eucharist had a double orientation (in contrast to the overall eschatological and otherworldly dimension of it in earlier tradition): towards the world as diastolic movement, and towards God as a *systolic* movement" (268). According to Passakos, the Eucharist for Paul is at the same time an experience of the *eschata* and a movement toward the *eschata*" (p. 269).

<sup>11</sup> See my *Cross and Salvation. The Soteriological Background of St. Paul's Teaching about the Cross in the Light of the Pre-pauline Interpretation of Jesus's Death*, (Thessaloniki, 1983) (in Greek), an English summary of which can be found in a paper of mine delivered at the 1984 annual Leuven Colloquium Centre of Pauline Soteriology and Apostolic Ministry," A. Vanhoye [ed.], *L'Apôtre Paul: Personnalité, Style et Conception du Ministère* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986) 246-253.

<sup>12</sup> Even a pioneer scholar in the so-called eucharistic spirituality as J. Meyendorff (cf. his "Liturgy and Spirituality: I. Eastern Liturgical Theology," *Christian Spirituality. I: Origins to the Twelfth Century*; 350-363), admits, though not wholeheartedly, this dimension of Eastern Orthodox theology (see his "Penance in the Orthodox Church," 18 (1988) 108-111.



fication is the crux of the Orthodox understanding of the Church, of sacraments, and in general, of spirituality.

Although some theologians consider this second concept, which was mingled with the original biblical/semitic thought, as stemming from Greek philosophers (Stoics and others), nevertheless it is more than clear that the horizontal-eschatological view was the predominant one in New Testament and in other early Christian writings. The vertical-soteriological view was always understood within the context of the horizontal-eschatological perspective as supplemental and complementary. This is why the liturgical experience of the early Church is incomprehensible without its social dimension (see Acts 2:42ff., 1 Cor 11:1ff., Heb 13:10-16; Justin, *1 Apology* 67; Irenæus, *Adver. Haer.* 18:1, etc.).

This understanding of spirituality in the early Church is also clearly reflected within its liturgical order, which, from the time of St. Ignatius of Antioch onwards, considers the eschatological people of God, gathered in one place around Christ, reflected in the offices of the Church: the bishop is “εἰς τόπον καὶ τύπον Χριστοῦ” (in the place and as image of Christ), while the presbyters around him re-present the Apostles. Above all it is the eucharistic gathering which authentically expresses the mystery of the Church. Here, in the gathering of the community around the bishop, the community does not propagate its faith on the basis of a sacramental redemption from worldly suffering, nor does it proclaim personal perfection and individual salvation, without necessarily excluding it; rather it witnesses its entity as the proleptic manifestation of the eschatological Kingdom of God.<sup>13</sup>

This *eucharistic/liturgical* understanding of early Christian community's identity, considering the Church as an icon of the *Eschaton*, also resulted in an understanding of its mission as an imperative duty to witness its being as an authentic expression in a particular time and place of the eschatological glory of the Kingdom of God, with all that this could imply for social life. It is to be noted, that a conviction began to grow among Church writers, beginning with the author of Hebrews (10:1) and more fully developed in the writings of St. Maximus the Confessor, that the events of the Old Testament were “σκιά” (shadow) of future riches, and that present Church reality is only an “εἰκόνα” (image) of the “ἀληθείας” (truth), which is only to be revealed in the *Eschaton*.

<sup>13</sup> See Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 13: “σπουδάσετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν, ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι καθαιρουῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ...”.

This fundamental biblical and early Christian understanding of spirituality, based on the eucharistic/liturgical and eschatological understanding of the Church, by the third century began (under the intense ideological pressure of Christian Gnosticism and especially Platonism) to gradually fall out of favor, or at best to coexist with concepts promulgated by the Catechetical School of Alexandria. The main representatives of this school, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, gave Christian ecclesiology, and by extension its missiology, a new direction which, as Metropolitan John Zizioulas emphatically put, was “not merely a change (τροπή), but a complete reversal (ἀνατροπή).”<sup>14</sup> Thus the Church ceases to be an icon of the *Eschaton*; it becomes instead an icon of the origin of beings, of Creation. The Alexandrians, under the influence of the ancient Greek philosophy, particularly Platonism, believed that the original condition of beings represents perfection and that all subsequent history is a decline. The mystery of the incarnation contributes almost nothing to this system of thought,<sup>15</sup> Christ being primarily considered as the source of man’s union with God and as the recapitulation, in some sense, of the human fallen nature. But if “recapitulation” was understood biblically earlier in the Church’s life,<sup>16</sup> with the Alexandrians the concept is torn completely from its biblical roots in eschatology. The *Eschaton* is no longer the focal point and apex of the Divine Economy. The direction of interest has been reversed, and now the focus is on Creation. Thus we have a cosmological approach to the Church and to its mission, and not a historical one, as in the Holy Scriptures. The Church is now understood, completely apart from the historical community, as a perfect and eternal Idea.

Naturally, therefore, interest in the collective character of spirituality and the historical process has diminished, together with interest in the institutional reality of the Church, whose purpose is now characterized, at best, as “ὡς θεραπευτήριον τῶν ψυχῶν” (hospital for

<sup>14</sup> J. Zizioulas, *Θέματα Ἐκκλησιολογίας (Issues of Ecclesiology)*, (Thessaloniki, 1993), 28.

<sup>15</sup> On Origen’s soteriology and its minimal salvific significance of Christ’s human nature see A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (Atlanta, 1975); also R. Taft, “The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-81) 45-75, 62, n. 79.

<sup>16</sup> See St. Irenaeus’ use of “ἀνακεφαλαίωσις” (recapitulation) (*Adver. Haer.* 3) based on pauline theology. One can also see how finally St. Athanasius the Great articulated this concept more definitely in his classic statement that “He [God] became man so that we could become god,” *On the Incarnation*, 54.

souls). The Church's spirituality is now directed not in bringing about synergistically and proleptically the Kingdom of God, but toward the salvation of the souls of each individual Christian. Historically this new development of spirituality is connected with the origins of monasticism. In the eastern, but also the western, monasteries the works of Origen were studied with great reverence, even after his conciliar condemnation.<sup>17</sup>

At this point it is essential to note that this general trend should not be confused with the authentic understanding of monasticism of both types (Eastern and Western) by Christian theology. It would be a serious mistake not to refer to the various corrective theological interventions through which the monastic movement was incorporated into the life of the Church<sup>18</sup> (the cenobitic system of Pachomius, *The Vita Antonia*, by St. Athanasius the Great, the communal and ecclesiological orientation of monasticism introduced by St. Basil the Great, the eschatological meaning given to therapeutic ecclesiology<sup>19</sup> and "the bold synthesis of all previous theological experience"<sup>20</sup> by the monk Maximus the Confessor, etc.).

One should also not ignore the various theological approaches which stress the eschatological dimension of Eastern monasticism, which characterize it as "a sign of the Kingdom,"<sup>21</sup> as a "life of repentance,"<sup>22</sup> and above all as an "angelic life," because celibacy, at least according to the interpretation of Pachomius, was connected to the future Kingdom on the basis of the Lord's words: "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage but are like angels in heaven" (Mt 22:30), and "there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of God" (Mt 19:12).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup> G. Mantzaris, "Spiritual Life in Palamism," *Christian Spirituality II High Middle Ages and Reformation*, J. Rafti-B. McGinn-J. Meyendorff (eds.), 208-222, 216

<sup>18</sup> A. Papadopoulos, *Monasticism in Relation to Heresy*, (Thessaloniki, 1980), also the important article by S. Agouridis, "The 'anahorein' from the World as a Characteristic Feature of the Hellenistic Philosophical Thought", (*ἘΑραγε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις*) (Athens, 1989), pp. 366-380

<sup>19</sup> J. Zizioulas, "The Early Christian Community," 42ff, also N. Loudovikos, *Τὰ Εὐχαριστιακά Θεμέλια τοῦ Εἶναι, ὡς ἐν Κοινωνίᾳ Γίγνεσθαι, στήν Ἑσχατολογική Ὀντολογία τοῦ Ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητῆ*, (Athens, 1992)

<sup>20</sup> N. Matsoukas, *Κόσμος, Ἄνθρωπος, Κοινωνία κατὰ τὸν Μάξιμο Ὁμολογητῆ* (Athens, 1980), 290

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *A Spirituality for our Times Report of a Consultation on Monastic Spirituality* (Geneva, 1986), 27

<sup>22</sup> Repentance is clearly an eschatological concept based on Christ's words in his very first proclamation "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand" (Mk 1:15)

<sup>23</sup> It is to be noted that even in the interpretation of the monasticism as an angelic life the *eschata* are taken not in their dynamic historical (and in the final analysis ecclesiological) dimension, but as a thoroughgoing future reality

Without ignoring the communal and eschatological character of authentic Christian monasticism,<sup>24</sup> the fact remains that *the central core of Alexandrian theology, with which monasticism was historically connected, was a departure from the initial radical and dynamic horizontal eschatology of the New Testament and of the early post-apostolic Christian tradition*, in some cases even in direct opposition to it.<sup>25</sup>

The consequences for Christian spirituality and ecclesiology were immense. The Church's common worship, her offices and institutions lost virtually all meaning as icons of the *Eschaton*.<sup>26</sup> What became the priority was the union of man with the pre-eternal Logos, the return of the soul to its bliss in Paradise before the Fall. Indeed, during the first stage of the development of Christian monasticism the monks cut themselves off from common worship to devote themselves to continuous private prayer. Of course the notion of continuous prayer was not new (cf. 1 Thess 5:17). But the monastic interpretation of this practice was new. The early Christians considered that every act or expression could be regarded as prayer, but in monasticism private prayer as such replaced everything else.<sup>27</sup>

This defection from the original spirituality of the early Church resulted in the creation of new forms and concepts of worship, which we see especially in the formation of what later came to be known as the "monastic typikon." Within this important spiritual movement worship no longer takes its meaning from the eschatological perspec-

<sup>24</sup> More on this below.

<sup>25</sup> In his recent interesting study, *Ἡ Διαμάχη Μεταξὺ Πελαγίου καὶ Αὐγουστίνου: (Σκέψεις ἑνὸς Θεολόγου Περὶ τῆς Κρίσεως τῆς Σοσιαλιστικῆς Οὐτοπίας Σήμερα)* (Athens, 1993), S. Agouridis analyzed the classical soteriological dispute between St. Augustine and Pelagius, by extending also in the West the dialectic of eucharistic (he called it "biblical historical") and therapeutic spirituality. "The biblical historical perspective does not seem to have seriously affected these two traditional teachers... Both think on the basis of an anthropological ontology. The historical reality leaves them untouched. Pelagius, influenced by the ascetic thought of the Church, mainly in the East, emphasized the human factor, whereas Augustine, influenced by his personal experience, platonism, and his struggle against Donatists, overemphasized the divine factor" (p. 9).

<sup>26</sup> According to W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "The Formative Period-Cathedral and Monastic Offices," *The Study of Liturgy*, C. Jones-G. Wainwright-E. Yarnold-P. Bradshaw (eds.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988-1992) 403-420, monasticism as a lay movement in its initial stages was not only a detachment from, and rejection of, the world; it also believed that priesthood was incompatible with the monastic order (p. 404).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, p. 160 of the 1991 Greek translation.

tive of the Eucharist, but is designed instead to be used primarily as a tool to carve deeply within the mind of the monk or nun the principle of continuous individual prayer. As Grisbrooke points out, "it has nothing to do with corporate worship, but is rather a helpful expression of individual private prayer practiced in common."<sup>28</sup>

Under this peculiar mysticism, salvation is no longer connected with the coming Kingdom, i.e. with the anticipation of a new eschatological community with a more authentic structure. Now, salvation is identified with the soul's union with the Logos, and therefore, with the catharsis, the purification from all that prohibits union with primal Logos, including all that is material, tangible (αἰσθητά πράγματα), historical.

Το μαράνα θά of the Pauline communities and the "ἔρχου Κύριε" (come Lord) of the seer/prophet of the Apocalypse are replaced by continuous prayer and the struggle against demons and the flesh.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, therefore, to the eucharistic/liturgical spirituality, this *therapeutic/cathartic* one puts the emphasis on the effort toward *catharsis* (purification) of the soul from passions, and toward *therapy*, (healing) of the fallen nature of the human beings (men/women). In other words, the reference point is not the eschatological glory of the Kingdom of God, but the state of blessedness in Paradise before the Fall.<sup>30</sup>

These two basic expressions of spirituality remained for some time as parallel sources, sometimes meeting together and forming a creative unity, and some other times moving apart creating dilemmas and conflicts.<sup>31</sup> Where should one search to find personal wholeness and salvation? In the eucharistic gathering around the bishop, where

<sup>28</sup> W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *The Formative Period-Cathedral and Monastic Offices*, 405; cf. nevertheless G. Filias, "Ἡ Λειτουργικὴ Ζωὴ τῶν Πρώτων Μοναστικῶν Κοινοβίων," *Synaxis* 35 (1990) 33-42.

<sup>29</sup> Origen's proposal to abandon the predominant in ecclesiastical literature up to his time historical interpretation of the Apocalypse was that the expectation and longing of the one-thousand-years kingdom constitutes concession to the carnal desires<sup>1</sup> (see Origen, *De Princ.* 2.11, 2-5).

<sup>30</sup> This very fact was completely overlooked in the hasty – and at the same time arrogant, and for this reason unworthy of a scholarly treatment – response by J. Panagopoulos–P. Andriopoulos, "Eucharist and Catharsis Undivided in the Tradition," *Synaxis* 51 (1994) 105-116 to an abridged version of this article, which appeared in *Synaxis* 49 (1994) 53-72 under the title "Eucharist or Catharsis the Criterion of Orthodoxy?" The best answer to their views I think were provided by Metropolitan J. Zizioulas' article in the very same issue.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the effort to interpret Sunday (the christological *Yom Yahweh*), the preeminently

one could overcome creatively all schizophrenic dichotomies (spirit/matter, transcendence/immanence, coming together/going forth etc.) and social polarities? Or in the desert, the hermitage, the monastery, where naturally the effort for catharsis and for the healing of passions through ascetic discipline of the individual is more effective? This was, and remains, a critical dilemma in the life of the Church, especially in the East.

No doubt, the center of the Church's spiritual life, with few exceptions, has remained the Eucharist, the sole place where the Church becomes that which it is: the people of God, the Body of Christ, the community of the Holy Spirit, a glimpse and foretaste of the Kingdom of God. However, this begs the question: how is one to understand this unique (not one among many) sacrament and mystery of the Church? In order to have a clear appreciation of the problem one must compare Eucharistic prayers from the anaphoras (the earliest ones, particularly from the East) with the various mystagogical interpretations. The development of liturgical order after Justinian must also be studied, since it was during this period that we see the origin of liturgical forms influenced by the mystagogical approach.<sup>32</sup>

A decisive turning point in the development of Christian spirituality came the Areopagitic writings were introduced into the realm of liturgy. If Origen and Alexandrian allegory initiated the acrobatics of interpretation<sup>33</sup> and ecclesiological "deviation,"<sup>34</sup> then Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was the catalyst which led the departure from eucharistic ecclesiology and spirituality to a new plateau. His theological analyses made a tremendous impact on the shaping of

---

eucharistic day, with direct reference both to the eschata and to the creation. According to Willy Rordorf, *Sunday, the History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the History of the Church*, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), Sunday as the first day of the week is a symbol of the creation of the world, and consequently symbol of the beginning of beings; at the same time, however, as the day after Sabbath was the "eighth day," the symbol of the endless new age (p. 276). More about the "eighth day" in D. Tsamis, *Ἡ Ὀγδόη Ἡμέρα* (The Eighth Day) 17 (1972) 275-322. According to A. Schmemann the de-eschatologizing of the meaning of Sunday came with the Constantine the Great who defined it as day of holiday and repose (*Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, 210).

<sup>32</sup> More on the relationship between liturgy and mystagogy, ritual and its meaning in H.-J. Schultz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, Engl. transl. (New York: Paulist Press, 1986).

<sup>33</sup> V. Kesich, *The Gospel Image of Christ. The Church and Gospel Criticism* (Crestwood: SVS Press, 1992); also S. Agouridis, *Ἐμπνευστικὴ τῶν Ἱερῶν Κεμενῶν*, (Athens, 1979).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. J. Zizioulas, *Issues of Ecclesiology*, pp. 27ff.

subsequent theology<sup>35</sup> and monastic spirituality, but it also affected in particular the very heart of biblical radical eschatology as expressed in the eucharistic liturgy. And if Alexandrian allegorical interpretation did not finally dominate biblical exegesis, its method of liturgical interpretation – the “anagogic mystagogy”<sup>36</sup> – seems to have prevailed. The alleged neoplatonic influence of the Areopagitic writings<sup>37</sup> is in fact of less importance compared with their catalytic redirection of what we call eucharistic ecclesiology and spirituality.<sup>38</sup>

Using the anagogic method of approach, Pseudo-Dionysius interpreted the liturgical rites of the Church by attempting to raise them from the letter to the spirit, from the visible acts of the sacraments to the mystery of the Unseen.<sup>39</sup> The bishop’s very movements within the church are seen now as a divine return to the origin of beings. With this method, however, the eschatological view of the Eucharist finally disappears. The sole function of worship is now to mystically

<sup>35</sup> V Lossky insists that the orthodoxy of the writings of the Areopagite cannot be questioned (*The Vision of God*, 1983, p. 99), cf. also his influential work *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, (Crestwood SVS Press, 1976). On the other hand, all Orthodox theologians who are in favor of a liturgical renewal are critical of the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius (cf. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, [1974] 1987, 28, 202ff; G. Florovsky, *Ψευδο Διονυσίου Ἐργα: Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* (in Greek), vol. 12, col. 473-480; A. Schmemmann, *Introduction*, 150ff, 232ff etc.; P. Meyendorff, *Saint Germanus of Constantinople On the Divine Liturgy* [Crestwood SVS Press, 1984]).

<sup>36</sup> According to R. Taft, “Mystagogy is to liturgy what exegesis is to scripture – the commentators on the liturgy used a method inherited from the older tradition of biblical exegesis” (“*The Liturgy of the Great Church*”, 59).

<sup>37</sup> On this see L. Siasos, *Οἱ Ἐραστές τῆς Ἀληθείας Ἐρευνᾶσιν Ἀφετηρίες καὶ τὴν Συγκροτοῦσιν τῆς Θεολογικῆς Γνωσιολογίας κατὰ τὸν Πρόκλον καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον Ἀρεοπαγίτην*, (Thessaloniki, 1984).

<sup>38</sup> The Old Calendarists Hieromonk Auxentios and James Thornton (“Three Byzantine Commentaries on the Divine Liturgy: A Comparative Treatment,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 32 (1987) 285-308) fail to discern this dimension, for although they rightly recognize that the Byzantine liturgical commentaries touch the heart of Orthodox spirituality, they try to refute the negative position of A. Schmemmann about the value of this philological sort, siding as they say with other Orthodox scholars such as Florovsky, Fountoulis, Popovic etc. (p. 288). If in Origen we find the beginnings of the spiritualization of the understanding of the Holy Eucharist, in the treatises of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius we find their final theological polishing. Cf. L. Lies, *Wort und Eucharistie bei Origenes: Zur Spiritualisierungstendenz des Eucharistieverständnisses* (Innsbruck, 1978).

<sup>39</sup> See E. Boulard, “L’ eucharistie d’après le Pseudo-Denys l’Aréopagite,” *BLE* 58 (1957) 193-217 and 59 (1958) 129-69.

lead the soul (*mystagogia*) to the spiritual realities of the unseen world.<sup>40</sup>

The eminent Roman Catholic liturgist, R. Taft, to whom Eastern liturgical scholarship owes a large debt,<sup>41</sup> rightly maintains that

in the Dionysian system there is little room for biblical typology. Allegorical anagogy predominates: the liturgy is an allegory of the soul's progress from the divisiveness of sin to the divine communion, through the process of purification, illumination, perfection imaged forth in the rites (*Eccl. Hier.*, I; PG 3 cols. 369-77). There is very little reference to the earthly economy of Christ, and none whatever to His divine-human mediatorship, to His saving death and resurrection (*Eccl. Hier.*, III 1, 3.3 PG 3 cols. 424ff.)<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, in this system, there is absolute need for a mediating "hierarchy." This reminds us, *mutatis mutandis*, of Paul's opponents in Colossians, and also marks the latent return of a mediatory priesthood<sup>43</sup> in Christian ecclesiology of both East and, especially, West.<sup>44</sup> But this was something which according to the fundamental teaching of Hebrews had been abolished "once and for all" (ἐφ' ἅπαξ) by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. According to the late Fr. John Meyendorff, "those who followed Dionysian symbolism approached the Eucharist in the context of a Hellenistic hierarchal cosmos, and understood it as the center of salvific action through mystical contemplation."<sup>45</sup> That is why there is no mention here at all of Christ's self-sacrifice, nor of his mediatory and high-priestly role;<sup>46</sup> mediation is the work of the earthly hierarchy and the rites which it (and not the community as a whole) performs.

<sup>40</sup> *Eccl. Hier.* II 3, 2, PG 3, 379. A wonderful analysis of it in R. Bornet's classical work, *Les Commentaires byzantines de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1966).

<sup>41</sup> See his *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, (Paris 1975, 1978); "How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy," *OCP* 43 (1977) 357ff; *The Liturgy of the Hours in the Christian East* (Kerala, 1988) etc.

<sup>42</sup> R. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 61-2. For a thorough critical consideration of the eucharistology of the Areopagite see R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris, 1954).

<sup>43</sup> H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (1989, and the SVS press 1990 edition with a preface by Bishop K. Ware), 115.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. P.- M. Gy, "Liturgy and Spirituality: II. Sacraments and Liturgy in Latin Christianity," *Christian Spirituality I*, 365-381.

<sup>45</sup> J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 207.

<sup>46</sup> R. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 62.



However, where the Dionysian system reaches its most extreme is in overturning the eschatological and historical dimensions of the Eucharist. There is not a single reference to the fundamental Pauline interpretation of the Eucharist, according to which at every eucharistic gathering “we proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes” (τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλομεν ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ, 1 Cor 11:26). Even communion, the most important act of the Eucharist, is no more than a symbol of man’s union and absorption with the divine hypostasis.<sup>47</sup> In other words, there is a clear shift from a communion of the Body of Christ (the incarnate Logos) and in the Body of Christ (the Church), to a communion with the pre-existing Logos.

One should not, of course, direct all criticism only against the “Alexandrian mystagogical school.” The “Antiochian school,” the other great school of liturgical interpretation in the East,<sup>48</sup> has also contributed, though indirectly, to the abandonment of dynamic horizontal biblical eschatology, with all that this eschatology implies for mission. Its attention, certainly, was turned more toward history, but not with any strong eschatological perspective, thus interpreting the actions of the Divine Liturgy mainly as a depiction of the Lord’s presence on earth. And for this reason A. Schmemmann was strongly critical to the mystagogical tradition to its entirety.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Eccl Hier* III, 3,13

<sup>48</sup> We could classify in those two main currents (Alexandrian and Antiochian) all the commentators of the Divine Liturgy. In the Alexandrian tradition the Dionysios Areopagite, Maximos the Confessor, and Symeon of Thessaloniki, and in Antiochian tradition Theodore of Mopsuestia, Germanos of Constantinople, Nikolaos and Theodore of Andida, and Nicholas Cavasilas.

<sup>49</sup> See above A. Schmemmann, a well-known contemporary Orthodox theologian, having divided from the point of view of liturgical theology the history of the Eastern Orthodox Church into three periods (from the beginning to the 3rd century AD, from the 3rd century up to the Great Schism, and from there to the present day), he found only in the first period an authentic ecclesiological self-conscienceness. In the second period, he pointed out, a dangerous mystical symbolism was developed, which in fact overshadowed the main ecclesiological parameters of Orthodox Christian worship, whereas in the last one it is obvious the effect of the scholastic spirit of the western middle ages, resulting in the deviation towards an ecclesiology completely strange to authentic Orthodox spirituality. Therefore, although he was hesitant regarding the idea of a radical liturgical reform (cf. the extremely fruitful exchange on the role of liturgical theology for the liturgical reform between A. Schmemmann on the one hand, and B. Botte and W. J. Grisbrooke on the other [Thomas Fisch (ed.), *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemmann* (Crestwood, New York: SVS Press, 1990), 21-47, originally published in *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 12 (1968) 170-74, and 13 (1969) 212-24], he was a strong supporter of a re-interpretation of the liturgical action

Thus, from the mid-Byzantine period onward the original understanding of Eucharist as the focus of the liturgical expression of the Church's spirituality, as the springboard of her mission, as the mystery *par excellence* of the Church,<sup>50</sup> as the feast of eschatological joy,<sup>51</sup> as the gathering, σύναξης, of the eschatological people of God,<sup>52</sup> as the authentic expression of fellowship among people, and participation in the word and the supper of the Lord,<sup>53</sup> are no longer on the front line. Once a realistic expression of the Body of Christ and a communion of the Holy Spirit, it now became a place of theophany: a sign and point of meeting with the mystery of the divine. "Active participation" in the Divine Liturgy no longer means participation in the processions, in the singing, in listening and understanding of the readings and the sermons, not even in receiving communion. Now, the main point of all liturgical life is the uplifting of the individual believers, their transfer through faith from *history* to *theoria*, from visible symbols and actions to the transcendent reality which they depict. In this way, little by little, for the great mass of people, but also for the clerical vanguard of the Church, including most theologians, the Eucharist, the Church's *lei-tourgia* (the people's act), lost its fundamental ecclesial dimension, and with it the power of its eschatological/eucharistic/liturgical spirituality, and its missionary significance and power.<sup>54</sup>

A main point of reference and criterion for the development of eucharistic/liturgical spirituality, and for the liturgical order of the Eastern Church, is Haghia Sophia, the Great Church of Christ at Constantinople.<sup>55</sup> In his monumental classic work on the history of

---

of the Church, exactly through the experience of the first four centuries, and pioneer in the study of liturgical theology (see the recent book by D. W. Fagerberg, *What is Liturgical Theology? A Study in Methodology* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990).

<sup>50</sup> A. Schmemann, *The Eucharist. Sacrament of the Kingdom* (Crestwood: SVS Press, 1988).

<sup>51</sup> A. Schmemann, *Great Lent: Journey to Pascha* (Crestwood: SVS Press, 1974).

<sup>52</sup> N. Afanassieff, "The Church which Presides in Love," *The Primacy of St. Peter in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood: SVS Press, 1963) 55-110 and 91-143.

<sup>53</sup> R. Taft, "Liturgy and Eucharist. I Fasts," *Christian Spirituality. II*, 415-426, 417.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> We could, of course, also talk about the dialectic relationships and counter similarities (?) between the Eucharistic Liturgy and Divine Daily Office or Liturgy of the Hours, according to Roman Catholic terminology, but on this subject there is a noteworthy disagreement with regard to their theological interpretation and provenance. According to G. Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1954) there is a clear separation of orientation between the Divine Eucharist, which is considered as an "eschatologic event" (and that is why it is celebrated early on Sunday), and the rest of the daily services, which come from monasticism and are taken as a santification of

the eastern liturgical tradition, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*,<sup>56</sup> Thomas F. Mathews demonstrated convincingly that the general orientation and the liturgical order of the Eastern Church during the Golden Age of Byzantium were very different from subsequent developments (3)<sup>57</sup> in medieval times and, naturally, today (178). The faithful were "active participants rather than... mere spectators. The Christian in Early Byzantine times was less interested in the abstract symbolic possibilities"(177). "The Early Byzantine liturgy was at once simpler and grander... larger in its feeling and more public in its celebration" (178). If to all this we add the essential role originally played by the "sacrament of the Word" in Eastern Orthodox worship,<sup>58</sup> we have, I think, a very basic measure for comparison.

R. Taft in his two studies relevant to this subject<sup>59</sup> points to the catalytic influence of the Byzantine liturgical celebrations<sup>60</sup> and the various historical, political, and religious elements in the development of classical liturgical order in the Eastern Church and eucharistic/ecclesiological spirituality during the later Byzantine period.<sup>61</sup> The splendor of the cathedral rites, especially those of the Great Church during the golden age of Byzantine Christianity, where the action, participation, vigor and direct relationship with the environment which formed the basic elements of liturgical order and church construction, are gone.<sup>62</sup> The majestic architecture of the Justinian period,

---

time. At the other end, J. Dubois ("Office des Heures et messe dans la tradition monastique," *LMD* 135 [1978] 62ff), considers them as a pre-stage of the daily eucharistic liturgy, which alone remains the culmination of the daily worship cycle. Finally, R. Taft ("Towards a Theology of the Liturgy of the Hours," *The Liturgy of the Hours in the Christian East*, 227-272) maintains that the Liturgy of the Hours takes its meaning neither from Eucharist, nor from the daily life in contrast to another world by eschatological expectation, ... nor from personal piety, ... different from the life of the community, ... but in all probability from the Paschal mystery of salvation in Jesus Christ (231). For this subject see also J. Fountoulis, *Ἡ Εἰκοσιετηρῶρος Ἀκοίμητος Δοξολογία* (Athens, 1963) and *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νυχθημέρου* (Thessaloniki, 1985).

<sup>56</sup> Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1971.

<sup>57</sup> The numbers in parenthesis refer to the pages of the book.

<sup>58</sup> See the classical book of J. Mateos, *Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1971).

<sup>59</sup> "The Liturgy of the Great Church" and "Liturgy and Eucharist."

<sup>60</sup> "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 59ff.

<sup>61</sup> "Liturgy and Eucharist," 415.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 417.

which expressed a particular theological understanding and conscious worldview<sup>63</sup> embodying bright lighting and a sense of open space,<sup>64</sup> was replaced after the iconoclastic period with buildings which seemed like miniatures in comparison. The victory of monasticism over the iconoclasts (726-843 A.D.) demoralized the parish clergy as monasteries became richer, more independent, more popular, especially in the cities.<sup>65</sup> Particularly after the Fourth Crusade the parish clergy found it impossible to continue with the more participatory liturgical order (Cathedral Office) of the Great Church, and they gradually gave way completely to the tide of monastic<sup>66</sup> liturgical order.<sup>67</sup> Here, the hymnology is permeated with the “therapeutic” spirituality and expresses the life-experience, conflicts and struggles of the monastic communities, since monks were the main producers of these hymns. In contrast the older eucharistic *anaphoras* were the work, not of monks, but of bishops, leaders of the various local communities (today’s parishes); in the prayers of the *anaphora* it is quite evident that the Eucharist is a window looking into the Kingdom of God, whose light breaks into the universe, into the whole world, into the everyday needs, into the journey of all human life.<sup>68</sup>

The post-iconoclastic period is characterized by the application of

<sup>63</sup> I have strong reservations about any substational relationship between the treatises of Pseudo-Dionysios and the liturgical order related to St. Sophia, as many theologians maintain (see e. g. H.- J. Schultz, *The Byzantine Liturgy*, 28)

<sup>64</sup> See Evagrius Scholasticus, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV 31, PG 86 col. 2757ff.

<sup>65</sup> As Cyril Mango characteristically mentions (*Byzantine Architecture*, New York: Abrams, 1976), in the late Byzantine years there were erected many more monastic catholica than parish churches (197ff)

<sup>66</sup> According to Donald M. Nicol, even during the paleologian renaissance the monasteries remained the main and decisive factor of the social life of the collapsing empire *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979, especially chapter 2.

<sup>67</sup> For the development, bilateral influence, and final formation of the Cathedral and Monastic Offices, with the complete domination of the latter, a distinction first mentioned by Anton Baumstark in his *Comparative Liturgy* (French transl. Paris, 1940), several solutions are nowadays given: two-fold division: monastic-asmatic (see more in the classic books of P. F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London, 1981) and R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, and also in the corrective proposals of J. Mateos, “The Origins of the Divine Office,” *Worship* 41 (1967) 477-485; threefold division: pure monastic-cathedral-urban monastic and J. W. Grisbrooke, “The Formative Periods”, 407 (four-fold division: pure monastic-asmatic monastic-pure asmatic-monasticized asmatic); see also Ev. Antoniadis, “About the Asmatic or Byzantine urban type of the church services of the day and night prayer,” *Theology* 20 (1949), 704ff (in Greek).

<sup>68</sup> J. Zizioulas, *Θέματα Ἐκκλησιολογίας*, 36.

an excessive *symbolism* to the various parts of the Liturgy, and an increasing privatization and *individualization* of the Liturgy.<sup>69</sup> As a consequence of the first, the actions of the liturgy lost their original realistic and more profound theological purpose,<sup>70</sup> and this in turn meant that the Liturgy went from being a public event to a private affair. The many glorious processions that embraced the whole city during the Golden Age of Byzantium now were confined inside the walls of the church building<sup>71</sup> and reduced to a limited series of movements of the clergy between altar and nave. As the Liturgy became more private there was a series of new consequences, equally disastrous for spirituality: secret reading of the prayers of the Liturgy, including the anaphora,<sup>72</sup> the separation of the main body of the church, the nave, from the altar;<sup>73</sup> the disappearance of the synthronos from the sanctuary;<sup>74</sup> the reduction in size of the pulpit, with its removal from the center of the nave;<sup>75</sup> the focus of interest moves from the eucharistic gathering as a whole to the clergy.<sup>76</sup>

It is a real wonder how the four main processional sections of our Eastern liturgy survived into the present, even with many deviations along the way.<sup>77</sup> Thus (a) the solemn entrance of the whole worship-

<sup>69</sup> A. Schmemmann, *The Eucharist*, 255

<sup>70</sup> R. Taft, "How Liturgies Grow," 359ff.

<sup>71</sup> According to J. Baldovin, "La liturgie stationnaire à Constantinople," *LMD* 147 (1981) 85-94, in the Byzantine capital the processions kept on until the 10th century

<sup>72</sup> The attempt of Justinian to crush this habit by legislation does not seem to have succeeded (see more in H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, 115ff, where this Anglican scholar of the Byzantine liturgical tradition also mentions in a caustic way that for more than two centuries people did not hear the most important prayers of the Divine Liturgy, shortly even the acts of the clergy were about to become invisible (134)

<sup>73</sup> Based on archeological testimonies (wall-paintings, miniatures etc.) until the 11th century the low dividers remained, despite the growing domination of the iconostasis

<sup>74</sup> The term, βήμα, in contrast to the predominant liturgical term in the West "temple", a quite characteristic feature of Eastern Orthodox liturgical theology, denoting the forum for the presiding bishop of the eucharistic community, has in fact lost its meaningful function. According to Taft, not without a dose of exaggeration, the celebrant does not have to be any longer visible to the people ("Liturgy and Eucharist," 416)

<sup>75</sup> According to Taft (*ibid*) even the preaching of the word, the readings and the sermon, ended up in a ritual formality

<sup>76</sup> Even the prayers of the faithful became prayers of the clergy. According to H. Wybrew (*The Orthodox Liturgy*, 115ff) in a sharp contrast to the older usage, where the bishop constituted the voice of the whole eucharistic community, the first plural refers to the clergymen and only secondarily to those "praying with them."

<sup>77</sup> A. Schmemmann tried to address the issue of the "Symbols and Symbolism in the Byzantine Liturgy: Liturgical Symbols and their Theological Interpretation" (in D. Constantelos [ed.], *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia* [Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1981] 91-102, also in T. Fisch [ed.], *Liturgy and Tradition*, 115-128), and he

ping community into the church building was reduced to the *Little Entrance* with the Gospel, without the people's participation. The *laos* simply view the performance. (b) The same thing happens with the *Great Entrance*: No longer do the people participate directly in offering the gifts of creation in order that the presiding of the community "refers" them back (ἀναφορά) to the Creator. Instead, the people now "offer" the gifts as *prosphora* (liturgical bread) outside the eucharistic liturgy during the *Proskomede*, a rite which derives from this period and which was transferred as a preparation of the holy gifts before the eucharistic liturgy proper. It is quite fortunate that the original meaning of both these rites have survived in the hierarchical eucharistic celebrations. (c) *The Kiss of peace* ("let us love one another"), this dynamic act of community reconciliation, and therefore the sole precondition for participation in true worship (Mt 5:23 ff.) is limited now exclusively to the clergy. Finally, (d) the *communion*, the culminating and most important act of the eucharistic rite is shifted and completely transformed from a corporate act that anticipates the eschatological Kingdom, into an act of individual piety. What, however, is even more tragic, is that the participation of the entire people in the Sacrament of the Church (i.e. in receiving communion) was completely abandoned. But without catholic communion the Divine Liturgy becomes at best a symbolic reality for spiritual contemplation, and at worst a sterile ritualism<sup>78</sup>

From that time onward in the East, whatever spiritual bright spots existed, including liturgical, were connected exclusively with monasticism.<sup>79</sup> The catalyst for all this was the transfer into the people's consciousness of the theology of therapeutic or cathartic spirituality, through which the appreciation of eucharistic/liturgical spirituality significantly declined.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of the apparent paradox, liturgical (corporate/historical/eschatological) spirituality was preserved to some

---

rightly pointed out that "the Eucharistic divine liturgy opposed, at least in the essential expressions of its form and spirit, the extremely powerful pressures of the various symbolic interpretations and reductions" (125).

<sup>78</sup> R. Taft, "Liturgy and Eucharist," 423.

<sup>79</sup> Nicholas Cavasilas, although he was layman, is connected with the flourishing of the hesychastic spiritual renaissance, the collyvades of the Holy Mountain, even in the parish eucharistic renewal of John of Kronstandt in Russia was a fruit of the monastic spirituality.

<sup>80</sup> For this reason, more and more orthodox speaks about "liturgical renewal." More in my study "Orthodoxy and Liturgical Renewal," *Lex Orandi*, 11ff.

extent within the consciousness of the Orthodox. But this was predominantly outside the actual life of worship, in the daily life of a largely enslaved Orthodoxy, in the communities and guilds. The source of this unexpected and happy ending is that the main core of the Sunday eucharistic liturgy,<sup>81</sup> in spite of the exaggerated symbolism and unnecessary accretions, remained untouched in its communal dimension (eschatological, but vigorously historical and in many ways antipietistic) and continued to reflect the understanding of the Eucharist as primarily a corporate act (act and not thing, object or tool) that embraces the world and creation.<sup>82</sup>

The essence of Christian spirituality, as well as of theology and especially of the understanding of the mystery of the Church, both within Christian tradition, Eastern and Western, as well as within contemporary theological scholarship, cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive dimensions. From the first steps in the history of the Church, as the data of the New Testament and other early Christian documents have shown,<sup>83</sup> up to the present ecumenical period during which the principle of the Church's unity and catholicity have been emphasized once again, while searching for the authentic apostolic tradition,<sup>84</sup> the diverse trends and expressions of the Church's experience, in spite of attempts to impose uniformity and a one-sided view,

<sup>81</sup> Rightly W Hahn, "Prolegomena to the Ecumenical Discussion on the Liturgy," *SL* 2 (1963) 1-28, has noted that the the Greek liturgy includes the entire Divine Economy (*Heilsgeschichte*), beginning with the creation, whereas the Roman one concentrates only on one aspect of it, the second is shorter but less lively than the first one (4)

<sup>82</sup> More about this in the wonderful analysis of J Ζιζιουλας, "The Eucharistic View of the World and the Modern Man," *Πνευματικόν Συμπόσιον* (Athens 1967), 183-190, also in a newer *Ἡ Κτίσις ὡς Εὐχαριστία Θεολογική Προσέγγιση στο Πρόβλημα τῆς Οἰκολογίας* (Athens, 1992) (both in Greek)

<sup>83</sup> From the interpretation of the death of Jesus (see my study *Σταυρὸς καὶ Σωτηρία* (*Cross and Salvation*), also S Agourdis, *Γιατί Σταυρώθηκε ὁ Χριστός*, (*Why was Christ Crucified?*) (Athens, 1990), to the issue of the unity of the Church (see E Kasemann, "Unity and Diversity in N T Ecclesiology," *NT* 6 (1963) 290ff, down to the existence of concrete tendencies or trajectories in the history of Early Christianity (cf J M Robinson-H Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* [Philadelphia 1971]), and further down to the understanding of the apostolicity, apostolic continuity and apostolic succession (see J Zizioulas, "Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology Towards a Synthesis of two Perspectives," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19 [1975] 75-108), one always experiences more than one view, sometimes in a level of fruitful dialogue and co-existence and some other times in a condition of creative tension

<sup>84</sup> Quite characteristic is the case of the document of the section "Faith and Order" of WCC, *Confessing One Faith Today* (Geneva, 1991), in the writing of which also the Roman Catholic Church officially took part

remain facts that cannot be easily ignored. Even when badly misinterpreted theological criteria for unity such as "catholicity," "orthodoxy" and the like led us from a variety of spiritual expressions to monolithic uniformity within the whole spectrum of ecclesiastical reality<sup>85</sup> – Christian confession, piety, monastic spirituality, even liturgical expression<sup>86</sup> – the various expressions and forms of spirituality continued to survive, although often dormant, under threat of ecclesiastical banishment and the clear stigma of being heretical deviations.

Within the realm of the Eastern Orthodox tradition we are passing through a period of monastic revival. This is a phenomenon which every reasonable person can heartily approve. At the same time, however, its centuries-long absolute dominance even in parish liturgical practice has unconsciously created a dynamic which only with great difficulty could encourage those theological conditions that would lead to a fertile synthesis of eucharistic and therapeutic spirituality, let alone a revival of eucharistic spirituality's preeminence, which is our aim. The result of this historically shaped situation is that therapeutic spirituality is widely considered to be a distinguishing feature of the authentic Eastern Orthodox tradition.<sup>87</sup> The author of this study has of course maintained that it is liturgical/ecclesiological spirituality together with eucharistic ecclesiology that has the most extreme repercussions for history, man and the world and which is the "distinguishing and unique feature of Eastern orthodox spirituality."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> The results of the problematic which has been developed from the so called "contextual theology" are quite characteristic. More on the subject in my "Orthodoxy and Ecumenism," *Oikoumene and Theology*, 150ff.

<sup>86</sup> The details given by the ancient historian Socrates are quite characteristic: "καθόλου μέντοι πανταχοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάσαις θρησκειαῖς τῶν εὐχῶν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖς συμφωνούσας ἀλλήλας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό" (*Eccl. Hist.*, V 29, PG 67, 640).

<sup>87</sup> See e.g. the paper by J. Romanides in the preparatory work for the of Vancouver Assembly of the WCC interorthodox consultation in Damascus in 1982, "Jesus Christ the Life of the World," *Xenia Ecumenica* 39 (1983) 232-275; see also *Ρωμαῖοι ἢ Ρωμηοὶ Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki, 1984); the same also, though indirectly, is evidenced in G. Mantzaridis' recent excellent paper, entitled "Ὁ Ἐμπειρικός Χαρακτήρας τῆς Ὁρθόδοξης Θεολογίας" *Καθ' Ὁδόν* 4 (1993) 65-72. An extreme example of this attitude is found in the work by Metropolitan Hier. Vlachos, *Ὁρθόδοξη Ψυχοθεραπεία*, (Edessa, 1986). During the post-war period this tendency was rekindled in the Greek Orthodox world with primary reference to the theology of St. Gregory Palamas, the fortunate rediscovery of which was connected with a false interpretation and a selective projection, not always without a dose of anti-western motives.

<sup>88</sup> See my "La pneumatologia ortodossa e la contemplazione," 86.



Therefore, every type of authentic Christian spirituality, including monasticism, must be judged according to the ecclesiological/eucharistic criterion,<sup>89</sup> if it is to be considered spiritually authentic. In the findings of the recent ecumenical conference on "Monastic Spirituality," organized by the Section on Renewal of Church Life of the of the W.C.C., with participation of Roman Catholic monastics, it was emphasized that "Monastic men and women, based on their calling, have as their ultimate goal union with each other and with God... Having been called into unity they also have the calling to enter into a life of community – *koinos bios* – which is why they are called 'cenobite.'<sup>90</sup> This holds true even when monasticism is sometimes identified as an eremitic or anchoritic action of isolated individuals who have as their goal spiritual wholeness and catharsis, and as purification of the whole person from passions; even when it is regarded as an ontological expression of prayer.<sup>91</sup> Indeed prayer, according to one interpretation, is the meeting place of the human spirit with God's Spirit. In other words it is a meeting with God not as monad, but as a communion of Persons, with God in Trinity.

The future of humanity without doubt depends on such a perspective of unity and communion. The survival of the human race for which the Son and Word of God came to earth "that they may have life, and have it more abundantly"(Jn 10:10) is based on unity: "I in them and Thou in me, that they may be perfectly one." (Jn 17:23)

Without excluding the various forms of spirituality which act as therapy<sup>92</sup> – actually, something like this should be encouraged – it is

<sup>89</sup> Rightly, therefore, the Second Congress of Orthodox Theology was organized programmatically towards this direction, insisting mainly on the dialectical consideration of liturgy and spirituality (see *Procès Verbaux du Deuxième Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe*, [Athens, 1978] 79ff, with the papers and comments by C. Andronikoff, A. Randovic, E. Braniste, A. Jevtich, V. Gontikakis)

<sup>90</sup> *A Spirituality for our Times*, p. 12 Cf. also Ion Briia, *Go Forth in Peace* (Geneva, 1985), with the results of the inter-Orthodox consultation on the place of Orthodox monasticism in mission

<sup>91</sup> This is how it was at least understood in later Byzantine tradition, even though at the beginning it used to constitute a prophetic expression of the self-conscience of the ecclesial identity of Christianity. All monastic vows and virtues (celibacy, ascesis, poverty, obedience, fasting, silence, etc.), should be understood only as auxiliaries to the first in importance duty of prayer (see *A Spirituality for our Times*, p. 23)

<sup>92</sup> Orthodox monasticism is undoubtedly a means to overcome divisions in human life see *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος καὶ ἡ Παιδεία τοῦ Γένους μας* (*Mount Athos and the Paideia of our People*), (Karyes, 1984), Arch. [now Abbot of Iviron Monastery] Vassilios Gontikakis, *Τὸ Εἰσοδικὸν Στοιχεῖα Λειτουργικῆς Βιώσεως τοῦ Μυστηρίου τῆς Ἐνότητος Μέσα στην Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία*, (Athens: Domos, 1974, Eng. transl. Crestwood SVS Press, 1984)

essential to return to forms of proleptic spirituality. This indeed could be eucharistic spirituality, which expresses the unity of the universe (man and the whole of creation), acceptance of the world, history and everything in material creation, and referring it all (*anaphora*) back to the Father Creator, while always keeping alive the vision of the Eschaton.<sup>93</sup> This is the only way to overcome secularism, because secularism is not the denial of the world and history, but the denial of their sanctity.

Translated by Anastasia Vassiliadou

<sup>93</sup> It is quite a promising development that modern Orthodox monastic communities are nowadays concerned with (i) liturgical matters, as it is shown in the critical edition by the Simonos Petras Monastery of Mount Athos of the Divine Liturgy [*Ieratikon*], where for the first time in the official Greek editions there is no mention in the rubrics of reading the eucharistic and other liturgical prayers (*anaphora* etc.) *secretly*, but instead that the celebrant “ἐπεύχεται” (prays for) these things; (ii) social or ecological issues, as it is the case with the convent of The Annunciation of the Theotokos in Ormylia, Chalkidiki, Greece. See *Ὁρμύλια τὸ Ἱερὸ Κοινόβιο Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου* (Athens, 1992); it is quite important that their social and ecological projects have been honored by the European Union; (iii) new forms of authentic spirituality and liturgical expression, as it is the case with the American orthodox monastic communities of the New Skete near Cambridge, New York, with their pioneer liturgical editions (cf. also R. Taft, “The Byzantine Office in the *Prayerbook* of New Skete: Evaluation of a Proposed Reform,” *OCP* 48 [1982] 336-370).

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

difficulty not being touched by the frightening moral tale of “The Proud Monk” (138-143), or moved by the lively intercession of the loving abbot in “The Monk in the Cave”, or else frankly amused by the plight of the robber chieftain who finds himself, by virtue of a totally unexpected and undeserved miracle, taken as a holy man in the very convent he had set out to despoil (134-137), or the reluctant confession of virtue by an imperial administrator of brothels in “Sergius, Demotes of Alexandria” (119-126). This is not heavy stuff. It deals with neither the intricacies of divinity nor the solemn and exalting mysteries of the masters of the spiritual life, but it is edifying – sometimes – and nearly always a pleasure to read, perhaps especially to read aloud.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

Archimandrite Vassileios (Gondakakis), *Beauty and Hesychia in Athonite Life; Europe and the Holy Mountain; and Monastic Life as True Marriage*: Numbers 1, 2, and 4 resp. of the *Series: Mount Athos*, tr. Dr. Constantine Kokenes (1 and 2) and Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff(4), pub. by Dr. John Hadjinicolaou, (Montreal: Alexander Press, 1996).

Archimandrite Vassileios is already familiar to American readers from the St. Vladimir’s Press translation of his earlier work, *Eisodikon (Hymn of Entry, NY: 1984)*. Abbot successively of two Athonite monasteries, Stavronikita (1968-1990) and Iveron (1990-present), his writings on the Orthodox spiritual tradition draw on both learning and experience, study and decades of prayer. The three pamphlets listed above, running from seventeen to just over thirty pages each, are part of series begun recently through the efforts of Dr. John Hadjinicolaou. They are beautifully printed, illustrated with cover icons in color and black and white line drawings within the text, and are well served by the clear and idiomatic translations that we have come to expect, in particular, from Dr. Theokritoff, the translator for St. Vladimir’s Press of both *Eisodikon* and C. Yannaras’ *He Eleutheria tou Ethous (The Freedom of Morality, NY: 1984)*.

Father Vassileios’ writing is remarkable. He quotes his sources on occasion, but far more often is content with allusion. The Cappadocians, Desert Fathers, Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus Confessor, Isaac of Nineveh, Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas figure most prominently, together with echoes of the liturgy

and the conciliar teaching of the Church. Yet the prose is never labored nor, certainly, “academic” in tone. The reader has the impression instead of the sort of thing one feels in St. Symeon, an immersion in the Tradition which is so complete that the author can write freely since he has made the mind of the saints his own.

Another result of this immersion is that the three little treatises published here tend to blend into each other. To be sure, each one has its ostensible topic, but each is also, at root, about the one mystery of *theosis* under one or another of its aspects. Thus *Beauty and Hesychia*, the first in the series, speaks of the comeliness of creation, both as it appears to even the casual observer – thus the splendid opening passage (pp.7-8) describing the luminescence of an Athonite sunset – and, more particularly, as restored in the crucifixion, resurrection, and transfiguration of humanity in and through the monastic life as a participation in Christ. The second, *Mount Athos and Europe*, takes as its starting point the question, “what has Athos to contribute to the emerging European union” (pp.7-10), sketches the fusion of cultures, Jewish and classical Greek, that Eastern Christianity effected (11-14), in order to move on to the “kenotic”, communitarian society incarnated by the life of an Athonite monastery (15-25). The latter is at once “conciliar” and, therefore, Trinitarian (26), echoing the liturgy (27-30) and thus revealing all humanity as the one, new man” in Christ (30-32). *Monastic Life as True Marriage*, the fourth in the series, returns in a sense to the specific themes of the first pamphlet, the at once universal and personal aspects of union with the Son of God which are revealed in monastic life as the transfiguration of *eros* (7-12). Balancing the first two pamphlets, however, with their macrocosmic and communitarian emphases, Father Vassileios brings up in this little treatise the ancient – both Christian and pre-Christian – theme of the human being as microcosm: “Each Christian becomes by grace the place of Him [Christ]...a Church in miniature” (17). This note of the believer as the “place” of God, the *topos theou*, is a theme at once rooted in ascetic literature and in the lexicon of the Old Testament tabernacle and temple. The author extends the image through a consideration of the “stretching” of the soul in order to make “room” for Christ, “the infinite extension” of human possibilities through cooperation with uncreated grace (18-22). The soul’s expansion through the spiritual marriage with Christ leads Father Vassileios on to another traditional image, though an unusual one: the recovery of the

beauty of the image through spiritual “pregnancy” and “childbirth” (23-25). At the end of this process lies the miracle of heaven itself, that concelebration of opposites – divinity and humanity, infinity and boundedness, motion and repose – which is the *telos* of the transfiguration of *eros* (26-27). The whole meditation concludes (28-32) with an extraordinary paean of praise to St. Isaac of Nineveh as the exemplar of all these qualities. Here the author’s language clearly appears to want to break into poetry, with sentences collapsing into fragments. He does this effectively, though, since the breakdown, as it were, of his grammar is deliberate, intended to serve and underline the sense of paradox and wonder.

These three works, particularly the latter two, might serve very well as the base reading for an adult study group, though the group in question would have to be fairly advanced and, moreover, be graced with a leader versed in the thought and literature of the Church. Given that, however, each little pamphlet turns out to be wonderfully dense, a kind of distillate of the cosmology, ecclesiology, spiritual life – and not to forget Christology and Triadology as well – of the Orthodox Tradition. “Unpacking” them, to use a modern expression, would be to take the participants on a grand tour of the scriptures, the liturgical tradition, and the fathers.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Evangelism and Culture

---

FR. MICHAEL J. OLEKSA

### *Introduction*

The most obvious Gospel paradigm for the theme "Evangelism and Culture" is the parable of the sower. The seed is the Word of God.

But as St. Maximos the Confessor wrote in the seventh century, the Word of God is constantly revealing Himself, becoming "embodied." The Word establishes the created universe, the heavens tell His glory, the firmament His handiwork, for it is by the Word that everything that was made came into existence and is sustained in being. The Word is embodied first of all in the entire cosmos. The Word in the cosmos has been misunderstood, after all. It was as if the message revealed by the Word was written, as C.S. Lewis once said, in letters too large for us to read clearly. In the pre-Christian societies, He was wrongly identified with Neptune, Zeus, Adonus, Apollo, or in the modern world with the forces of the natural world, with the "laws" of chemistry, physiology, genetics.

So in the second embodiment the Word became easier to decipher. The Word of God is also embodied in the Holy Scriptures, in some ways in a more focused and understandable form. Even there, the possibility of misinterpretation arose, and the Scribes and Pharisees were constantly criticized for missing the intended meaning of the Law and the Prophets.

So ultimately, at the fulness of time, the Word became Flesh and dwelt among us. He is called "Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." He is also called "the Messiah," "the Christ," "the Way, the Truth and the Life." He calls Himself "the Living Bread" "the Son of Man," "Living Water" "the Good Shepherd."



All of this is the Word of God, the seed in the parable of the sower—and more. The Gospel is also the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, and the scattered seed can refer to the evangelical establishment of the Church as the Faith spreads geographically throughout the world. And the fulness of the Gospel, of the Christian Faith, is Orthodoxy. The seed, then means all these—the Word of God in all its embodiments, the Gospel of repentance, of the Kingdom, the sacramental and iconographic presence of Christ, the truth of the Orthodox faith. And none of these exist in a vacuum. The seed always requires a specific place, some soil, in which to grow.

The Word of God as Scripture must be expressed in human language, and language is culture. The Gospel of the Kingdom must be preached in human words, and words are culture. The presence of Christ must be conveyed, led manifested with signs, symbols, art, music, liturgical action, sacrament, and all this is culture. The truth, like the seed, needs soil in which to grow, and the soil is culture.

The seed in the parable is scattered and some grows, some does not. But even the seed that reaches maturity produces different harvests, some thirty or sixty or a hundredfold. The same truth, the same Gospel, the same Christ, when introduced into a specific cultural context produces a unique harvest, for different soils have different levels of fertility. Climatic conditions vary from time to time and place to place. The reception of the Word of God varies accordingly, not only as individuals hear the Gospel, understand the truth, confront Christ, enter the Church, but as cultures do as well.

No one plants without expecting a harvest. The result the Church anticipates and for which She prepares, the goal of all that She says and does, is revealed in the Gospel passage read on more Sundays during the Church year than any other: John chapter 17. It is no accident that the Church presents our Lord's prayer for unity to us more often than any other, for this is the ultimate goal of His life and mission, the fulfillment of the Gospel. In the end, the Scriptures tell us, Christ will be "all in all." He will hold us, all people of all races, nationalities, ethnic groups, political parties, religious sects and creeds, forever in His infinite loving embrace. We will be forever with the Lord—and with all others, our friends, neighbors and the enemies Jesus Christ commanded us to forgive, to bless, to love. For those who have loved and served Him this altogetherness will be their joy, fulfillment, paradise. For those who have despised or hated Him – or

the least of these, their brothers – being forever with Him – and the neighbor they have abused, despised, rejected, exploited, hated – will be their sorrow, humiliation, their torment, their hell. Heaven and hell are not places we “go to,” but spiritual conditions we are already *in*.

We must become one, the way our Lord prayed to His heavenly Father, as the Holy Trinity is one, in total humility and love, each of us fulfilling the will of the Father as the Son and Holy Spirit perfectly and eternally do. This is the end toward which the Church labors and strives. She plants the seed in order to reap this harvest. No one can be the image of the Holy Trinity alone, as an isolated individual. While only human persons, by an act of faith and commitment, can be saved, no one is saved alone. There is no such thing as individual salvation, for salvation is to enter into the community of interpersonal love, love of God, fulfilling His Will in all things, and love of one’s neighbor, the fulfillment of the Law and the prophets.

This is the goal, the harvest, the Church expects, awaits, and in which She invites all humanity to participate. The Church’s vision, Her soteriology and eschatology, while focused on Christ, is not exclusively Christocentric but Trinitarian. And the essence of this interpersonal unity-in-love, the possibility for many (human) persons to be one, is revealed in Divine Love, Tri-Personal *agape* which makes the Father Son and Holy Spirit, the Three equally divine persons, *One*. We must always keep the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians in mind in all that evangelists think, say and do. There is no place for coercion, persecution, intolerance or violence in planting the seed, in announcing the Good News to the nations, for these tactics would render the ultimate goal, total *agape*, unattainable.

### *Syncretism and Enculturation*

Perhaps no question is more heatedly discussed in various ecumenical mission conferences today than the attempt to distinguish theologically between syncretism and enculturation. Within the World Council of Churches, the problem, it seems to me, is that there are different kinds of seed. In this context, the temptation to syncretism is inescapable.

What is syncretism? It has been difficult if not impossible for many Protestant theologians to arrive at a consensus, a definition of exactly

what constitutes syncretism, but the historic, Patristic Orthodox Tradition offers us clear guidelines. The Church during the period of the Ecumenical Councils sought to express her faith in terms intelligible to Hellenic culture without being distorted, without being “contaminated” by it in the process. This was no easy task, and it required five centuries and seven councils to accomplish it. Syncretism was successfully avoided. The Church, guided by the Holy Spirit did not add to its doctrines, practices, beliefs, anything extraneous, incompatible with the faith of the Apostles, the witness of Sacred Scripture, the truth revealed in Christ. Syncretism is precisely the introduction into Christian doctrine or worship elements which are incompatible with the fulness of the Apostolic Tradition.

Thus, when a learned Chinese Protestant theologian attempted to include within her presentation at the Canberra General Assembly of the World Council of Churches an act of reverence to the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, the Orthodox were correct in rejecting such an inclusion as syncretistic. There is no place for “goddesses of mercy” in Christian doctrine or piety. (Orthodox missionaries, however, encountering a culture with a personification of a merciful feminine principle might attempt to present this pre-Christian intuition as *typologically* prefiguring the Theotokos.)

If syncretism must at all costs be avoided as distorting or corrupting the Gospel message, enculturation, on the other hand, is inevitable and necessary. Enculturation, however, is only possible when the evangelist knows the Orthodox Tradition and can therefore discern what is and what is not compatible with it. Enculturation is the planting of the Gospel, the seed, the presence of Christ, in the unique soil of a new culture, and allowing it, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to mature at its own pace, to produce ultimately a new, indigenous Church.

### *The Alaskan Orthodox Mission*

When, for example, the Valaam Mission analyzed the spirituality of the Kodiak native peoples in 1795, they expressed a willingness to tolerate certain aberrations (such as polygamy) for a short time, to discuss others (the belief in the *inua/yua*) and to overlook still others (for example, fasting norms).

Polygamy endured for one generation after the baptism of the Kodiak Alutiiqs. This was a necessary accommodation, since to re-

quire the separation of multiple wives from their husbands would have created severe social upheaval and economic hardship for women and children. Fasting norms could not be enforced in a land of hunter-gatherers whose food supplies were never stable or predictable and starvation was an annual possibility. Only today, after two centuries, is fasting being gradually introduced. Everywhere, however, the reception of the Gospel ended inter-tribal warfare and the enslavement and mistreatment of prisoners. This was seldom recognized or even noticed by later observers who complained that the Orthodox natives had not absorbed much doctrine, had not memorized much Scripture, and thus had not, in their estimation, been properly evangelized.

Belief in the *Yua* persists. The *Yua*, in Yup'ik Eskimo culture, is the spirit that makes a living thing to be alive. It is the Life Force, which in pre-contact times was believed to be conscious but impersonal. Animals and human beings have essentially the same *Yua*, and differ only in their outward physical form.

Animals have abilities that surpass those of humans. They see, smell, hear what we cannot. They have strengths and capabilities that surpass ours. They are not viewed as inferior beings, but in some ways as superior creatures. Their sensory input permits them to know things we can not perceive. To be changed into an animal in all Native Alaskan folklore is viewed not as a curse (typical of European stories – “The Frog Prince,” “Beauty and the Beast,” Werewolves, etc.) but as a promotion. Some Alutiiq stories end with the hero deciding to remain an animal and “live happily ever after.” This belief in the intelligence, sensitivity and even superiority of the animals made traditional Alaskan peoples reverent toward the game they needed to kill in order to feed themselves, in order to survive. And it is the universal belief that since the animals know more, see more, hear more, sense more, they are willing victims who offer themselves to the hunter. But they only sacrifice themselves to feed those human beings who treat them reverently, respectfully, not only during the hunt, in the act of killing and butchering them, but in the way the meat is thoroughly eaten, wasting none of it, and how various parts of the animal (such as the pelts) are used. The unuseable remains must also be treated respectfully, returned to the habitat from which the animal was taken. Recycling is an ancient practice in the Arctic.

Orthodox missionaries did not discourage this belief that life in all its forms should be treated reverently. Their Alaskan converts heard

the Paschal Gospel from within the context of their traditional worldview, and saw Christ in the whole created universe, the Word of God in the cosmos, in a way even the missionaries had not seen Him before. The life of the world, the life of all, yes – all the *Yua* are really *Him*. And the first chapter of the letter to the Colossians took on a meaning that was always there, but had gone unnoticed, or at least under appreciated, for centuries.

The seed found especially fertile ground, for the text “He is before all things and in Him all things subsist” affirmed that what the Alaskans had intuited centuries before was now affirmed in the Gospel. Only now they knew His identity. Alaskan Orthodoxy affirms a cosmic dimension to the Christian faith which many – perhaps most—modern Christians fail to grasp. John 3:16 is probably the most widely memorized verses in the New Testament, but few who study the Bible in English translation grasp its full meaning the way most Eskimos do. The original text speaks of God’s love for the world, and most suppose the Greek word here is *oikoumene* – the inhabited earth, the human beings, and indeed the Evangelist could have chosen this word. In fact, however, he did not. This famous verse affirms “For God so loved the cosmos that He sent His Son...

In the missionary context of the industrialized world, where secularism is in some instances giving way to a revival of “paganism” or the emergence of “new age” spirituality, or an interest in oriental religions, the theology of St. Maximos, in which the “logoi” of God are affirmed, in which the created universe plays a mediating and sanctifying role in God’s divine plan, in which the cosmos is to be blessed, reclaimed, transfigured and transformed, sanctified and blessed to become “the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ” presents a Christian alternative. The Alaskan Church goes forth in procession each January for the Great Blessing of Water, in most places walking on the frozen river, standing on the ice in subzero temperatures, to sanctify the one small piece of the cosmos on which their lives have always depended. The river is their highway, their cleansing, their supermarket, their home, their life. In their pre-Christian past they thanked the animal spirits for offering themselves, sacrificing themselves to feed the people, and put their inflated intestines and bladders through holes in the ice in order to recycle their *Yua*. Now they go to the river and bless the waters, putting the cross through a cruciform hole in the ice – it is Christ they bless, Christ they thank, for His sacrifice, prefigured in the cycle of the natural

world as they understood it.

This is not, I would submit, syncretistic, for these patterns were always there, in the liturgical life of the Church. The Gospel texts were always there, within the hearing of all believers. But the Eskimos have discovered a meaning hidden from those of other cultures and they offer this meaning back to the Church. This is the pattern of all genuine enculturation – the missionary, and through the evangelist, the whole Church, discovers heretofore unnoticed or undisclosed treasures of her own sacred heritage.

When Navajo Indians of the American Southwest were asked to produce a film about the production of their famous rugs, they submitted a video depicting a sunrise, wildflowers blooming, rain falling, sheep grazing, wind blowing, the sun setting, and finally a few seconds showing a half-finished rug on a traditional loom. The producers who had commissioned the film were confused and disappointed. They had expected to see wool being spun, dyed and woven, and none of this was included on the video. But to the Navajo, it takes more than wool, vegetable dyes, a loom and a grandmother to make a rug. They assumed a much wider frame of reference: The sun must rise. The rain must fall. The flowers must bloom. The sheep must graze. And if all is harmony, you can get rugs out of it. *It takes the whole cosmos to make a rug.*

Is this not equally true of our eucharistic gifts? We so often perceive it as merely bread – flour, water and yeast. But what does it take to produce that flour? The sun must shine. The wind must blow. The rain must fall. The earth must be fertile. Human beings must appropriately interact with it. And if all is in harmony, you can make bread. On every altar, in every church we offer the universe in joy and thanksgiving back to God. But our frame of reference can be too small.

Christ fed thousands with only a few loaves and two fish. Those who witnessed this considered it a miracle. Our Lord also said, “The Son only does the works He sees His Father do.” The Father is always taking a little wheat and feeding thousands, but we fail to see it, we don’t get the message. He is taking some seeds each spring and making much food in every wheat and corn field, but the pagans said it was all Apollo or Zeus or Minerva or “Mother Nature” at work, and secularists say it is all “natural processes.” So the Son does the same thing He sees His Father do, but on a smaller scale and at a faster speed, and suddenly the miraculous element becomes evident.

It is the same Word of God made manifest, and the miracle of the feeding of the thousands will have its full impact when we can recognize it continuously in the miracle of the cosmos, the Word written in letter so large we could not read the message before.

By reminding the Church of the cosmic dimensions of her faith and mission, the evangelized become evangelists. In the Patristic Age, Greek language, Greek culture, Greek philosophical language enriched the life of the Church forever. As the seed, the Gospel, the Church, as Christ's presence enters into the context of other cultures, these too offer something back to God. The same seed, the same faith, the same Orthodox Truth, implanted in another culture produces a unique harvest, a Serbian, a Romanian, a Russian, a Ukrainian, an Albanian, an African, an Alaskan, an Indonesian, a Korean or Japanese, (or even an American expression,) each the product of the same Holy Faith, yet each irreplaceable and unique.

Father Alexander Schmemmann defined in his most famous book, *For the Life of the World*, what it means to be Christian. A Christian, he wrote, is someone who, wherever he/she looks *sees Christ and rejoices in Him*. I read this book many times. I was blessed for several years to attend Father Alexander's lectures. I read the Holy Fathers. But it was my Eskimo parishioners who revealed to me the depth of this passage, revealed to me the cosmic dimension of the Prologue to the Gospel according to St. John, showed me the magnificence of the Apostle Paul's Christocentric experience and vision. This is what enculturation means for the Church. Unlike syncretism which distorts the Gospel, corrupts the Faith, renders a Christian harvest impossible, enculturation enriches and deepens and expands the genuine apprehension of the Apostolic Faith, to the glory of God and the building up of His Holy Church. The Church, while resisting any syncretism, delights and rejoices in enculturation.

### *Conclusion*

The Church scatters the seed, offering the Gospel to all, and in so doing, discovers in the new harvest dimensions of the faith She had not consciously known, noticed or appreciated fully before. Evangelism enriches the Church. Enculturation blesses the Church. Our Greek Patristic legacy is the historic evidence of this creative process. The seed always needs soil in which to grow – the Gospel always needs a culture in which to be planted, and Holy Spirit produces various harvests in each culture and in each of us.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



---

## **Evangelizing Non-Christians to Orthodoxy in Indonesia**

---

FR. DANIEL BAAMBANG DWI BYANTORO

### PRELIMINARY THOUGHT

#### *1. The Great Commission*

The New Testament was written during the fervent century of apostolic missionary activities. Thus, its pages include passages which give clear commandments to Christians who engage in the church's activity of mission and evangelism: "...go and make disciples of all nations..." (Mt. 28:19); "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation" (Mk. 16:15); "...repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached in His name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem..." (Lk. 24:47); "...you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem... and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

The target of Christian proclamation is not limited by the boundary of ethnicity or geographical location. The gospel is to be preached to "all nations" and "all creation" to "the ends of the earth." The purpose of this preaching or proclamation of the good news in the missionary task of the Church is to make disciples of all nations uniting them with Christ through the sacrament of baptism and obedience to all the commandments of Christ (Mt. 28:19-20). Hence, mission and evangelism lie at the very core of the Church's task in this world. These are not private enterprises but the duty and calling of the whole Church. A Church without mission and evangelism is a contradiction and implies denial of its very calling. Therefore mission and evangelism constitute a neverending task which has to be pursued at all times, in so far as the Church is still in this world.

## 2. *To All the Nations (Eis Panta Ta Ethnee)*

The words to “all the nations” in Christ’s above-quoted commandment is in Greek *eis panta ta ethnee*. The term “ethnos” signifies a unit or group of people which, bound by common language, culture, pattern of thought, way of life, religion, location, custom, law, history, politics, social value and behavior, distinguishes itself from other units or groups of people.

To preach the Gospel to all the *ethnee*, then, is to have to deal with these elements of ethnicity. It is not to enter into a value-free or culture-free society, i.e. to enter into a vacuum. The evangelist has to be sensitive to the realities of all these ethnic elements. Willingness to learn and to understand the life-situation of the ethnos into which one has to preach the Gospel is of primary importance. Things which are considered to be good and proper in the eyes of a missionary may not be regarded with the same appreciation by the “ethnos” and vice versa. Therefore, knowledge of cultural anthropology, comparative religion, and local history of peoples to whom missionaries go to preach is an imperative, before they plunge themselves into spiritual battles.

Below are some of the things which have been done in Indonesia, as an example of how the Orthodox Christian mission has been doing in its encounter with the non-Christian *ethnee* in that country.

## 3. *Multi-cultured Indonesia*

First of all we have had to identify the geographical and cultural boundaries within which this “ethnos” lives. Indonesia is a South East Asian country. It consists of thousands of large and small islands, including Bali, Java, Sumatra, etc. With its 200 million population, Indonesia is the fourth largest country in the world after: China, India, and the USA.

Indonesia is the largest Islamic country in the world. There are actually five state recognized religions in Indonesia. Besides the Islamic majority (85%), there is Roman Catholicism, Protestantism (Orthodoxy is under this State Department), Hinduism and Buddhism. In addition to several local indigenous beliefs, which are not recognized by the State, there are also mystical sects which are called “Aliran Kebatinan.” Alongside with its one common national lan-

guage, the Bahasa Indonesian, Indonesia also has another 300 languages and dialects. Indonesia's religious past had been shaped by Hindhu-Buddhist faith. Both Hindhuism and Buddhism have created a long-lasting civilization and history in this country.

These are the the major ethnic elements which the Orthodox Mission in Indonesia has to engage whith in its task of preaching the good news.

It is clear then, that the task as Orthodox mission in Indonesia is not only to preach verbally the teaching of Orthodoxy, but to penetrate all barriers of these elements of the Indonesian "ethnos:" language, religion, politics, culture, etc. There are theological and non-theological factors in any engagement in mission fields.

## MAJOR FACTORS IN ORTHODOX MISSION AND EVANGELISM IN INDONESIA

### *1. Non Theological factors*

#### *a. Political Factors*

Due to the global revival of Islam and being conscious of constituting the majority, the Muslims of Indonesia have succeeded in exercising decisive influence on the politics and bureaucracy of the country. This aim is to make Indonesia a thoroughly Muslim country. By doing this they have made the mission of the Church extremely difficult. Demonstrations against the Churches, stoning or burning of churches and, sometimes, even murder have been committed. Many foreign missionaries have been deported, and new foreign missionaries are not allowed. Nonsensical difficulties have been created for Christians which prevent them from obtaining permission to build churches, while at the same time thousands of mosques have been built either with or without government support, and no building permission is needed in these cases. Yet, there is nothing the government can do, because the government want to keep the Muslims at peace.

#### *b. Historical Factors*

Many books have been written, and many lectures have been launched by Muslim leaders to remind their people that Christianity has been the historical enemy of Islam. The Crusades, the wars with Byzantium, the defeat of Islam by Carel Martel, modern western Colonialism, western involvement in the Palestinian questions, the Gulf War, and the War in Serbia and Chechnya are examples they cite to

show their viewpoint.

Conscious of their historical destiny in the country and their historical enmity with Christianity, Muslims in Indonesia have tried strongly to eliminate Christian influence, to resist any evangelistic effort and to halt the advance of Christianity by any means ready at hand, including violence, trickery, and impregnating the Christian girls movement.

### *c. Cultural Factors*

Although Orthodox Christianity has the title of Eastern Christianity, yet the major influence of its cultural manifestations, especially in this modern era, has been that of Europe, America, and Australia. Moreover with the influx of many converts from traditionally western churches, and with the acceptance of the western values of materialism, secularism, individualism, personal freedom, and equality for all by the second generation of Orthodox people living in the West, Orthodoxy will transform itself into a cultural expression which is palatable to western taste.

Therefore, Orthodoxy in the eyes of the Indonesian is no more Eastern than its sister Churches of the West in contradistinction to the Oriental Hindhu, Buddhist and Islamic religions which are definitely Eastern. This image of Christianity, Orthodox or otherwise, has created a cultural gap when it enters into Indonesia. Indonesian culture still puts religion at the center of its essence, group or clan loyalty over individualism, and conformity within the accepted hierarchy of social behaviors over unreserved equality.

As Orthodoxy in its historical beginnings and in its biblical basis is Semitic in character, a character which is similar to the one held by the Indonesian culture, it is this Semitic side, not the Hellenic one, that has to be exposed more in the context of evangelizing non-Christians in Indonesia.

Eastern Orthodoxy has the advantages of having traditions with utter Middle Eastern elements which can be utilized to the most for the sake of indigenization of the faith within the contexts of Indonesian culture. Customs which are very conducive toward the identification of the faith with the local culture should be encouraged, such as: taking off the shoes upon entering a church, women putting on a veil in entering the church, the absence of pews in the church, the usage of Middle Eastern melodies for singing hymns,

kissing the hand of the clergy or of those who are older, recitation of Scripture, and many others. For Indonesians, Orthodoxy has to appear more Eastern than it has already been, at least in name, just as for Americans it has to appear in its western taste. Moreover it can enlighten many Muslims by showing them that most of their religious traditions are taken from Eastern Christianity, especially from the Syrian Orthodox Church. By pointing out these facts we can hopefully help to come to the conclusion that these Islamic traditions are not heaven-sent but imitations of Christian originals which they can find in the Orthodox Church.

#### *d. Financial Factors*

Traditionally Christian Missions have been established through charitable institutions: hospitals, schools, universities, etc. Thus, many people became Christians because they were attracted by prospects of a better future in their lives. However, the time of this type of missionary work in Indonesia has gone. Indonesia is a growing economic power in South East Asia, along with Malaysia, Brunei and Thailand. People are much more better off now than before. They do not have to be Christians to be respectable economically. In fact all the charitable works traditionally done by Christian Missions have been taken over by the Islamic Institutions to the service of their cause. Most of the people in high position are now Muslims. The reverse flow has now become the order of the day. As a result, there has been daily conversion from Christianity to Islam in Indonesia. Muslims have written a lot of evangelistic tracts in order to reach the Christians for Islam. In the government office, it is difficult to be promoted if you are a Christian, and therefore conversion to Islam is the more advantageous choice in life.

As Orthodoxy in Indonesia has done nothing financially in comparison to this Islamic movement, or even to Protestant or Roman Catholic Churches, we are not sure about the future of our Church. We have also cases of apostasy from Orthodoxy returning to Islam, because of our inability to do anything, due to our financial strain, even for the basic needs of the clergy themselves.

#### *e. Competition Factors*

Orthodoxy is new in Indonesia, and Indonesians only know from government approval of two types of Christianity Roman Catholi-

cism and Protestantism. Therefore they are very suspicious of us. Given the spirit of competition among Protestant and Catholic Churches to gain more members, Orthodoxy has been treated in an unkindly way by both groups. They have even slandered us, and given wrong information about us to the government, which is very detrimental to our existence. We have tried to gain their friendship, and to work together with them, but we still have miles to go.

### THEOLOGICAL/RELIGIOUS FACTORS

#### *a. Islam*

Islam is a religion of the Muslim people. It is the youngest world religion, founded in 7th century Arabia by Muhammad. Muhammad believed himself to be the final Messenger of Allah (God) after the Prophet Jesus Christ. God entrusted him with a Scriptural Revelation.

The Holy Qur'an was given through an intermediary, the Angel Gabriel (*Jibril*), just as the Holy Torah (*At-Taurat*) was revealed to Moses, the Holy Psalms (*Zabur*) to David and the Holy Gospel (*Injil*) to Jesus Christ.

The teaching of Islam is embodied in the Pillars of Faith (*Rukun Iman*):

- 1). God (Allah) is One, Unique, Alone, and not a Trinity.
- 2). God created Angels out of light (the Jinns) and the Devil out of fire. Some of the Jinns are believers in God some of them are infidels.
- 3). God has sent the prophets (the Biblical ones or otherwise) including Abraham, Noah, Moses, Jesus Christ and Muhammad.
- 4). God has revealed the Scriptures to the Prophets: Torah (Taurat) to Moses, the Psalms (*Zabur*) to David, the Gospel (Injil) to Jesus Christ, the Qur'an to Muhammad.
- 5). There is divine predestination, and
- 6). There is a Day of Resurrection and Judgment.

The religious practices of Islam are summed up in the so-called *Rukun Islam*:

- 1). Subscribing to the Islamic Confession of Faith (the *Shahadah*): There is no God except Allah (hence Jesus is no Divine being, no Son of God, and not eternal) and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah (*La ilaha ilallah, Muhamadurrasulullah*).

- 2). Performing the *sholat*: canonical prayers five times a day bowing toward the direction of Mecca,
- 3). Fasting during the month of Ramadan,
- 4). Performing pilgrimage to Mecca where the Holy Shrine of Islam is located at least once in a lifetime,
- 5). Paying the *zakat* (yearly tithe of one's belongings).

In general outline Islam is very similar to Christianity and Judaism. But Islam rejects categorically:

- 1). The Doctrine of The Trinity;
- 2). The Divinity and Divine Sonship of Christ;
- 3). The Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ;
- 4). Original Sin;
- 5). The doctrine of Redemption and Salvation through the work of Christ on the Cross;
- 6). The authenticity and truthfulness of the Bible; The present Bible is not the original revelation of God to the former prophets. It has been tampered with by Jesus and the Christians.
- 7). Christianity is not the religion of Christ but the man-made religion of Paul.
- 8). Islam derides Christians for not being circumcised and for eating pork. Both of these are signs of being an infidel.
- 9). Islam rebukes Orthodox Christians as idol worshippers for having icons in their churches, for praying to Mary, the saints and the angels.

## *b. Evangelizing the Muslims*

### *b.1). Nominal Muslims*

Nominal Muslims are those who claim themselves to be Muslims, but know very little about the tenets of Islam. They are committed more to the Javanese traditional beliefs than to the strict monotheism of Islam, and they are less fanatical. These people are animistic at heart and believe more in the traditional mythology of the local culture with all its accompanying ritual and ceremony. Bridging the gap between them and the Gospel, the Orthodox Mission tries to use the analogies that exist in their ceremonial, ritual practices and mythological stories with Christianity. A few examples of what we have done are as follows:

### *Ritual and Ceremonial*

In all important occasions, such as: births, weddings, funerals, building houses, moving into new houses, thanksgiving, etc., the Javanese Muslims always perform a communal meal ceremony which is called the “*Slameran*.” The meal consists of coned-rice with a gourmet slaughtered animal. It will be put in a round basket or big plate while the people are sitting cross-legged around it. The leader will first offer an Islamic prayer in Arabic, and when the prayer is finished they will share the meal together.

“*Slameran*” is derived from the word “*slamet*” which means “safety, well-being, security and salvation.” When we put the suffix “*an*” into it, it has the meaning of “make-believe, children play.” In that way we can point out to the people that “*Slameran* is not real salvation, it is a make-believe, and children play. The coned-rice symbolizes a mountain. The slaughtered animal symbolizes a sacrifice. Hence, real salvation has to do with the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, and with the Mountain of Golgotha.

### *Mythological Stories*

In Javanese mythology the King of the gods is called “*Hyang Jagad Giri Nata*” (The King of the Mountain Universe). He lives in the abode of the gods, the “*Kahyangan Jonggring Salaka*,” from where he rules the world. In order to communicate with mortal human beings in the world he has his mediator called “*Hyang Kinekaputra*.”

This mediator-god descends from heaven appears in the world and makes known the will of “*Hyang Jagad Giri Nata*” for mortals.

The word “*kanekaputra*” can be separated etymologically into two words “*kanya*” which has the meaning of “Virgin” and “*kaputra*” means “Being Made Son of” or “Born of.”

Now we can guess, where the discussion will lead into: The Virgin birth and mediatorship of Christ.

The point of these examples is that, Christian evangelists have to be willing to learn the local culture which can serve as a bridge between the Gospel and the world-view of the people to whom the missionary directs his preaching. Missionaries should learn as much as they can, where the people live, and what their world-view is, so that the Gospel will come to them not as an intruder from outside but as a fulfillment of their cultural and religious beliefs.

### *b.2). Hard-core Muslim Evangelism*



There are two ways in evangelizing a hard-core Muslim: Through direct discussion with him/her and through correspondence. A hard-core Muslim subscribes to whatever Islam rejects from Christian doctrines. Thus, dealing with this type of Muslim, a thorough knowledge of the Bible and Christian theology is an imperative, and knowledge of the Qur'an and Islamic Theology is a must.

### *Communicating the Doctrine of the Trinity*

The traditional Christian way of speaking about God and Christ have been understood by Muslims as an outright blasphemy. Discussion on the Trinity should avoid using terminology which appears offensive. To say that God is three persons, sound to Muslims like belief in three Gods. Discussion should start with and emphasize the oneness of God; that this one God has from eternity within his one Essence his eternal Word through whom he created the world and revealed himself to mankind; that this same God also has from all eternity his eternal Spirit through whom He gives life to everything and guides man; that God's Word and God's Spirit are within the one essence of God Himself, and that they are not God's associates, but rather exist within the one being of the one God himself. This is because Muslims also believe that God created the world through his Word, and gives life to mankind by the breath of his Spirit.

### *Communicating Christ*

When talking about Christ, the terms "Son of God" and "Incarnation," should be avoided at the start because to a Muslim they smack of paganism. Rather, Christ should be presented as "the Word of God" which a Muslim accepts, and the Incarnation as "the descent of the Word in the flesh," just as in Islam the Qur'an is the Word of God which descended in the form of a book. Here the approach of St. John of Damascus, or some of the apologists of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, should be followed, for this doctrine, and for the doctrine of the Trinity.

### *Explaining the Crucifixion and the Resurrection*

Explaining the crucifixion, death, and resurrection, a little exegesis of the Qur'anic passages which deal with the question is necessary. This is because the vague nature of the Qur'anic denial of the crucifixion itself (Qur'an 4:157), has caused different interpretations of

this very important event among Muslim scholars. A Christian should show them that not all Muslim exegetes have agreed on the denial of the crucifixion.

### *Defending the Bible*

As regards the authenticity of the Bible, the Christian should show to the Muslim that the Qur'an itself has never doubted it and also point to the impressive evidence of ancient manuscripts.

The Christian should also point out that he does not believe that the Bible is the Word of God made into a Book. The Christian belief is that the Word became flesh. For the Christian the comparison is not between the Bible and the Qur'an, but between Jesus Christ and the Qur'an, and also not between Muhammad and Jesus, but between the Virgin Mary the bearer of the Word made flesh and Muhammad bearer of the Word of God made a Book. The divinity of Jesus Christ as the Word of God should be compared to the eternity of the Qur'an as the Word of God. The "two natures" of the one hypostasis of Christ should be explained in light of the Muslim understanding of the "dual nature" of the Qur'an as both temporal and eternal. Finally, iconography as the record of the "Word made Flesh" should be compared to the "Calligraphy of the Qur'an," as the record of the "Word descended as Book."

### *Explaining Original Sin*

The fall of man could be explained in conjunction with the Qur'anic story of the same event. Original sin should not be explained as an "imputed guilt" as many Protestants do, which is very illogical and immoral to Muslims, but as tendency toward sin, inherited corruption, inherited decay and finally, death itself. It should further be shown that for the Christian no one by doing good and gaining personal merits can release himself from the power of inherited corruption, decay and death. Therefore it will become clear that someone is needed who has power over death and decay to destroy their power, and hence it will also be easier to explain the meaning of salvation and redemption in and through Christ in a way which is more intelligible to a Muslim. This argument will also disprove the power of Muhammad to save, because Muhammad also died by death.

*Jesus vs. Paul*

Muslim opposition to Paul as the perverter of the true religion of Christ and the real founder of Christianity, should be countered by arguing that Paul founded his teaching on the teaching of Christ Himself, and that he developed it in a deeper way in light of the Resurrection of Christ. It is advisable, however, not to use quotes from Paul at the beginning of the discussion, if the same thought is expressed somewhere else in the Bible, especially in the Old Testament and the Gospels. This can be changed when the Muslim accepts the truth of the Biblical teaching on Christ.

When evangelizing by correspondence the same questions as above are met. The advantage of engaging in this kind of correspondence is that all arguments and debates, can be well-documented. These documents could be later collected and published as a book, which could help greatly other people to see the Orthodox Christian point of view over against Islam. Such a book could serve as an Orthodox Christian evangelistic tract. There will be difficulties, of course, in obtaining permission for publication, since such a book will be considered as a threat by the Muslims themselves. But it can be published by having on the front cover the phrase: "Reading material for Christians." This book can be sold in Christian bookstores, and could have as subtitle: "Orthodox Christian-Muslims Dialogue." In that way it will catch their attention and Muslims will buy and read it. What is described here has been done in Indonesia by the Protestant and Catholic apologists, and now Orthodox Christians (the present writer) are engaging in the same debate with the Muslims by correspondence.

#### HINDHUISM AND BUDDHISM

Hinduism and Buddhism came to Indonesia during the first century of our era. They created great civilizations from the seventh to the fifteenth century A.D. With the coming of Islam, however, they were wiped out from the religious map of Indonesia, except in the island of Bali and in the eastern Javanese area of mount Tengger. Now, since the 1960s these two religions have been experiencing a kind of spiritual awakening after centuries of slumber.

The Hindu and Buddhist religions in Indonesia have been shaped by the local culture, and so they took a different form than the one known in India. They believe in the existence of One God, thanks to

the influence of Islam and Christianity, whom they call “*Sang Hyang Widdhi Wasa*” and “*Sang Hyang Adhi Buddha*” respectively. While traditionally Buddhism is atheist, the traditional Pantheon of the two religions has been transformed into the category of Islam and Christian ideas of angels. However, the remains of polytheism still linger on, since both Buddhists and Hindhus pray to their many thousands of divine beings in their pantheon, whom they also consider as manifestations of Divine Light or Divine Energies. They still address all these as gods. Both Hindhus and Buddhist have similar tenets:

1. The human soul is basically the spark of the divine essence: *Atman* (the human soul) is *Brahman* (the divine) says the Hindhu; every man has the Buddha nature, says the Buddhist.

2. The cycle of birth and death is misery; the Hindhu calls it *Samsara* and the Buddhist calls it *Dukkha*.

3. Life is governed by the law of *Karma*. Good *Karma* will cause someone to be born noble or even become a god; whereas bad *Karma* will cause one to be born as an animal or evil spirit/demon.

4. Hence, both religions believe in the idea of reincarnation or *Punarbawa* (Numitis) based on the law of *Karma*.

5. The purpose of man's life is to be freed from the cycle of birth and death, and to end the effects of the law of *Karma* and be united once more into the Brahman essence according to Hindhus or achieve *Nirvana*, according to Buddhists.

6. The means of achieving this is performing the “*yadnya*” (sacrifices and offerings) and “*yoga*” (meditative exercises) according to Hindhus, or by following the Eight Noble Paths and “*dhyana*” (meditation) according to Buddhists. Therefore, meditation is a kind of sacrament for both Hindhus and Buddhists.

#### *a. Evangelizing Hindhus and Buddhists*

On the level of doctrine, the Orthodox teaching on the divine essence and energies can help Hindhus to see that divine energies are not separate from God and should not be worshipped separately as independent entities. These energies are not different gods, but belong to the very being of God and it is not up to human being to choose which energy will serve their needs. The Orthodox distinction between divine essence and energies will also help then to see that the human soul is not identical with the divine essence. Man is

man, and God is God, and these two will never merge. Furthermore God is not just Essence, but Person who can address man as “you,” and therefore whatever happens in man’s life is not dictated by the law of *Karma*, but by the wise and just will of this Personal God. Since there is no *Karma*, then, there is no reincarnation which is the logical conclusion of karmic doctrine. The cycle of death has been destroyed especially by the resurrection of Christ. Therefore, Christ is the end of the law of *Karma*. To believe in Christ is to be rescued from the power of death, hence from the cycle of the impersonal law of *Karma*. Since through His resurrection Christ has made the body glorious and eternal, Christ is our liberator from the law of decay and corruption, and has met Buddha’s basic concern. The means of achieving union with God, therefore, is not through our own *yadnya* and *yoga*, but through the Great *Yadnya* of the Cross, and the *yoga* (union) of the divinity and the humanity of the word made flesh. Uniting with Him, we become partakers of Divine Nature (2 Pet. 1:4), which is the real union with God, the *Nirvana* of Buddhism.

As Buddhism and Hinduism are religions of ritual and ceremony, our sacramental and liturgical traditions with the use of incense, icons, holy water, candles, and symbolism will certainly enhance the comprehension of the Hindu-Buddhist converts to the Faith. This is what we have recently achieved with our converts in the island of Bali, and with our Deacon Alexios who is a convert from Buddhism.

### *c. Evangelizing the Javanese Mystics*

The Javanese mystical belief, known in Indonesia as *Aliran Kebatinan* derives its doctrine from several different sources:

1. The pantheistic animism of the ancient indigenous Javanese religion.
2. The Hindu doctrine of *Adwaita* ( Non-Dualism) that *Atman* is *Brahman*, or the Pantheistic-Monism of Hinduism.
3. The Buddhist doctrine of the Buddha nature within each man.
4. The Islamic mysticism (Sufism) in its doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* or Oneness of Existence.

All of these influences have one common theme namely, the Oneness of existence.

The Javanese mystical beliefs can be summarized as follows:

1. The essential identity of the human Soul with the Divine Es-

sence.

2. The spark of divinity within man, being the Holy Spirit is the Soul of Man, the real "Self," trapped by the elements of matter: fire, air, water, and soil constitute man's physical body.

3. This trapped spark of divinity within man has to be set free from the bondage of matter, and return back to its original Essence, namely becoming mingled with the very divinity of God Himself.

4. The main core of the Javanese mystical belief is the idea of *Sangkan Paraning Dumadi* (the origin and destination of creation). The origin of man's soul is God's Essence and its destination has to be its reentry into that same Essence.

5. The ultimate goal of human existence, is to reach *Manunggaling Kawula lan Gusti*, namely, "Union of the Divine and the Human" understood in monistic-pantheistic terms.

These are the main doctrines of Javanese mysticism, the doctrines which constitute the basis of all mystical denominations and sects within it. The most famous and most sophisticated of them all are: the Pangestu, followed by *Sapta Dharna*, *Sunarah*, *Subud*, and so on. They represent different practices even though all of them revolve around the idea of *Samadhi* (meditation or Yoga).

To Javanese people the outward manifestation of rituals and sacraments is not necessary. *Samadhi*, is to achieving *Manunggaling Roso* (Unity of inner feeling) is the supreme goal of finding the true self within one's inner being (*batin* hence *kebatinan*).

### *The Orthodox Christian Approach*

What is particularly appealing to Javanese mystics from Orthodox preaching is the idea of the hypostatic union of the Incarnate Word of God with humanity: Jesus Christ. This truth is presented to them in such a way, that their idea of *Manunggaling Kawula lan Gusti* (Union of the Divine and the Human) is not only achievable but appears to have been achieved only through the Incarnation of the Word of God. This means that human beings can have union with the Incarnate word of God through the Sacraments of Baptism, Chrismation and Eucharist. The end result of this, union with Christ, is divinization or theosis understood as the union with the divine energies.

Christ is the Word of God through whom and on whose pattern we were created. Therefore He is our origin (*Sangkan*), and through our

union with him we return to our original self (*Paran*), which is our being created “in the image and likeness of God.” Hence *Sangkan-Paran* can be achieved and realized only by faith in Christ.

The discovery of the “inner-self” which is exercised through *Samadhi* can be achieved through the practice of the “Jesus Prayer” within the context of the sacramental life of the Church. This practice has greatly enhanced true understanding of meditation, not as achieving “unitive feeling” (*Manunggaling Roso*) by plunging oneself into the Divine Essence (*Jumbuhing Kawulo-Gusti*) which is as blasphemous as it is impossible, but as uniting oneself with the person of Christ in the Holy Spirit, to experience the working of grace, that is God’s energies. Equally appealing to Javanese is the monastic and ascetical teaching and practice of the Orthodox Church.

#### HEALING MINISTRY AND MIRACLES

In a society where the supernatural and the natural are intertwined, it is easy for people to resort to any kind of paranormal and spiritistic means in order to solve their problems. Indonesian society is lacking in paranormal-psychic practitioners (*dukun, wong pinter*), use of charms (*japa-mantra*), employment of amulets (*jimat*), or sacred weapons (*pusaka*), exercises of inner-power (*tenaga-dalam*), use of magical arts (*santet, sihir, teluh, guna-guna*), etc.

In such a society it is not enough to present the Gospel as a kind of mental juggling, one of the many philosophies of man which the Javanese have in abundance. The Gospel has to be presented with power. We have to employ the apostolic power of healing, exorcism, deliverance, miracles, etc., not in its popular charismatic way, but in a genuinely Orthodox manner.

In our experience the exercises of these gifts of the Holy Spirit have helped people to come to the Church. There have been cases of miraculous healing from cancer, from demon possession, from all kind of difficulties and so on. This kind of manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit will prevent people from turning back to their former darkness of occult practices. It has to be exposed once more in the context of mission to non-Christians, since for them their former spirit-guides are real. The power of the Holy Spirit has to be shown as more real and more powerful than their spirit-guides.

## CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed the many aspects of doing evangelism in the non-Christian context of Indonesia, it is clear to us that the most important thing is the willingness of the missionary to cross the cultural boundary of his upbringing. The “ethnee” are not barbarians without knowledge or culture. Many times they are as “cultured” and as “civilized” as the missionary himself. We do not come into a “primitive” society in all cases. Therefore, an openness of attitude is very necessary. Paternalism has to be avoided, cultural colonialism, and cultural domination have to be shunned. Racial arrogance has to be eliminated, if we do not want our proclamation to become a failure. Last but not least, personal prayer life and the power of the Holy Spirit have to be real in the life of the missionary, since doing evangelism is entering into battle with unseen powers. I suggest, that for the sake of the mission of the Church cultural anthropology should be taught, and deeper comparative religious studies be offered. Also deeply personal prayer life and the exercise of the poor of the gifts of the Holy Spirit should be sought in our mission candidates. May God be glorified.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **From the Old to the New: Some of St. Gregory of Nyssa's Teachings and the Modern Era**

---

PROF. ABE ATTREP

One of the glories of history is that sometimes the wisdom of the past becomes a vitalizing factor for the present. In the world of the Byzantines, the historical interpretation that summed up so many of their hopes was the teaching of the "icon of time." According to the Eastern Orthodox, the ideal age was the epoch of Adam before the Fall. This period of unfallen man was the standard by which they measured the progress of history. Renewal of the empire for the Byzantines was marked by those periods that most closely approximated the paradisaic state of man. They claimed that there were certain eras that manifested the spirit of renewal: namely, the era of the Incarnation and the reign of Constantine. In the Byzantine historical tradition, the age of Adam, then was the "icon of time."<sup>1</sup> Along with this view, the Byzantines regarded the past as having a quickening force, an animating power to enliven an era; indeed, according to one interpretation, the Byzantines were very much at home with the outlook of "the presentness of the past."<sup>2</sup>

A Byzantine Church Father of the fourth century A.D., Gregory of Nyssa, might, through his teachings on man, produce an impressive contribution to an intellectual renewal for the late 20<sup>th</sup> and the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At once steeped in the biblical tradition and animated by a love of the wisdom of reason, Gregory strikes notes that have a remarkable ring of modernity.

Gregory was a remarkable man from a remarkable family. One of ten children born in the province of Cappadocia in Asia Minor, five

of his family were honored as saints.<sup>3</sup> Within the family circle, the elder sister, Macrina, was undoubtedly the bastion of holy insight. It was she who guided her brother, Basil; it was she who counseled a younger brother, Gregory. Basil became the founder of eastern monasticism, author of a liturgy, and a brilliant theologian. Gregory, who was taught by Basil, became a theologian of such renown that in the seventh century he was hailed a “universal teacher;” in the eighth century, he was acclaimed as “Father of Fathers.”<sup>4</sup> The younger brother had surpassed his older brother, his mentor. His achievement seemed to fulfill the hope of many conscientious teachers: that their students progress far beyond the knowledge presented in the classroom.

Gregory was grateful for the wisdom gleaned from his brother, but at times Basil could be temperamental, dominating, argumentative.<sup>5</sup> Even so, there remained the fraternal bond, the pedagogical indebtedness. Especially are these ties evident in the work that catches the eye of scholars today: “On the Making of Man.”<sup>6</sup> This treatise was an amplification of a work by Basil entitled the *Hexaëmeron*. In the *Hexaëmeron*, Basil had presented an exegesis of the beginning verses of Genesis, highlighting the creation of man. Those to whom he had originally addressed his teachings in the form of sermons were day laborers, women, and “a mob of boys.”<sup>7</sup> Gregory takes up the task to bring the same concepts to the world of philosophers.<sup>8</sup> He began and finished the work in 379 A.D. – a momentous year tinged with deep sadness – for in the same year his sister Macrina died as did his brother, Basil.<sup>9</sup> But suffusing the tragedy was the hope of Easter. For when he had completed this anthropological study from the divine and human perspectives, he sent it as an Easter gift to his brother, Peter, whom he described as “a servant of God.”<sup>10</sup>

Although only 47 pages long, “On the Making of Man” has such substantial concepts that, almost immediately, selectivity becomes the first criterion in analyzing this treatise. In this brief survey, attention will be directed to four topics: Gregory’s approach as a scholar; two facets of his description of creation; his depiction of the human mind; and his emphasis upon the human hand as an extension of reason.

Gregory has an abiding respect for discovery, learning and the assimilation of wisdom brought to light by reason. One need only consider the caution he employs in approaching the investigation of a weighty subject. He honors the complexity of seeking the truth; he

values the merit of balanced judgement:

How then is man, this mortal, passible, short-lived being, the image of that nature which is immortal, pure and everlasting? The true answer to this question, indeed, perhaps only the very Truth knows: but this is what we, tracing out the truth so far as we are capable by conjecture and inference, apprehend concerning the matter.<sup>11</sup>

“Perhaps,” “so far as we are capable,” “conjecture,” “inference” – all terms that are hallmarks of the serious scholar who is sensitive to the view of others.

This same frame of mind constitutes his approach to another subject of grave intellectual dimensions: the nature of the Fall of Man – the topic of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil:

I think I am not aiming wide of the mark in employing as a starting point for my speculation, the sense of the ‘knowable.’ It is not, I think, ‘science’ which Scripture here means by ‘knowledge;’ but I find a certain distinction, according to Scriptural use, between ‘knowledge’ and ‘discernment;’ for to ‘discern’ skillfully the good from the evil, the Apostle says is a mark of a more perfect condition and of ‘exercised senses’ for which reason also he bids us ‘prove all things’ and says that discernment belongs to the spiritual man; but ‘knowledge’ is not always understood of skill and acquaintance with anything, but the disposition towards what is agreeable....<sup>12</sup>

Carefully yet confidently, the Cappadocian scholar treads his way through the subtle meaning of words. He tests by the canons of reason and faith those teachings that would find their home with the truth.

Now the pursuit of truth, Gregory assures us, has to be done with keen planning. We cannot waste our energies and resources in trying to learn every truth. Without daunting the zeal of a diligent scholar, Gregory counsels us, we must not attempt to follow “every track of footprints left by truth.”<sup>13</sup> Shrewdness of mind guarantees we will never wander aimlessly nor exhaust ourselves pursuing unattainable goals.

One truth, however, that Gregory follows faithfully is his portrayal of man in creation. Again and again, the Christian scholar holds before his readers the grandeur of humanity as taught by the Judaeo-Christian tradition. He bids us consider both the mode and the chronology of creation. For example, in all the creation of the

cosmos, Gregory points out, never did God “pause” to deliberate, to consider the bringing into existence the firmament, or the waters, or the animals. He spoke, and from nothingness, they became integral realities of the universe. Only for man, the philosopher-theologian explains, did God reflect and “take counsel.” In the divine reflection, the Deity willed to create a creature whose essence was a living icon of His own being. The sacred image in man reveals qualities whose origins are from God’s image: freedom, reason, mind, gift of words, royalty. Man is crowned with power to rule over the animals; man is crowned with understanding to marvel at the universe; man is crowned with an inquisitive, adventurous spirit to seek knowledge.<sup>14</sup>

But if man is king, why is the most august creature last to come into being? One of the explanations submitted by the Byzantine seer is that the world with all of its multiple wonders had “none...to share it.”<sup>15</sup> It is in this claim that Gregory sounds an interpretation which resonates a theme similar to certain interpretations of 20<sup>th</sup> century science.

On April 28, 1995, Louisiana Public Broadcasting aired one of a series of programs entitled “The Nobel Legacy.” The host, Dr. Leon Lederman of the Illinois Institute of Technology,<sup>16</sup> traced the discoveries of certain scientists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, moving towards the present day. As Max Planck had predicted, after his discovery of the quantum theory, every discovery leads to a greater task: the absolute truth always beckoning but always beyond full comprehension.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, later discoveries, though they reveal astonishing physical truths about the cosmos, also confront us with astonishing mysteries that challenge even the imagination. Discoveries lead to answers that lead to more bewildering questions. Trying to bring some comprehensive meaning to this dilemma, Lederman concluded his analysis with this provocative statement: “Maybe man is here on earth to ask the question, Why?”<sup>18</sup>

There is a close affinity between the necessity of a world needing a creature to ask “Why?” and the necessity of a world so marvelously constructed that it needs someone with whom to share its marvels. There is a close affinity between a creature inspired with an intellectual drive to know some of the unknowable and a creature gifted with a surging spirit, that in Gregory’s words, “inquires into things and searches them out.”<sup>19</sup>

In the same sphere of interpreting the creation narrative, Gregory

holds forth another teaching that, in the treatment of time and matter, might find a place among some thinkers of the modern age. According to Gregory, when God created man, Adam, *ha'adam* in Hebrew and τὸν ἄνθρωπον in Greek – literally, “the man” – He created “all mankind.”<sup>20</sup> With incisive insight, Gregory detects the high import of the article, “the,” in exploring this particular phrase:

...the text indicates by the indefinite character of the term, all mankind....the name given to the man is not the particular, but the general name....so I think that the entire plenitude of humanity was included by the God of all, by His power of foreknowledge, as it were in one body, and that this is what the text teaches us which says, ‘God created man, in the image of God created He him.’ For the image is not in part of our nature, nor is the grace in any one of the things found in that nature, but this power extends equally to all the race: and a sign of this is that the mind is implanted alike in all: for all have the power of understanding and deliberating, and of all else whereby the Divine nature finds its image in that which was made according to it: the man that was manifested at the first creation of the world, and he that shall be after the consummation of all, are alike: they equally bear in themselves the Divine image.

For this reason, the whole race was spoken of as one man, namely, that to God’s power nothing is either past or future, but even that which we expect is comprehended, equally with what is at present existing by the all-sustaining energy. Our whole nature then, extending from the first to the last, is, so to say, one image of Him Who is...<sup>21</sup>

Returning to our original framework of time and matter, Gregory is asserting that in the first emergence of humanity there was simultaneously the summation of all people who would emerge as distinct individuals within the continuum of time.

What a striking discovery, then, to find in the same framework of time and matter an interpretation in modern physics that might have general overtones comparable to Gregory’s views. To be sure, in the examples to be cited, modern physics is not dealing with the creation of man *per se*, but with the emergence of the universe in microcosm and macrocosm. In 1996, Stephen W. Hawking published *The Illustrated A Brief History of Time: Updated and Expanded Edition*. In his chapter, “The Origin and Fate of the Universe,” the British scien-

tist sets forth some ideas of other physicists; and he deals with the quantum theory as well as the classical theory of relativity. In respect to the latter, Hawking declares, "If we knew the initial state of our universe, we would know its entire history."<sup>22</sup> Or, to view cosmological history from another angle, the British physicist writes, "When we apply [Richard] Feynman's sum over histories to Einstein's view of gravity, the analogue of the history of a particle is now a complete curved space-time that represents the history of the whole universe."<sup>23</sup>

What the exegesis of a fourth century theologian and the observation of a modern scientist seem to be stating is that in the emergence of reality – man or the first particle – there seems to be within each, respective to its distinctive character, the fullness of history yet to evolve. From this perspective, it also seems that this history evolves without the passage of time undermining its essence or impeding its realization. Indeed, time is the medium in which this history unfolds through the ages.

Of all the factors involved in the unfolding of history, surely one of paramount significance is the human mind. And in its role in history, to what does the human mind respond? Gregory takes his cue in answering this pivotal question from his teacher. In the *Hexaëmeron*, Basil taught, "And the entire universe is for you as a book...."<sup>24</sup> To "read" this book, Basil continues, God, in His creation of man, bestowed upon humanity "a spirit to know the truth."<sup>25</sup> Therefore, here assembled are all the salient qualities for learning: the mind, the motivation, the "textbook," and the teacher.

Of these qualities, the mind is one of the most intriguing. It is that through which we know all that we will ever know; yet Gregory observes, this dynamo of learning surpasses even our understanding to understand it. But this paradox: that we can never know the fullness of our own means of understanding, should never frustrate man, Gregory assures us. Indeed, there is a happy surprise, he promises us. For God's mind is incomprehensible. And the very incomprehensibility of our finite minds proves graphically, he declares, that we are indeed made in His likeness.<sup>26</sup>

This living source of our knowing which evades our most brilliant attempts to define it – how does it function? The mind, the teacher-psychologist of the fourth century explains, is not localized in any one part of the body – not the brain, the heart or any other vital organ. Nor is it resident in the spaces between the organs and the substance

of the human physiological structure. In the face of this mystery, Gregory bids his readers to view the human body as an intricate, exquisite musical instrument. So the mind, an invisible entity, he maintains, moves to each part of the instrument, performing that function necessary to the well-being of that feature of human physiology. In this manner, each and all perform their role for the natural health and harmony of the full person.<sup>27</sup>

But what of actual learning, the day to day experience? With Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Descartes and Kant,<sup>28</sup> Gregory affirms that five paths to learning are the five senses; and these five paths move along the terrain of the cosmos itself: "Thus, neither is there perception without material substance, nor does the act of perception take place without that intellectual faculty."<sup>29</sup> Learning, foundational learning, begins at the level that is at once that which is most accessible and most natural.

From this foundational base, the Church Father brings his students to the highest summit in his discourse on learning. He places them in a position to apprehend what the bishop believes is the most valuable talent that God bestows upon man. He calls this gift *epinoia*. *Epinoia* is that ability of the human mind to take what has been learned by the five senses from the material world and to mold this knowledge into concepts. It is the intellectual mechanism that translates sense perception into quickening ideas. It is that faculty which enables man to produce all art, literature, mathematics, medicine, physics – all those fields of knowledge that are known as the humanities and the sciences.<sup>30</sup>

Approximately 1400 years after Gregory set forth his teaching on *epinoia*, a German philosopher set forth a similar theme. In *The Critique of Pure Reason*, Immanuel Kant argued that the mind was endowed with certain faculties that enable it to begin to understand the external world. Two such *a priori* categories, he maintained, were space and time. They are two of the chief intellectual assets or qualities that empower a person to differentiate, distinguish, and organize the world about us.<sup>31</sup> Commenting on these innate powers of our thinking, Robert Wolff of the University of Chicago declared, "Consequently, the mind must create them [unities of perception] by a spontaneous act of unifying, an act to which Kant gives the title, *synthesis*. The synthetic unity of a manifold of perceptions is thus the necessary condition of the analytic unity of a concept, and indeed of



all knowledge and experience.”<sup>32</sup> German Romanticism and Byzantine theology have reached a similar point – a point of the highest import for human nature. They both speak of the mind as created in such a manner that it can receive impressions from the external world and transform them into ideas that enrich life and civilization. Indeed, they help to make life and civilization possible.

Comprehension on such a grand scale is enhanced in another way, the Greek Christian philosopher tells his readers. Both the mind and the senses expand their roles dramatically by the use of the human hand. In leading the reader to this feature of man – and Gregory sometimes describes this thinking creature, man, as a “rational animal”<sup>33</sup> – Gregory has also brought us to our fourth topic. And by what he has already taught and by what he is to teach, Gregory shows us much about himself. He is a scholar who can soar to rarefied heights; and, at the same time, touch our hands with the hand of knowledge.<sup>34</sup> In describing the auxiliary role of the hand in the process of reasoning, the Churchman turns our attention first to the upright status of man. This stance gives freedom to the hands – freedom to serve reason. With its wide range of motion and its dexterity, the hand augments the range of reason to express itself. With the hand we write; with the hand we speak.<sup>35</sup> Was it Heraclitus who exclaimed that our thoughts sometimes race so quickly they outdistance our words; and, hence, we use manual expressions to state concepts our voice has yet to sound? Or, even more, we use gestures of the hands to reinforce what we are already declaring vocally. The hands, both in speaking and writing, compliment reason at the highest level – the expression of concepts. “And hence is produced,” Gregory explains, “the service of the hands, so varied and multiform, and answering to every thought.”<sup>36</sup>

This very teaching finds a counterpart in 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship. Some modern anthropologists believe that of all the primates, man has the most highly developed hand. Its structure is such that there is greater maneuverability which in turn provides greater skill.<sup>37</sup> In the words of William Howells, a former curator of the American Museum of Natural History, the human hands have become “the unfettered genii of the brain.”<sup>38</sup> Let us consider again the words of Howells and Gregory: “the unfettered genii of the brain,” “the service of the hands...answering to every thought.” Though written sixteen hundred years apart, one by an anthropologist, the other by a

theologian, the phrases echo one to the other.

In speaking of the human hand, Gregory can show the wonder in that which is so frequently regarded as mundane. Gregory looks at the ordinary in life and sees what is extraordinarily beautiful. He can delight in seeing children run after the sunbeams; he can happily watch children construct sand castles – even in the fourth century A.D.<sup>39</sup>

He loves nature, life, the labor of learning, and the reverence and respect of human wisdom *vis a vis* its encounter with nature. And yet, he would counsel his readers not to be so devoted to nature in this terrestrial world that they become bound by the limits of their own thoughts. He would encourage the student and the teacher, with full academic maturity, to be open to other spheres of wisdom. He would encourage them to explore that teaching which portrays man and woman as sovereigns of this natural world, this sovereignty being bestowed as a gift. In this light, they can love nature and its power and its wonders “fearlessly.”<sup>40</sup> And in the light of this wisdom, there might be the beginning of an intellectual resurgence that will point to an “icon of time.”

<sup>1</sup>P. J. Alexander, “Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen through Byzantine Eyes,” *Speculum*, XXXVIII, July, 1962, pp. 352-357. Note Alexander’s statement on this view: “The Byzantine philosophy of history, thus, was immune against the doubt, which could be raised against any rectilinear philosophy, that the goal of history was unattainable: it had in fact been man’s possession on the first day of history. No reason to doubt, therefore, that what had been possessed by man in the past could be restored to him in the present or in the future by a Christian emperor.” *ibid.*, p. 354. The term, “icon of time” to describe the ideal ages, is that of the author of this paper.

<sup>2</sup>Glanville Downey, “The Byzantine Church and the Presentness of the Past,” *Theology Today*, XV, April, 1958, pp. 170-185.

<sup>3</sup>A grandfather had been martyred during the era of persecution; Macrina, Basil, Gregory, and Peter were also canonized.

<sup>4</sup>Paulos Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man The Divine Presence The Theology of St. Gregory of Nyssa (ca 330 to 395 A.D.)*, (New York: Paragon House, 1988), xiv.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, xxvi.

<sup>6</sup>One of the finest assessments of the import of Gregory of Nyssa is that of Andreas Spira in his introduction to *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa*: “The importance of Gregory of Nyssa lies in an anthropology which, owing to the unique way he presented it became inextinguishable ever after: the life of man seen as an infinite progress towards an infinite God. Though neither found by Gregory nor later connected with his name any longer, it was by the consistency of his thought and imagination, by the intensity of his reasoning and imagery, and by the burning colours, in which he painted his vision, that this genuine Christian idea could fully develop its dynamic power and gain a momentum never to fail, not even in its secularized form when, having lost its celestial

scope, it appeared but as the Faustian restlessness of the West" Andreas Spira, ed., *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa* Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (Mainz, 6-10 September, 1982) Patristic Monograph Series, #12 (Philadelphia The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1984), p 1 See also Mar Gregorios's superb work, *Cosmic Man* In enumerating the many reasons for studying the thought of St Gregory, Mar Paulos writes that Gregory's view of man is "universal and humanistic in the best sense" xiii-xiv Another impressive work is Gerhart B Ladner, "The Philosophical Anthropology of Gregory of Nyssa," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XII (1958), pp 61-94

<sup>7</sup>D S Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York Manchester University Press, 1968), p 6 It is significant to note that Basil of Caesarea, one of the most esteemed bishops of the Church, taught that women were equal to men in the dignity of their personhood Basil De Césarée, *Sur L'Origine De L'Homme (Hom X & XI de l'Hexaemeron)*, Introduction, Texte, Critique, Traduction et Notes, *Sources Chretienne*, Alex Smets, S J, Michel Van Esbroech, S J (Les Editions Du Cerf, Paris 1970), pp 213-215

<sup>8</sup>Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man*, p 1

<sup>9</sup>G Verbeke, "The Bible's First Sentence in Gregory of Nyssa's View," *A Straight Path Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*, Ruth Linke-Salinger, ed., (Washington, D C The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), pp 230-231

<sup>10</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," in *A Select Library of Nicene And Post Nicene Fathers Of The Christian Church*, Second Series, V, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds, trs Henry Auston Wilson (Grand Rapids Wm B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), p 387, Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man*, p 58

<sup>11</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 404

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid*, pp 409-410

<sup>13</sup>Wallace-Hadrill, *Patristic View of Nature*, p 7

<sup>14</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On The Making of Man," pp 390-391 On this telling point of God considering so carefully the creation of man, the younger brother borrowed from his older brother's exegesis Basil, *Sur L'Origine*, pp 171, 173

<sup>15</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 390

<sup>16</sup>"The Nobel Legacy," Part II, April 28, 1995, Louisiana Public Broadcasting

<sup>17</sup>Max Planck, *Where is Science Going?* With a Preface by Albert Einstein, James Murphy ed & trs (London George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1933), pp 199-200

<sup>18</sup>"The Nobel Legacy," Part II, April 28, 1995, Louisiana Public Broadcasting See also Stephen Hawking's statement "Most sets of values would give rise to universes that, although they might be very beautiful, would contain no one able to wonder at that beauty One can take this either as evidence of a divine purpose in Creation and the choice of the laws of science or as support for the strong anthropic principle" Stephen Hawking, *The Illustrated A Brief History of Time, Updated and Expanded Edition* (New York Bantam Books, 1996), pp 160-161

<sup>19</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 391

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid*, p 406, Genesis 2 3[2 7?] *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York Macmillan Company, 1971), II, p 234 According to the Higher Critics, this version of the creation of man stems from the J strand The *Septuagint* likewise is explicit about the use of the article preceding the term, "man" Genesis 2 7, The *Septuagint*, Lipsiae, 1868

<sup>21</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 406

<sup>22</sup>Hawking, *A Brief History of Time*, p 174

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, p 173 To be sure, there are some qualifying factors to be considered relative to this scientific view as presented in this statement and the one above Both the uncertainty principle of Heisenberg and Godel's principle of incompleteness, as Hawking points out, leave some points of reality beyond total explanation And, in Hawking's search for a unified explanation of the cosmos, he maintains that the classical theory of relativity alone is insufficient Currently, he is working on a program to synthesize the classical theory of gravity and quantum mechanics From this theoretical base, it could be proposed, he maintains, that "the universe will be completely self-contained It would neither be created or destroyed It will just Be" [p 175]

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to consider several provocative statements of Hawking, *vis a vis* science and the implications of its findings "Even if there is only one possible unified theory, it is just a set of rules and equations What is it that breathes fire into the equations and makes a universe for them to describe? The usual approach of science of constructing a mathematical model cannot answer the questions of why there should be a universe for the model to describe Why does the universe go to all the bother of existing? Is the unified theory so compelling that it brings about its own existence? Or does it need a creator, and, if so, does he have any other effect on the universe? And who created him? However, if we do discover a complete theory, it should in time be understandable in broad principle by everyone, not just a few scientists Then we shall all, philosopher, scientists, and just ordinary people, be able to take part in the discussion of the question of why it is that we and the universe exist If we find the answer to that, it would be the ultimate triumph of human reason—for then we would know the mind of God" [pp 232-233] *Ibid*, pp 61-67, 71, 175, 180-181, 196-197, 232-233

Yet even in the light of the qualifying factors, the two statements cited in the narrative of this paper [p 8] do present the opportunity to theorize about the oneness of the origin of the universe and that which may have sprung from this cosmological unity Especially is this consideration enhanced by the statement presented by Hawking "This picture of a universe that started off very hot and cooled as it expanded is in agreement with all the observational evidence that we have today" *Ibid*, pp 154-155 There are, he continues, some major questions yet to be answered

<sup>24</sup>Basil, *Sur L'Origine De L'Homme*, p 235

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>26</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 397

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid*, pp 397-398 In speaking of the invisibility of the human mind, it is interesting to note William Irwin's observation in his chapter, "God and Man" In all of the passages of the Old Testament, he points out, there is no direct reference to the human brain William A Irwin, *The Old Testament Keystone of Human Culture* (New York Henry Schuman, 1952), p 108

<sup>28</sup>Aristotle taught that the essence of each particular object or creature could only first be perceived by observing it in material form, St Thomas Aquinas declared that all learning begins with the five senses, Descartes described one of the two worlds of reality to be the corporeal world, describable in mathematical terms which necessitates perception, and Kant describes one of the two spheres of reality as the phenomenal world

<sup>29</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 403

<sup>30</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "Answer to Eunomius' Second Book," in *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, v, p 268, Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man*, pp 41-44 True, this pivotal teaching appears in another of Gregory's work rather than "On the Making of Man," but it is so essential that it is appropriate to include it in this discussion It is enriching to consider also the Hebrew view of the working of the human mind in formulating ideas that give civilization its highest character Commenting on the passage of Proverbs 8 22-31, which describes the eternal nature of Wisdom through which God created all that is, Irwin claims that the author of this passage used the same word for human understanding that is used for divine wisdom Then he asserts boldly "They [Divine wisdom – human wisdom] are, he [author of Proverbs] undertakes to say with emphasis, one and the same thing It is human because it was first divine and was so made a pervasive quality of God's whole creation All our best achievements, all our highest hopes and aspirations, all that the mind and soul of man has attained or even dreamed, this ancient thinker asserts, is in accord with the deepest nature of things For the ultimate reality in the physical world is the wisdom of God!" Irwin, *The Old Testament*, p 16

<sup>31</sup>Immanuel Kant, *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, trs F Max Muller, Second Edition (New York The Macmillan Company, 1934), pp 15-33

<sup>32</sup>Robert Paul Wolff, *Kant's Theory of Mental Activity A Commentary On The Transcendental Analytic Of The Critique Of Pure Reason* (Cambridge, Massachusetts Harvard University Press, 1963), pp 68-69 It is also helpful to consider Wolff's footnote #11 "The crucial step in this argument, of course, is the assertion that a synthetic unity of representations cannot be *given*, but must be produced by the mind In a sense, this proposition is so basic to Kant's philosophy that he never attempts to prove it, but it is more accurate to say that the entire Analytic is a series of proofs of it The easiest way to see the point is to recall, first, that all representations, as given, are *spatio-temporal* [italics mine]" *ibid*, p 69

<sup>33</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 394 It is true that Aristotle describes man as a political animal Book I, chapter 2, 1253 in the *Politics*, Richard McKeon, ed, *Introduction to Aristotle The Modern Library* (New York, Random House, 1947), p 556 But nowhere in the Genesis narrative of creation does the Hebrew tradition speak of man as an animal It speaks of the remarkable ability of Gregory to harmonize the Greek and Judaeo-Christian view of man in his depiction of man as a "rational animal"

<sup>34</sup>Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man*, xxviii

<sup>35</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," p 393

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid*, p 423

<sup>37</sup>Donald C Johnson and Maitland A Edey, *Lucy The Beginning of Humankind* (New York Simon and Schuster, 1981), pp 320-321, 348-349 One of the startling discoveries regarding Lucy's hand is that apparently the ability to grasp with the thumb and finger was more highly developed than that of grasping with the whole hand Heretofore, anthropologists believed that the ability to grasp preceded the development of picking up articles precisely with the thumb and forefinger

<sup>38</sup>William Howells, *Mankind So Far The American Museum Of Natural History Science Series* (Garden City, New York Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc, 1944), p 13 Noting that anatomically the hand did not go through as many complex changes as the foot, Howells wrote, "the primate hand is the order's proudest boast, yet man's hand is among the most generalized of any" *Ibid*

<sup>39</sup>Wallace-Hadrill, *Patristic View of Nature*, p 130

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid*

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

case lived at the very end of the period covered in this book. The other women - among whom are Macrina, Marcella and her companions, Paula the Elder and Paula the Younger, Melania the Elder and Melania the Younger - are described by their male counterparts and admirers, either bishops (such as Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome) or monastics (such as Palladius and Gerontius). Even this literary genre unfortunately became less frequent in later centuries, especially in the East, although this may be at least in part a result of the numerous destructions, crusades, and persecutions there.

This is a readable translation, which for the most adheres closely to the original Greek and Latin. The brief bibliography (pp. 435-41) is a select list of primary sources and their translations, together with some suggested titles that provide a general background to the persons and themes that are the subject matter of this book.

John Chryssavgis

*Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives.* T. Vivian (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) pages 207.

*Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints Lives in English Translation,* A.- M. Talbot (ed.) (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996) pages 352.

One of the exciting developments of patristic scholarship has been, not only the discovery of many hitherto unknown or unrecognized texts of holy men and women of early or byzantine Christianity, but especially the re-discovery of the world that lies behind these texts that reveal the social, economic, historical and religious conditions of their time. There is, however, yet a further dimension that is unveiled in the careful reading of these *Lives*, and that is the prayerful life of men and women who, each of them through personal and particular (sometimes even peculiar) journeys, sought to relate to God.

The book by Tim Vivian (Lecturer in Religious Studies at California State University) contains the stories of *seven early monastics* (six men and one woman) in translations that have appeared in various publications. Each story is introduced by Vivian who explores the fundamental themes of the texts: the notion of "detachment", the concept of spiritual journey", monastic "transvestism", holiness and miracles, holiness and prayer, the monastic as a spiritual model, and

mystical union. Although the introductions are popular and the translations are graceful, this book is the product of sound research and careful textual scholarship. It is enhanced by enlightening notes, as well as by bibliographical material and useful indices.

The book edited by Alice-Mary Talbot (editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*) presents the biographies of *ten holy women* representing a wide variety of Byzantine female saints ranging from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. There are nuns disguised as monks, female solitaires, nuns in communities, pious housewives, and even a saintly empress. This selection of *lives* appears for the first time in an English translation, and the collection is the initial volume in a new series by Dumbarton Oaks, "Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation".

Not only are readers introduced to the divergent paths to sanctification in Byzantium (ascetic discipline, monastic obedience, repentance and love, prophecy and miracles), but they are also informed about a number of aspects of Byzantine civilization ("barbarian" attacks, iconoclasm, monastic and family life). Finally, the attitudes, (positive and negative) of the Byzantines towards the status of women, as well as the gradual transformation in type of female saint is evident in these texts. Six of the ten *lives* in this volume were definitely written by men, while the gender of the remaining (anonymous) authors is unknown. However, the audience for these *vitae* of holy women included both sexes.

The translations endeavor to remain faithful to the Greek text, while at the same time being readable. The variations in style reflect the taste of the individual translators, rather than that of the hagiographer or that of the editor who has only imposed consistency in the translation of key terms. The book also includes two useful indices.

It is particularly pleasing to note two contributions (with translation, introduction, notes, and bibliography) by graduates of the Holy Cross School of Theology, Dr. Nicholas Constas and Dr. Valerie Karras. The volume is very attractively and inexpensively produced. We look forward to future titles in this series by Dumbarton Oaks.

John Chrysavgis

*L'Esprit répandu, La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, Jacques Lison, Preface de J.M.R. Tillard, (Paris, 1994) pages 305.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Immanence and Transcendence through the Seven Councils\*

---

DR. SOTERIOS A. MOUSALIMAS

Once “divine transcendence” is conceived of not in spatial terms as if indicating a realm apart, but rather in an ontological sense as recognizing the absolute other-ness of the divine nature, thus allowing for the divine nature a freedom from every categorization and all restrictions which confine other phenomena, and allowing for the divine nature a potential for unlimited activity,<sup>1</sup> then, the dynamics of “divine immanence” may be perceived not as a paradox but as a logical and proper result. Divine immanence can be recognized as reflected in this way consistently (it seems to me) through the Seven Ecumenical Councils.<sup>2</sup> This can be seen when these Councils are viewed thematically through three phases that follow sequentially from one ontological plane to the next: (a) from participation among the divine Persons of the Trinity in the Godhead; (b) through participation of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ; and (c) to participation of the divine in the physical cosmos. The reciprocal dynamic is inherent throughout as the creation participates within the fullness of the divine.

(a) *In the Godhead.* The initial phase concentrates on divine participation and coexistence in the Godhead itself. These Councils recognize the Persons of the Trinity as integral realities, each Person fully divine in essence, each indwelling perfectly with the Others to comprise the One God. The First Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, AD 325) expresses the Son’s undiminished divine essence, one essence with the Father, against the heterodoxy of Arius. The latter posited an ontological divide between the Persons of the Trinity by rendering the Son a creation, albeit a pre-eternal creation, of the Father. The

Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, AD 381) expresses the undiminished divine essence of the Holy Spirit against the heterodoxy of Macedonius, who shifted the ontological divide by positing it instead with the Father and the Son on the one side, while the Holy Spirit was diminished on the other side as a creation. Thus in these initial Ecumenical Councils, the Persons are recognized each as perfectly divine and co-existent.

This has an effect upon the reciprocal dynamic, as the First and Second Ecumenical Councils emphasize that divinity is present without diminution in the act of creation by the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. Creation implies no lessening of divinity, neither through emanation nor through a Demiurge. In contrast Arius and Macedonius both posited a Demiurge, by rendering the Logos in the one instance, the Holy Spirit in the other instance, as a lesser divinity than God the Father. Constructs such as those by Arius and Macedonius would preclude the participation by creation in the fullness of the divine Life, because an intermediate would separate; a Demiurge would stand between. Against this separation, the initial Ecumenical Councils affirm that creation derives from, and is sustained by, no less than complete divinity: therefore, it follows that creation is in direct contact with undiminished divinity.

(b) *Through Jesus Christ.* The next phase concentrates on the union of the divine with the human in the Incarnate Person of the Trinity, Jesus Christ. The Third to Sixth Ecumenical Councils emphasize the union of natures as a thoroughly pervasive union in Christ. The Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, AD 431) emphasizes this in opposition against the heterodoxy of Nestorius who kept divinity and humanity conceptually apart, as he posited merely a contiguous union between them. The Fifth Council (Constantinople, AD 553) counters a resurgence of Nestorianism by censuring the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia that were being circulated in place of Nestorius's own; and by stressing that through the Incarnation the second Person of the Holy Trinity actually did suffer, did die, and was resurrected in the physical body which he did assume and did sanctify.

In a complementary dialectic with the Third and Fifth Councils, the Fourth and Sixth further clarify the hypostatic union, now against the opposite extreme which confused the integral realities in Jesus Christ. During the Fourth Council (Chalcedon, AD 451), this confusion is associated particularly with Eutyches, who appeared to

diminish the human nature in Jesus in order to accommodate it in union with the divine. The Fourth Council, in response, emphasizes the undiminished human nature along with the undiminished divine nature, as integral realities alike in Christ. Humanity and divinity remain each unconfused with each other, while yet inseparable, within the union. The Sixth Council (Constantinople, AD 680-681) counters a similar confusion as manifested now in the Monothelite heterodoxy which diminished the reality of Christ's human volition in favor of the divine will alone.

Thus in the Third to Fifth Councils, undiminished divinity is acknowledged to be in an unconfused while indivisible unity with complete humanity (body and soul) in Jesus Christ. The reciprocal dynamic – integral humanity participating in unity within undiminished divinity – is inherent when the Councils during this phase resist the Eutychian-like and Monothelite confusions, which diminish Christ's human nature. The reciprocal dynamic is inherent more-so when these Councils resist the opposite extreme (resisting it perhaps even more vigorously), as the Nestorian and Nestorianizing separation between the natures, which would render them into merely a contiguous union, would have consequences about our reconciliation to God in Christ: the processes of salvation would then need to be interpreted in terms other than dynamic participation. Concepts of election or merit would become predominant instead, while the dynamics of participation and theosis would be either confined to ethical development or altogether lost.

(c) *Into the physical cosmos.* The final phase begins with the relationship between prototype and icon. Any confusion of substance is (again) rejected, now particularly because this type of relational-participation is not the same as the hypostatic union (the icon and its prototype are not conceived of as one-in-the-same in any sense). Yet, sanctity occurs through the icons by virtue of their prototypes, and the icons themselves thus become sanctified; as the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, AD 787) explains in defense against the Iconoclasts. This Council also defends the veneration of relics. The Iconoclasts, in contrast, denied that divinity could ever be present and active within created physical nature except in the elements of the Eucharist. The defense against them as provided by the Seventh Council is reiterated in the subsequent Council of Constantinople (AD 843), after another surge of Iconoclasm. Thus in the Seventh

Without question, the publication of *De Fide* reveals Ambrose's strong Nicaean position. The text was traditionally believed to have been written at the request of the emperor who wished to know the true faith. Because both McLynn and Williams are committed to a revisionist view, neither accepts the origin of this text in the traditional way. McLynn offers an argument to suggest that Ambrose may have in fact been placed in a defensive position. He bases this on a possible reaction to Ambrose's "outrage caused by his intervention at Sirmium."<sup>19</sup> Because McLynn has difficulty viewing the episode in Sirmium in the traditional light (it suggests a weaker Homoian party and a stronger Ambrose than he is willing to admit), he opts to regard Gratian's request as a challenge to Ambrose's belief. The outrage McLynn refers to is, however, the same synod that Williams denied Ambrose attended. Nevertheless, Williams also portrays Gratian's commission of Ambrose as a defense of his faith rather than an exposition of Orthodoxy.

The council of Aquileia in 381 was one of the greatest displays of Ambrose's authority. Essentially, Palladius, a Homoian bishop from Illyricum, had leveled several charges of heresy against Ambrose based on *De Fide* and requested that Gratian call for an ecumenical council to test his Orthodoxy. As it turned out, Palladius was put on trial and was anathematized with several of his supporters. The reconstructions of McLynn and Williams share little with the *Acta* of the council or one another.

In McLynn's account, Ambrose is seen to win the emperor's favor by virtue of the public relations job he works once news is out about the council in Constantinople. Initially, Gratian had expected his council at Aquileia to be attended by both East and West. Not only did the Easterners stay home for their own council, but several Western officials also attended the great council in the East. McLynn portrays Ambrose reassuring the emperor that the questions to be discussed involve only a few individuals and a large attendance is not required for such small matters. He is able to convince the emperor that he need not force the elderly and sickly bishops within his domain to travel a great distance. In his recounting of the events of the pretrial proceedings, McLynn somewhat quietly, yet provocatively, draws solely from Palladius' reenactment of the events thereby damning Ambrose's actions. Moreover, throughout his discussion of the trial

divergence. The contribution toward a resolution might be offered by emphasizing this sensitivity boldly today as a definite aspect of patristic theology – an aspect which has often been ignored. One may furthermore suggest that insights are also available here into the deep engrafting of Christianity that has occurred in areas of the non-Western world where a sensitivity about divine immanence was a vital traditional perception: corresponding to, without necessarily being equivalent with, this patristic perception.

*Summary.* Seen thematically in this way – through these sequential phases, proceeding from one ontological plane consistently to the next – the Councils can be understood as having established boundaries against any division which would confine the divine nature apart, and boundaries on the other side against the confusions of integral realities. They consistently set these boundaries against that division on the right and against those confusions on the left; while maintaining the way ahead unobstructed for the actual transcendence of the divine nature beyond any limiting definitions, and thus maintaining the way ahead unobstructed for the boundlessness of divine manifestation and for the limitlessness of divine participation. Can there be a more reasonable approach to the divine than this? – an approach that guards against our limiting the divine. The transcendence of the divine is maintained so completely that the immanence can be espoused, not as a paradox but as a proper and reasonable result.

\* A version of this paper (here adapted), titled “Divine Presence in Physical Nature,” was read in the Halki Seminar on “The Environment and Ethics,” convened by HRH Prince Philip the Duke of Edinburgh with His All Holiness Bartholomew the Patriarch of Constantinople, 15 June 1995. The current version was read as a communication in the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies, 25 August 1995. The final revised version will be published as section 2.ii, Chapter 3, in *From Mask to Icon: Transformation in the Arctic* (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, forthcoming).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gregory Palamas, Λόγος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς Ἑσυχασζόντων 3. 1. 29 and 3. 2. 9, ed. J. Meyendorff (Louvain, 1959), pp. 612, 659. Cf. John Macquarrie, *In Search of Deity: an Essay in Dialectical Theism*, The Gifford Lectures 1983-4 (London, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Only the primary issues from the Councils will be mentioned to indicate this theme; and the writer is aware that readers are already familiar with these issues. The contribution here may (it is hoped) be found in the thematic organization of these Councils into the three phases and be found also in the emphasis on the dynamics of divine participation, especially (what will be termed) the “reciprocal dynamic” as creation participates within the immanent divine. Within a wider thematic development, encompassing more of the breadth of the history of doctrine, attention would be given to the subtleties of the polemics in the Councils, of course; and the historical depth would be extended: for a single

example (while reference will be made here to significant councils which were convened subsequent to the Seventh) reference would also be made to the articulations by Irenaeus of Lyons before the First Ecumenical Council, particularly as he wrote against the dualism of the Gnostics

<sup>3</sup> Cf, e g Athanasius of Alexandria, *Λογος περι τῆς Ἐνανθρωπησεως* 46 24-25, ed R Thomson (Oxford, 1971), p 236, Basil the Great, Ep 234 [to Amphilochius], in *Επιστολαι*, ed Y Courtonne (Paris, 1966), vol 3, pp 41-42, John Chrysostom, *Περι ἀκαταλήπτου προς Ανομοιους* 1 280-281, ed A Malingrey, *Sources Chretiennes* 28 (Paris, 1970), vol 1, p 124 See Chrysostom, *ibid*, 2 359-361, 2 370-371 and 4 113-115, ed Malingrey, pp 170, 172, 238 Also see Maximus the Confessor who developed much the same theme in terms of λόγοι

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



---

## Introduction to the Liturgical Theology of St. Basil the Great

---

GEORGE S. BEBIS

The contribution of St. Basil the Great to the liturgical life of the Church still needs careful study and evaluation. This is especially the case with his involvement in the observance and celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. The present essay is only an introduction to the relevant Basilian texts and to scholarly opinions and comments.

Basically, there are four original texts that bear witness to St. Basil's Eucharistic practice and theology: Firstly, his Liturgy, or to be more exact, the Liturgy which bears his name; secondly, the celebrated 27<sup>th</sup> chapter of his book, "On the Holy Spirit;" thirdly, his Monastic Rules; and fourthly, his Letters, especially his famous Letter 93 to the Patrician Lady of Caesarea (AD 342).<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, the question that immediately arises is this: Did he or did he not write it? The earliest information concerning this comes from his friend Gregory the Theologian, who in his Oration which he delivered at the funeral of St. Basil states that, among the other things which St. Basil did for the Church, are also the "... written and unwritten legislation for the monks, the formulation of prayers, regulations for good order in the sanctuary, and other ways in which one who was truly a man of God and ranged on God's side could benefit the people."<sup>2</sup> Other important pieces of information are as follows: In a letter addressed about AD 520 by the monks of Scythia to the African bishops in exile in Sardinia, Petrus Diaconus refers to a Liturgical Homily written by St. Basil the Great.<sup>3</sup>

About AD 540, Leontius of Byzantium accuses Theodore of Mopsuestia of having shamelessly replaced his own Anaphora with that of the Apostles and that which St. Basil composed under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

Canon 32 of the Trullo Synod (5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council) of AD 692, condemns the Armenians for using unmixed wine in their Eucharistic service, which James the Brother of the Lord and St. Basil the Great of Caesarea have handed down to us. The Canon explains that "St. James and St. Basil have handed to us in written form the mystical hierarchy." The full text is as follows:

For this is also in keeping with the fact that both James the carnal brother of Christ our God, who was the first to be entrusted with the throne of the church of the Jerusalemites, and Basil the Bishop of the Caesareans and one whose renown rapidly spread over the whole inhabited earth, having each of them handed down to us in writing the mystical hierurgy, have given out that the sacred chalice (or cup) is to be filled full of water and wine in the Divine Liturgy.<sup>5</sup>

There is a homily attributed to Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople (AD 446), in which it is stated that St. Basil abbreviated the existing Liturgy in use.<sup>6</sup> But the origin of this homily is so obscure, that no serious scholar takes it into consideration, at least as an undisputed evidence.

At the beginning of the Fifth Century, *The History of the Armenian Nation*, written by Faustus the Byzantine, speaks very clearly about the Liturgy of St. Basil and quotes from it.

Leontius the Byzantine, around AD 540, speaks clearly about the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great in comparing it with the unacceptable Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

St. John of Damascus in his book, *On the Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (Chap. 4, verse 13), also refers to the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great.

The Seventh Ecumenical Council (AD 787) speaks clearly about the Liturgy of St. Basil (Act 6 in *Mansi*, Vol. 13, p. 265).

We must also mention that in the celebrated *Barberini Codex* (Number 336) of the eighth century, the name of St. Basil the Great is found before the "Proskomide" prayer of the Liturgy.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that this Codex includes the text of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom without naming him as the author.

The famous *Euchologion* of Jacques Goar, of the Seventeenth Century, reprinted in 1730 and considered to be the classical collection of the Greek Liturgies, also bear witness to St. Basil's Liturgy. So does the splendid edition of the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, by Prof. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1, (Oxford, 1896), and Panayotis Trembelas, *The Three Liturgies in Accordance of the Codices of Athens* (in Greek), (Zoe, Athens, 1935), and the various editions of the Apostoliki Diakonia (the Publications House of the Church of Greece) of the *Ieratikon*.<sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt that today's scholarship agrees that the so-called Liturgy of St. Basil the Great was at least partially a product of St. Basil's pen. Quasten claims that St. Basil is not the creator of this Liturgy but "its theological reviser, who did not shorten the original but enlarged it."<sup>9</sup> Baumstark, in his celebrated book *Comparative Liturgy*, speaks about "the native form of the Cappadocian Anaphora which formed the textual basis of its remolding by St. Basil himself."<sup>10</sup> Actually, Baumstark, applying his remarkable methodology of the "law of organic development" (organic and therefore progressive, with retrograde movements too).<sup>11</sup> concludes that at least the original form of the Eucharistic Prayer, which prevailed in the Byzantine East in the original Greek and in almost innumerable manuscripts and versions in Oriental languages, was evidently compiled by a theologian of very marked individuality. Baumstark believes, that St. Basil the Great can easily be recognized as the author of this Liturgy.<sup>12</sup>

The most recent editor of the Greek texts of St. Basil the Great, the distinguished Greek Patrologist and late professor Panayotis Chrestou, concluded that the early liturgies did not have individual authors. These liturgies were products and fruits of collective efforts by the local Christian communities which had the right to add, expand or abbreviate the rites, according to their needs, but concedes that some of the prayers in the Liturgy of St. Basil had been written personally by him.<sup>13</sup> Indeed a careful analysis of the Anaphora and a comparative study of St. Basil's Homilies on the *Hexaemeron*, for instance, show a remarkable similarity in cosmological concepts, forms, and theological conclusions.

Here I must speak, parenthetically, about the discussion that has taken place about the theory that in reality St. Basil the Great has simply abbreviated an existing Liturgy. This is a theory that had been

first mentioned by Proclus and taken over in later times by Ferdinand Probst, Hans Lietzmann and H. Engberding. These scholars sustained the opinion that St. Basil eliminated the cosmological elements from the Eucharistic Anaphora and gave more emphasis on the soteriological aspect of the incarnation.<sup>14</sup>

Returning to my original point, it has been claimed that a careful comparison of the cosmological vocabulary of the Basilian Anaphora with the *Hexaemeron* vocabulary shows similarities and even tautological use of semantics in both texts. I can also claim the same similarity in the Christological and soteriological vocabulary of these texts. Stylistically, but also theologically, the Basilian Anaphora presents an astonishing homogeneity with the rest of the writings of St. Basil the Great.<sup>15</sup>

So, when St. Gregory the Theologian, publicly claims at the funeral of his great friend St. Basil the Great, that he (Basil) contributed towards the "formulation of prayers" and "the regulations for good order in the sanctuary," we must have in mind St. Basil's excellent command of the existing liturgical material.<sup>16</sup>

This fact appears more vividly in another paragraph of the same Funeral Oration of St. Gregory. It is in paragraph 52 and it concerns the visit of the Arian Emperor Valens to Caesarea. Apparently St. Basil was performing the Liturgy. The text is as follows:

For the emperor entered the church with all his retinue. It was the day of Epiphany and the church was thronged. He took his place among the people and thus gave the appearance of professing unity. Once he was inside, the singing of the psalms struck his ears like thunder, and he observed the sea of people and the orderly behavior, more angelical than human, prevailing in the sanctuary and its precincts. He saw Basil posted, facing the people, standing erect, as the Scripture describes Samuel, with the body and eyes and mind undisturbed, as though nothing unusual had happened, but like a pillar, if I may say so, attached to God and the altar, while those about him stood in fear and reverence. At this spectacle, such as he had never seen before, the emperor experienced a feeling that was only human, and dimness and dizziness enveloped his eyes and his mind, because of his awe. This fact still escaped the notice of most of the people. But when the time came for him to present at the divine table the gifts which had to be offered with his own hands, and no one, as was the custom, assisted him, since it was not clear whether Basil would receive them, then his feelings were clearly manifested. For he began to stagger, and, if one

of the ministers of the sanctuary had not lent his hand to support his wavering steps, he would have suffered a lamentable fall. But let this suffice.<sup>17</sup>

The second important Eucharistic material from St. Basil is found in the 27<sup>th</sup> chapter of his book *On The Holy Spirit*. Here St. Basil places on the same theological footing, "the written teaching" and the oral tradition of the Apostles which was delivered to us "in a mystery." Indeed without any hesitation he adds, "and both of these in relation to true religion have the same force."<sup>18</sup> Then St. Basil enumerates some important liturgical customs which came from the Apostles, "secretely" (ἐν μυστηρίῳ): 1) the sign of the cross, 2) the turning towards the East at prayer, 3) the invocation of the Holy Spirit (ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα), the displaying (ἀνάδειξις) of the Bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of blessing. He also refers to the sacraments of Baptism and Chrism and pays attention to the custom of baptizing thrice. He speaks about the renunciation of Satan and his angels and he lays down the basic rule of the so-called secret discipline (*disciplina arcana*) which governed the liturgical life of the early Church: "In the same way, when the apostles and Fathers established ordinances for the Church, they protected the dignity of the mysteries with silence and secrecy from the beginning, since what is noised abroad to anyone at random is no mystery at all."<sup>19</sup>

One may add here that the whole book, *On The Holy Spirit*, had its origin in a liturgical controversy. St. Basil used to pray publicly and to make use of both doxological formulas: "Glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit," as well as "Glory to the Father with the Son together with the Holy Spirit." Both formulas are accurate, St. Basil claims, and actually the second formula is more appropriate "because it establishes the distinction of the divine persons but also bears conspicuous witness to the eternal communion and perpetual connection which exists between the Persons of the Trinity."<sup>20</sup>

Thirdly, important liturgical or Eucharistic material is also found in *The Moralia*, as well as in *The Long Rules* and *The Short Rules* of St. Basil. A collection of this material is found in *Textos Eucharisticos Primitivos*.<sup>21</sup> The emphasis in these texts is on the manner by which one should receive Holy Communion. First of all, after establishing the importance of receiving the Body and Blood of Christ,<sup>22</sup> St. Basil proceeds to point out, in Rule 21, that no one should receive Holy

Communion “without understanding the word *metalepsis* concerning the receiving of the body and blood of Christ.” He then proceeds to make clear that the one who receives Holy Communion unworthily is already condemned (ὁ δὲ ἀναξίως μεταλαμβάνων κατακέκριται).<sup>23</sup> In the 172<sup>nd</sup> question of *The Short Rules*, Basil describes the fear, the conviction, and the disposition one must have when receiving the precious Body and Blood of Christ. Humility, obedience, love, pure conscience, vibrant faith, these are the prerequisites, which the Lord Himself with His own example has given us, with which we can receive Him. The 309<sup>th</sup> question clearly states that those who approach the Eucharist must be completely free of the demands of nature and free of the habits which make the Christian impure. Purity of flesh and spirit are necessary in Holy Communion. He writes on the same subject with regard to the sacrament of Baptism:

Furthermore, a person of this sort brings down upon himself the condemnation of the Apostle, who says: ‘He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord.’ This dire sentence is aimed not only against one who approaches the Holy Mysteries unworthily, defiled in the flesh and the spirit – for, indeed, in so approaching he becomes guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord – but against him who eats and drinks negligently and to no profit by not fulfilling in his commemoration of Jesus Christ, our Lord, who died for us and rose again, these words of the Apostle: ‘the charity of Christ presseth us; judging this, that if one died for all, then all were dead,’ and so on. Such a person, if he thoughtlessly and idly makes void so precious and so great a blessing and approaches as if without thankfulness a mystery so sublime, is liable to the charge of negligence, for the Lord did not even permit those who utter an idle word to escape with impunity. Moreover, His condemnation of negligence was most severe upon the man who kept his talent whole and entire in idleness. Besides, the Apostle teaches us that even one who utters a good word, but not unto edification, grieves the Holy Spirit. In this way, then, we ought to understand the condemnation of the man who eats and drinks unworthily. And if one grieving his brother because of meat falls away from charity, without which even the greatest gifts of God’s grace and greatest acts of righteousness are of no avail, what should be said of one who ventures to eat the Body and drink the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ carelessly and without profit, grieving the Holy Spirit profoundly

thereby, and who dares to eat and drink without being constrained by charity, so as to determine not to live to himself but unto Him who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, our Lord? He, therefore, who approaches the Body and Blood of Christ in commemoration of Him who died for us and rose again must be free not only from all defilement of flesh and spirit, in order that he may not eat and drink unto judgment, but he must actively manifest the remembrance of Him who died for us and rose again, by being dead to sin, to the world, and to himself, and alive unto God in Christ Jesus, our Lord.<sup>24</sup>

In question 310 he states, that the Lord's Supper should not take place in a common house (κοινὸν οἶκον), but in the church, unless out of necessity this can be done in a pure place or even a pure house. He writes:

Since the Scripture allows no common vessel to be taken into the holy place, so it does not allow the holy things to be celebrated in a common house, for the Old Testament by God's command plainly allows no such thing to be done. But when the Lord says: "One greater than the temple is here;" and the apostle says: "What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you not in this? I praise you not in this. For I delivered unto you that which I also received etc." By which we are taught not to eat and drink a common supper in church nor to insult the Lord's Supper by celebrating it in a private house, except when in an emergency some one has chosen a pure place or house on a suitable occasion.<sup>25</sup>

Fourthly, of great liturgical importance is Letter 207 (AD 375), sent to the clergy of Neo-Caesarea, in which St. Basil describes the Vigil service followed in his own times.<sup>26</sup> He speaks about the house of prayer (οἶκος προσευχῆς), and that the service takes place early in the morning when there is still darkness, that here is the antiphonic chanting, as well as the "hypehesis" (one chanter leads the melody and the people follow). Are these the first elements in developing the service of Orthros? Perhaps.<sup>27</sup> The whole text is as follows:

As to the charge regarding psalmody, by which especially our slanderers terrify the more simple, I have this to say, that the customs now prevalent are in accord and harmony with those of all the churches of God. Among us the people come early after nightfall to the house of prayer, and in labor and affliction and continual tears confess to God. Finally, rising up from their prayers, they begin the chanting of psalms. And now, divided into two parts, they chant antiphonally, becoming

master of the text of the Scriptural passages, and at the same time directing their attention and recollectedness of their hearts. Then, again, leaving it to one to intone the melody, the rest chant in response; thus, having spent the night in a variety of psalmody and intervening prayers, when day at length begins to dawn, all in common, as with one voice and one heart, offer up the psalm of confession to the Lord, each one making His own the words of repentance. If, then, you shun us on this account, you will shun the Egyptians, and also those of both Libyas, the Thebans, Palestinians, Arabians, Phoenicians, Syrians, and those dwelling beside the Euphrates – in one word, all those among whom night watches and prayers and psalmody in common have been held in esteem.<sup>28</sup>

We must also note here Basil's *Homilies on Fasting* which have great liturgical significance, although they are not associated with the Eucharistic Service itself. Furthermore, we must remind ourselves that the whole life of St. Basil was a life of fasting and prayer.<sup>29</sup> As he writes: "All our life must be a time for prayer; especially for the ascetics, who must practice the midnight prayer; the morning prayer; the prayers on the third, sixth, and ninth hours; the mid-day prayer; and the prayer after meals, that is, seven times a day (ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας)."<sup>30</sup>

The most fascinating and interesting piece of Eucharistic material is found in St. Basil's letter 93 (or 94) to the Patrician Lady of Caesarea. We do not know who this illustrious lady was. At least two manuscripts read Caesarius instead of Caesarea. The majority of the manuscripts, however, subscribe to the title Patricia Caesarea. What about the authenticity of the letter? There is much debate about this issue. Tillemont quoted Arnaud, who rejected the authenticity of the letter, but without stating his reasons. Tillemont himself thought that the present text is a fragment of a letter. Although he found the manuscript tradition to be poor, he believed that there was no sufficient reason for doubting its authenticity.<sup>31</sup> Roy Deferrari agreed that, although the letter is absent in many manuscripts, still however, there appears no worthy reason for doubting its authorship.<sup>32</sup> On the basis of this discussion and comparing the content of this letter with other Basilian works, we may say with certainty that this letter was written by St. Basil the Great. The relevant text is as follows:

Now, to receive Communion daily, thus to partake of the holy Body and Blood of Christ, is an excellent and advantageous practice; for



Christ Himself says clearly: 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has life everlasting.' Who doubts that to share continually in the life is nothing else than to have a manifold life? We ourselves, of course, receive Communion four times a week, on Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays; also on other days, if there is a commemoration of some saint.

As to the question concerning a person being compelled to receive Communion by his own hand in times of persecution, when there is no priest or minister present, it is superfluous to show that the act is in no way offensive, since long-continued custom has confirmed this practice because of the circumstances themselves. In fact, all the monks in the solitudes, where there is no priest preserve Communion in their house and receive it from their own hands. In Alexandria and in Egypt, each person, even of those belonging to the laity, has Communion in his own home, and when he wishes, he receives with his own hand. For, when the priest has once and for all completed the sacrifice and has given Communion, he who has once received it as a whole, when he partakes of it daily, ought reasonably to believe that he is partaking and receiving from him who has given it. Even in the church the priest gives the particle, and the recipient holds it completely in his power and so brings it into his mouth with his own hand. Accordingly, it is virtually the same whether he receives one particle from the priest or many particles at one time.<sup>33</sup>

An analysis of the above leads to the following conclusions: First of all, St. Basil makes the point that daily receiving of Holy Communion is good and beneficial. This is based on Scriptural grounds. "He who eats my Flesh and drinks my Blood has everlasting life."<sup>34</sup>

Secondly, the Great Father tells us how many times he himself received Holy Communion. He received Holy Communion four times each week, on Sunday, the Lord's Day, on Saturday, on Wednesday and on Friday. Sunday is of course the day of Resurrection. Saturday is a day, at least in the East, of foretasting the joy of the Resurrection. Wednesdays and Fridays are days of fasting, when the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts is performed at the right season. The exact reason for receiving Holy Communion frequently is not given by St. Basil. However, since we know the liturgical practices in the East, we may conclude that St. Basil followed here a practice widely accepted in many parts of Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, etc. He also adds that he receives Holy Communion on the days in which some saints are com-

memorated. Some manuscripts instead of this term “saint” (ἁγίου) speak of “martyr” (μάρτυρος).

Thirdly, a layperson apparently could receive Holy Communion with his or her hands, if a priest (ἱερεὺς) was not present. We know that in Asia Minor, in cases of emergency, deacons or deaconesses administered Holy Communion, and this may have been the case to which St. Basil refers. To receive Holy Communion with one’s hand is a well-known practice in the East. In the *Mystagogical Catechism* No 5 of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, the Eucharistic bread is received through one’s own right hand.<sup>35</sup>

Fourth, it was a custom in the East, especially among the ascetics, who lived in monastic solitude, to keep and preserve Holy Communion in their private abodes. The laity, whom St. Basil visited, especially in Alexandria and in Egypt, also maintained this custom. The laity preserved Holy Communion in their private homes, and received it with their own hands whenever they wished.

The fifth point concerns the portion that the Christian receives. Apparently, the portion of the Eucharistic bread that the communicant used to receive was a large one. There is a fascinating book on this subject by George Galavaris.<sup>36</sup> Mr. Galavaris quotes from *The Life of St. Pachomios (Vita Prima, Chap. 89)*, probably dating from the end of the fourth century, that monks prepared in silence the Eucharistic oblations in the bakery of the monastery. But up to the seventh century, Mr. Galavaris sustains, Christians were careless about the Eucharistic bread and used ordinary loaves of bread.<sup>37</sup>

These are the main points that St. Basil makes in his letter to the Patrician lady Caesaria. But the question of the frequency of Holy Communion is an important one and needs more discussion. Especially in the East this frequency has become the subject of fierce debate among conservative or more liberal Orthodox. St. John Chrysostom, who was almost a contemporary of St. Basil, recommends frequent Holy Communion in most of his homilies, by pointing to the “Paschal” character of the Eucharist.<sup>38</sup>

Before I conclude this introductory review of the liturgical theology of St. Basil the Great, I would like to comment on another splendid book: John R.K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James (An Investigation into their Common Origin)*.<sup>39</sup> In a painstaking and meticulous study of all the original manuscripts, and in reviewing all the contemporary liturgical literature, which I omit here, the author

tries in the most convincing way to prove that the core of St. Basil's Anaphora originated from the hand of St. Basil himself. He breaks new grounds when stating that the most original text of St. Basil's Anaphora is the *Sahidic* version of it, published in 1960 by Jean Doresse and Emmanuel Lanne of Louvain University.<sup>40</sup> Going through a labyrinth of manuscripts of the Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, Greek, Armenian, and Coptic, as well as other materials, Dr. Fenwick comes to the conclusion that the *Sahidic* Anaphora is really the missing link among these manuscripts. In fact, it contains the earliest existing text of the Anaphora of St. Basil the Great. This Anaphora was found in Egypt, where it is known that St. Basil the Great had visited. This does not exclude the possibility that St. Basil the Great could have written an Anaphora even before he was consecrated Bishop of Caesarea. Dr. Fenwick makes the point, that since the Fourth Century was a period of intense doctrinal strife rapid liturgical changes could take place as an inevitable result of these controversies. It is therefore not impossible to see St. Basil as responsible for all versions of the Anaphoras that bear his name. The reworking and additions of new material into the original Anaphoras could have easily occurred. Fenwick not only uses the verbal analysis of the liturgical text, but also proceeds to structural analytical screening of the different elements of the Anaphoras to prove his point.<sup>41</sup> Thus, he divides the Anaphora in consecutive blocks, which he studies one by one, carefully and in depth.

There is much also to say about St. Basil's interest in ecclesiastical music, but this can not be included in this paper.<sup>42</sup> We conclude then, that the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, which is used today in our Church, bears, unmistakably, the personal hand, pen, mind and heart of St. Basil the Great. St. Basil's contribution to Liturgy and liturgical theology has been outstanding.

<sup>1</sup>See text in *The Loeb Classical Library*, English translation by Roy J. Deferrari, Vol. II, p.144ff.

<sup>2</sup>Oration 43, English translation in *The Fathers of the Church* (Fathers of the Church, Inc., New York, 1953), Vol. 22, p.56.

<sup>3</sup>Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1960), Vol. III, p.226. Also, Prof. C. Bonis' introduction to the works of St. Basil the Great in *Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων* (Apostoliki Diakonia, Athens, 1975), Vol. 51, pp. 146-148, (where one may see the original text).

<sup>4</sup>Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 86, 1368. See also Quasten *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p.226; and Prof. Bonis

*op cit* , Vol 51, pp 146-148

<sup>5</sup>*The Rudder* (The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, Chicago, 1957), p 328

<sup>6</sup> See Prof C Bonis, *op cit* Vol 51, pp 146-148 For discussions of the authenticity of the Liturgy of St Basil the Great, see the excellent article on "The Liturgy of St Basil the Great" by Prof John Fountoulis, *Λειτουργικά Θέματα* (Melissa, Thessaloniki, 1979), Vol IV, p 34ff

<sup>7</sup>John R K Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James (An Investigation into their Common Origin)* (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1992), p 24

<sup>8</sup>Much of this information I owe to Prof John Fountoulis, and especially to his splendid work on "The Liturgy of St Basil the Great," *op cit* , p 36ff There's no doubt that Prof Fountoulis is an outstanding Orthodox liturgical scholar of this century We owe him much gratitude for his outstanding scholarly work in Liturgics

<sup>9</sup>Quasten, *op cit* Vol III, p 227

<sup>10</sup>Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (A R Mowbray & Co Limited, London, 1958), English Edition by FL Cross, p 54

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid* p 18ff

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid* , p 54

<sup>13</sup>Panayotis C Christou, *Ὁ Μέγας Βασιλειος* (Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki, 1978), p 79ff

<sup>14</sup>Paniotis Trembelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι* (Zoe, Athens, 1935), p 172ff

<sup>15</sup>*First Homily of the Hexaemeron*, chap 5 See also *Homily 15*, chap 8ff See also *Homily 19*, chap 8 This is a brief reference to some of the works of St Basil the Great See also the excellent comparative work done by Prof Fountoulis *op cit* , p 43ff

<sup>16</sup>Gregory, *Funeral Oration*, 34, in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol 22, *op cit* , p 56

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid* , chap 52, p 70 No comments are necessary here because St Gregory the Theologian vividly presents the emergence of St Basil the Great in the Liturgical experience of the Church He stands, he prays, he performs the Eucharist in front of the Emperor with sincere piety and deep faith indeed

<sup>18</sup>See English translation, St Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 1997), p 98ff

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid* , p 99

<sup>20</sup>Quasten, *op cit* p 210 The Greek text is "τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητα καὶ τὸ ἀχώριστον τῆς κοινωνίας"

<sup>21</sup>Fr Jesus Solano, S J , *Textos Eucaristicos Primitivos, Biblioteca De Autores Cristianos* (Madrid, 1952), Vol 1, p 399ff

<sup>22</sup>Migne, *PG* , *Moralia*, Reg 21, Vol 31, 737C-741A

<sup>23</sup>*The Morals*, See English translation in *St Basil, Ascetical Works* (translated by Sister M Monica Wagner C S C , The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D C , 1970, 3rd printing), p 101

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid* , pp 389-390

<sup>25</sup>See English translation *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil* (translated by W K L Clarke, D D , Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1925), p 350

<sup>26</sup>Christou, *op cit* , pp 80-81

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid* , pp 81-83

<sup>28</sup>See English translation in Saint Basil, *Letters*, (translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way, C D P , The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D C , 1955), Vol 2, pp 83-84

<sup>29</sup>For the original text see *M Βασιλείου 'Εργα*, Vol 6, p 22ff

<sup>30</sup>St Basil the Great, *An Ascetical Discourse, The Fathers of the Church* (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D C , 1950), Vol 1, p 212ff Also, see St Basil the Great, *The Long Rules*, Question 37, *Ibid*, Vol 9, p 306ff

<sup>31</sup>See discussion on this matter in *The Fathers of the Church*, Vol 13, p 208, footnote 1 See also the series *The Loeb Classical Library, The Letter of St Basil the Great* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1950), Vol 2, pp 144-147

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid* , p 145, footnote 2 See also the discussion on this issue by Prof Robert F Taft, *Beyond East and West (Problems in Liturgical Understanding)* (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1997), p 93 He claims that this letter may be the work of Severus of Antioch (died 538 AD)

<sup>33</sup>See English translation in Saint Basil, *Letters*, (translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way, C D P, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D C , 1951), Vol 1, pp 208-209

<sup>34</sup>*John* 6 54

<sup>35</sup>See English translation by Frank L Cross in *St Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments* (S P C K , London, 1960), p 79

<sup>36</sup>George Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Milwaukee, & London, 1970), p 44

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>38</sup>See *Contra Judeos*, in Migne, *PG* , Vol 48, 866ff Also, *On the Statues* Homily 20, in Migne, *PG* , Vol 49, p 204 and pp 211-212 Also, *On Repentance*, in Migne, *PG* , Vol 49, 343-346 Also, *On Nativity*, in Migne, *PG* , Vol 49, 360ff Also, *On the Baptism of Christ*, Migne, *PG* , Vol 49, 369-372 *On the Treason of Judas*, Migne, *PG* , Vol 49, 379-382, here St John Chrysostom calls the Eucharist 'Spiritual Pascha' For the debate, as far as the frequency of Holy Communion, see the book by Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis, *Περί τῆς συχνῆς μεταληψεως* ( 'On the Frequency of Communion' ) (Ekdoseis Tinos, Athens, 1992) See also my introduction in *Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain* (Paulist Press, New York, 1989), p 24ff St Nicodemus believes that all Christians (who are prepared) should receive Holy Communion frequently However, recently Archimandrite Vasilios Bakoyiannis in his book *Το φρικτό μυστήριο* (Ihnilasias, Athens, 1997), believes that Christians are not required to receive Holy Communion frequently See also, *Frequent Holy Communion (A Historical Synopsis and a Commentary)* by Reverend Joseph Nicholas Stadler, J C L , (The Catholic University of America Press Inc , Washington, D C , 1947) See a special article on the frequency of the Eucharist throughout history in the book of Robert F Taft, *Beyond East and West*, *op cit* , p 87ff

<sup>39</sup>Fenwick, *op cit*

<sup>40</sup>J Dorese and E Lanne, 'Un temoin archaïque de la liturgie copte', S Basile, Louvain, 1960

<sup>41</sup>Fenwick, *op cit* , p 298ff

<sup>42</sup>For a discussion of this issue, see by Antonios E Alygizakis, *The Liturgical Music According to St Basil the Great* (in Greek) Also *Tomos Eortios, On St Basil the Great* (Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 1981), p 255ff Also, Peter Karavites, "Saint Basil and Hymnology," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 37 (1992) 203-214

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

case lived at the very end of the period covered in this book. The other women - among whom are Macrina, Marcella and her companions, Paula the Elder and Paula the Younger, Melania the Elder and Melania the Younger - are described by their male counterparts and admirers, either bishops (such as Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome) or monastics (such as Palladius and Gerontius). Even this literary genre unfortunately became less frequent in later centuries, especially in the East, although this may be at least in part a result of the numerous destructions, crusades, and persecutions there.

This is a readable translation, which for the most adheres closely to the original Greek and Latin. The brief bibliography (pp. 435-41) is a select list of primary sources and their translations, together with some suggested titles that provide a general background to the persons and themes that are the subject matter of this book.

John Chryssavgis

*Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives.* T. Vivian (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) pages 207.

*Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints Lives in English Translation,* A.- M. Talbot (ed.) (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996) pages 352.

One of the exciting developments of patristic scholarship has been, not only the discovery of many hitherto unknown or unrecognized texts of holy men and women of early or byzantine Christianity, but especially the re-discovery of the world that lies behind these texts that reveal the social, economic, historical and religious conditions of their time. There is, however, yet a further dimension that is unveiled in the careful reading of these *Lives*, and that is the prayerful life of men and women who, each of them through personal and particular (sometimes even peculiar) journeys, sought to relate to God.

The book by Tim Vivian (Lecturer in Religious Studies at California State University) contains the stories of *seven early monastics* (six men and one woman) in translations that have appeared in various publications. Each story is introduced by Vivian who explores the fundamental themes of the texts: the notion of "detachment", the concept of spiritual journey", monastic "transvestism", holiness and miracles, holiness and prayer, the monastic as a spiritual model, and

mystical union. Although the introductions are popular and the translations are graceful, this book is the product of sound research and careful textual scholarship. It is enhanced by enlightening notes, as well as by bibliographical material and useful indices.

The book edited by Alice-Mary Talbot (editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*) presents the biographies of *ten holy women* representing a wide variety of Byzantine female saints ranging from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. There are nuns disguised as monks, female solitaries, nuns in communities, pious housewives, and even a saintly empress. This selection of *lives* appears for the first time in an English translation, and the collection is the initial volume in a new series by Dumbarton Oaks, "Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation".

Not only are readers introduced to the divergent paths to sanctification in Byzantium (ascetic discipline, monastic obedience, repentance and love, prophecy and miracles), but they are also informed about a number of aspects of Byzantine civilization ("barbarian" attacks, iconoclasm, monastic and family life). Finally, the attitudes, (positive and negative) of the Byzantines towards the status of women, as well as the gradual transformation in type of female saint is evident in these texts. Six of the ten *lives* in this volume were definitely written by men, while the gender of the remaining (anonymous) authors is unknown. However, the audience for these *vitae* of holy women included both sexes.

The translations endeavor to remain faithful to the Greek text, while at the same time being readable. The variations in style reflect the taste of the individual translators, rather than that of the hagiographer or that of the editor who has only imposed consistency in the translation of key terms. The book also includes two useful indices.

It is particularly pleasing to note two contributions (with translation, introduction, notes, and bibliography) by graduates of the Holy Cross School of Theology, Dr. Nicholas Conostas and Dr. Valerie Karras. The volume is very attractively and inexpensively produced. We look forward to future titles in this series by Dumbarton Oaks.

John Chrysavgis

*L'Esprit répandu, La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, Jacques Lison, Preface de J.M.R. Tillard, (Paris, 1994) pages 305.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

mystical union. Although the introductions are popular and the translations are graceful, this book is the product of sound research and careful textual scholarship. It is enhanced by enlightening notes, as well as by bibliographical material and useful indices.

The book edited by Alice-Mary Talbot (editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*) presents the biographies of *ten holy women* representing a wide variety of Byzantine female saints ranging from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. There are nuns disguised as monks, female solitaries, nuns in communities, pious housewives, and even a saintly empress. This selection of *lives* appears for the first time in an English translation, and the collection is the initial volume in a new series by Dumbarton Oaks, "Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation".

Not only are readers introduced to the divergent paths to sanctification in Byzantium (ascetic discipline, monastic obedience, repentance and love, prophecy and miracles), but they are also informed about a number of aspects of Byzantine civilization ("barbarian" attacks, iconoclasm, monastic and family life). Finally, the attitudes, (positive and negative) of the Byzantines towards the status of women, as well as the gradual transformation in type of female saint is evident in these texts. Six of the ten *lives* in this volume were definitely written by men, while the gender of the remaining (anonymous) authors is unknown. However, the audience for these *vitae* of holy women included both sexes.

The translations endeavor to remain faithful to the Greek text, while at the same time being readable. The variations in style reflect the taste of the individual translators, rather than that of the hagiographer or that of the editor who has only imposed consistency in the translation of key terms. The book also includes two useful indices.

It is particularly pleasing to note two contributions (with translation, introduction, notes, and bibliography) by graduates of the Holy Cross School of Theology, Dr. Nicholas Constas and Dr. Valerie Karras. The volume is very attractively and inexpensively produced. We look forward to future titles in this series by Dumbarton Oaks.

John Chrysavgis

*L'Esprit répandu, La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, Jacques Lison, Preface de J.M.R. Tillard, (Paris, 1994) pages 305.

J. Lison's doctoral dissertation submitted at the Catholic University of Louvain is yet another testimony to the significant change in the way which modern Western theology perceives the work of Gregory Palamas.

Despite the fact that until now, save for a few isolated exceptions, the theological teachings of Gregory Palamas have been subjected to methodical polemics mostly on the part of Roman Catholic theologians, J. Lison's work opens the possibility for an authentic theological dialogue between East and West. In this dissertation Palamas' work is correctly seen within the context of the tradition from which it issues and is interpreted from within the selfsame theological thought of the hesychast theologian and not through the scholastic dioptré, as has usually been the case until recently.

Through the inspired academic direction of Professor A. De Halleux, the author chose the study of the Pneumatology of Palamas, a subject which has traditionally been a bone of contention between East and West but which has great importance for the ecumenical dialogue today, mainly due to its experiential and not so much its academic dimension. With his superb knowledge of the corpus of Palamite works, J. Lison analyzes the teaching of Gregory Palamas on the Holy Spirit in three sections. In the first section, taking the Incarnation as a point of departure, the "economy" of the Holy Spirit is presented as it passes through each Christological event culminating with Pentecost. In this way the "economy" of the Spirit is portrayed as closely linked to the economy of Christ. In the second section the author deals with the manifestation and gift of the Paraclete to humanity, examining the relationship between the Spirit and the divine energies and the connection which exists between the "economy" of the Spirit and the energies with the other hypostases of the Divinity. Following in sequence, the author refers systematically to the argumentation used by Palamas during the hesychast controversy to set forth the theological distinction between essence and energies as well as the issue of the participation of created beings in the uncreated energies. The third section elaborates upon Palamas' teaching on the sacramental life, ascesis, prayer and unification with God as well as on the graces and gifts which *theosis* provides through the Holy Spirit within the context of the "vertical" dimension of pneumatology.

This multifold analysis of Palamas' Pneumatology certainly con-

stitutes a most significant and specialized contribution to the study of the theology of the hesychast theologian in the West following the dissertation of J. Meyendorff of blessed memory.

In gleanings certain positions held by J. Lison resulting from his study of the Palamite texts, we must note straightaway that, despite the fact that he is inspired by the Russian theologian of the diaspora V. Lossky for the concept of the "economy" of the Holy Spirit, his entire presentation of Palamite Pneumatology is connected to Christology. This furthermore exhibits the significant fact that no Person of the divinity is obscured or devaluated with respect to the others in the economy of salvation.

The author also demonstrates that the divine energy is not an impersonal emanation from the divine essence but rather the personal communion of divine life within the context of the circumincession of the Persons of the Trinity and their particular roles within economy. The clarification of the meaning of the en-hypostatic Trinitarian energy which is held in common by the Persons of the Trinity is quite valuable and illuminating with respect to this aforementioned issue and for the prevention of any pantheistic interpretations of the distinction between essence and energies. Along with the above, this clarification also constitutes a weighty answer to those scholars who carelessly ascribe to Palamas' teachings neo-Platonic influences or "essentialism" or even the obscuring of the Triadic hypostases within the context of the unfolding of the economy of salvation.

Finally, J. Lison's analysis through which the sacramental, baptismal and eucharistic character of divine grace is demonstrated is quite significant. The grace of the Holy Spirit and the eucharistic body of Christ together constitute the source of *theosis* and of the illumination of the faithful. The sacramental life is nothing more than the internalization of the Taborean light. Hence, the spirituality of the hesychast saint is fully "Christo-centric and eucharistic", within the context of the particular role of the Holy Spirit for the transmittal of divine grace to humanity. In this way the author answers to the accusations of certain Western scholars that Palamas develops his conception of the reception of divine grace within an exo-sacramental climate, a Pneumatocratic elitism of the hesychasts, and that he thus proposes an exclusively therapeutic ecclesiology disconnected and independent from the liturgical-sacramental life of the ecclesiastical community.

Without the least desire to mitigate Lison's remarkable contribution to Palamite studies, we nevertheless deem it necessary to proceed on to a few critical observations on isolated positions set forth in his dissertation.

1. The author, following in the footsteps of V. Lossky, adopts the term "economy" of the Holy Spirit, of course without progressing to the extreme position of this Russian theologian, i.e. that of an economy of the Holy Spirit independent from the economy of Christ with all the correlative consequences such a position entails. The author also sees Palamas as expressing the ideas of the famed Pneumatological circle of Byzantine theology, a conception which draws its origins from the Russian theologians of the diaspora. Hence, although J. Lison manages to steer away from the dangerous reefs of a Losskian Pneumatomonism, he leaves open the crucial issue of a full and organic *synthesis* of Christology and Pneumatology together with all the consequences which such a synthesis entails for all levels of theology in accordance with Palamas' teachings. The unusual position put forth here according to which the "economy" of the Spirit for Palamas starts with the Incarnation and therefore its activity is absent in the Old Testament (p. 21, 23, footnote 15) should be understood as resulting from this lack of a full synthesis of Christology and Pneumatology. Furthermore, the declaration of the author that he was unable to find any connection between Pneumatology and the Resurrection of Christ (p. 61) most probably is due simply to a minor academic, scholastic detail. According to Palamas, the Resurrection of Christ is described as "Spiritual" in the same way that the human nature of Christ from the beginning is contiguous with and vivified through the uncreated energies of the assisting Spirit in the specific; (*autourgiki*) Economy of the Son. For the hesychast theologian the Resurrection most certainly is accomplished Triadocentrically and does not result from a relation of Christ with some impersonal attribute of the divinity.

2. J. Lison quite correctly interprets the Pneumatology of Palamas emphasizing that then divine grace is manifested and participated in, the Holy Spirit is communicated without the participation of its essence or its hypostasis. He adds nevertheless that in his earlier works Palamas accepted that the hypostasis of the Spirit makes itself essentially present during its manifestation in the work of economy (p. 71). This point in the total presentation of Palamite pneumatology

requires some clarification, otherwise it may not make sense or may even produce an analogous confusion reminiscent of the accusations of Messalianism or pantheism in the theology of Palamas.

On this we must first of all emphasize that the sending of the Spirit to the world occurs by means of a Person and not as a non-essential and non-hypostatic energy of God. The energies are always *en-hypostatic* and not impersonal powers of the Triadic divinity. Of course, within the context of the hypostatic sending of the Holy Spirit we participate neither in the essence nor in its hypostasis, but rather in its uncreated enhypostatic energies. Indeed, Palamas understands that the Spirit “has therefore been poured out essentially for us and after us, this has been manifested through the Spirit itself granting divine power; it is always present to us essentially in its hypostasis, and although we participate neither in the essence nor in the hypostasis, we do participate in the grace” (*Logos Apodeiktikos II, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* 64, Gregory Palamas Writings, vol I, by P. Christou, ed., p. 135). However, the adverb “essentially”, besides its Trinitarian nuance, has an anthropological connotation in Palamas’ thought. According to the Cappadocian fathers (Basil and Gregory the Theologian), the Holy Spirit dwells “essentially” in man. This, as Palamas interprets it, is tantamount to the charismatic outpouring of the Spirit within the very depths of created being. The energy and not the essence nor the hypostasis of the Spirit penetrates and fills the essence of the soul of man transforming it into the spiritual temple of God together with the body joined to it. In the same way that the soul exists “essentially” in every member of the human body, the *theosis* of the saints also will be complete in man according to the degree of unity between soul and body. The “essentially” refers, in this different context, to the human soul and does not mean that the sanctification granted by the Holy Spirit belongs in an exclusively personal way to the Holy Spirit only or even that the very essence or the hypostasis of the Paraclete is what is participated in during sanctification.

3. With reference to the controversial issue of the *filioque*, J. Lison simply acknowledges that Palamas’ contribution to this question is very great and is due to what he claims is Palamas’ openness to the Western conception on this issue: that the Spirit’s activity originates from the essence of the Son as well as from that of the Father, thus witnessing to the homoousion as well as to the mutual circumincession of the divine hypostases (p. 95-96). We must remark here the surpris-

ing fact that J. Lison avoided the employment of Palamas' two *Convincing Words on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (Ἀποδεικτικὸν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος), a fact which weakens the fullness and coherence of his interpretation of Palamite Pneumatology. The contribution of Palamas to the *filioque* question here referred to by Lison, which in fact comprises the only acceptable version of the *filioque* for Orthodoxy, however, cannot be understood without his teaching on the double procession of the Spirit (eternal and in time) which can be interpreted only upon the basis of the distinction between essence and energies in God, between theology and economy, the monarchy of the Father and the incommunicability of the particular hypostatic properties. However, in order to avoid anything which could possibly revive the unproductive *filioque* controversy, J. Lison shies from making any reference to Palamas' arguments on the *filioque*. This has the result of depriving this otherwise excellent dissertation from exhibiting a deeper and more balanced reciprocal relationship between Pneumatology and Christology, through which the inseparable, essential, energetic and interpersonal link between Christ and the Spirit is manifested in eternity as well as in economy.

4. In the last part of his dissertation J. Lison maintains that nowhere does Palamas directly allow for a horizontal ecclesiological dimension in his Pneumatology. He judges this as being supposedly due to the monastic stance of the hesychast theologian which renders him less sensitive with respect to the community of saints in the ecclesiastical community (pp. 218-219, 265-267). Hence, Palamas is portrayed as projecting a vertical perception of communion with God and, together with this, an individualistic version of salvation within the framework of a vertical Pneumatology. Note that the above views are suspiciously repeated by J.M.R. Tillard who prefaces this dissertation, thus reviving the classic armory of anti-palamite argumentation. J. Lison justifies the lack of an ecclesiological dimension in the Pneumatology of Palamas for the most part through V. Lossky's position that the Holy Spirit is not a link of unity between the faithful, rather it promotes the personal differentiation of the faithful within the context of their *theosis*.

On this it must be stated first of all that nowhere in his writings does Palamas exclude the horizontal dimension of Pneumatology and nowhere is he seen to be uninterested in the total structure of the

ecclesiastical community. A cursory reading of the *Homilies* of the hesychast Archbishop of Thessaloniki is a proof in point. Indeed, the Holy Spirit never deals with the life of disconnected individuals, as if it were a matter of the private inspiration of a specific class of the privileged, a class which is distinguished from the common body of the Church. According to the hesychast Saint, inspiration is indeed a personal experience but it occurs only within the specific and historical context of the eucharistic community, in this way the issue of inspiration is seen in its ecclesiological fullness. The activity of the Spirit brings forth unity in Christ through the sacraments, and together with this it confirms the various functions and gifts in the Church as events of communion with Christ for the benefit and up building of the ecclesiastical body.

Pneumatology in the theology of Palamas is not reduced to “sociology” – at any rate, how could this be possible since grace is uncreated, not created – rather, it constitutes the criterion for a solid theology and life, according to which *gifts* and *institutions* are synthesized harmonically. This is the mystical life of the Church which is lived experientially in the liturgical and ascetic dimensions of the life of the faithful. If Gregory Palamas emphasized through his Pneumatology the charismatic life of *theosis*, he did not do this independently of the sacraments, but rather as a new elaboration upon the historical and institutional dimension of the life of the ecclesiastical body, as a re-constitution of the unique Christological event.

Stavros Yangazoglou

*“Virgins of God”: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity.* Susanna Elm (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) [p.b. 1996], pages 444.

This book is based on the author’s doctoral dissertation submitted in 1986 to the University of Oxford and entitled “The Organization and Institutions of Female Asceticism in Fourth Century Cappadocia and Egypt”. The original thesis has been substantially edited and revised, not least in order to include an updating of the rapidly increasing bibliography in this field. Thus the useful footnotes and extended “Select Bibliography” (pp. 387-429) refer to more recent publications in the primary sources, but especially in the secondary material (for example by E. Amelineau, P. Brown, C.W. Bynum, E. Clark, and



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Missionary Challenges in Post-communist Contexts

---

FR. IOAN SAUCA

Post communist contexts are complex realities. They are characterized by certain specific aspects, but, in general, they are faced with the similar problems and challenges of the other contexts in which the Orthodox Churches live. The process of secularization is on the way. The settings are multi-cultural, multifaith and multiconfessional as well, being confronted with all the consequences that these imply. Finally, the present social and economic developments resemble more and more third world countries and contexts. It is important, however, to briefly analyze the Orthodox missionary ethos and practical endeavors developed and used during the time of hardship and persecution in order to transmit the faith to younger generations and to keep the Church of Christ alive as well as her present day missionary efforts in answering to and to facing the contemporary challenges and problems.

On the other hand, each country which lived in the Communist Bloc had its specific problems and characteristics. For this reason, I will present this survey from the perspective of the Romanian context to which I belong. In general, however, the problems faced by all the Orthodox Churches in the ex-communist contexts were very similar.

### *A. Specific Challenges during Communist Dictatorship*

1. Militant atheism. The Orthodox Church has constantly been, throughout centuries, a crucified Church. She had to carry the heavy burden of the cross and to pass often through martyrdom in order to experience the paschal joy of its survival.

The later decades of this century, however, were some of the most difficult times. The communist state was in its very being an atheistic state, openly directed against the Church. The Church was to disappear; the materialistic and atheistic ideology had to prevail. By the 1960s it was predicted that, in about 30 years, all churches were to become empty museums. To speed that process, some churches and Christian centers in certain countries were transformed into museums of atheism.

Formal religious education was completely forbidden and the priests dared to do it were heavily punished. Moreover, on Sunday mornings, and during the Christian feast days, the public schools organized compulsory recreation activities, so that students did not go to church.

In such a context, the place where religious life, in most cases, has been lived and carried on, was the Orthodox family. There the liturgical rhythm was carried on as a way of life and the feasts celebrated as a normal and natural integral part of daily life. Consequently, the faith has been carried on and transmitted more as a way of living and being rather than knowing and understanding, an intellectual gymnastic. The family became, in such situations, the authentic missionary laboratory of the Church.

These realities explain why even some of the highest communist officials baptized their babies in secret, and, later on, during the anti-communist upheaval, young people gathered in hundreds of thousands and organized themselves as the "Church in the street," with crosses and icons, crying: "There is God; Down Communism. God is with us!"

2. The Challenge of Evangelicals and Other Christian Groups. New Protestant groups began to spread in Romania long before the period of the Communist dictatorship. During the Communist period, however, this growth continued with intensity. The Communist state gave them a certain freedom compared to the other religious denominations because of their strong relationship with people in western countries.

In facing the Evangelical challenge, there were two approaches developed in time by the Church:

a) to copy their methodology, practice and ethos while remaining Orthodox in doctrine. So a group called "God's Army" was estab-

lished who gathered lay people especially and promoted the reading of the Bible, lay preachers, free prayers and singing of hymns similar to the Protestant ones but with Orthodox content.

Unfortunately, in time a great number of these people joined themselves with the Evangelicals or another group that developed independent from the Church. A smaller group is active to this day in the Church. The Communist regime made "God's Army" illegal but after the Revolution it has been revived and is acting with the blessing of the Holy Synod.

b) The second method was to insist on strengthening the life of the parish and in making Orthodoxy meaningful to the people. During Communist time this method was insisted upon and it continues as a priority of our Church to this day. Priests were asked to teach the congregation the hymns of the Church, to encourage their participate actively and loudly in reciting certain prayers, etc. On the other hand, it was insisted that the priests preach as often as possible with the Bible in their hands.

In time, it has been proved, that Orthodoxy when it is lived and understood authentically does not need strategic methods to defend itself or to spread. It is a missionary reality and power through and in itself.

### *B. Challenges after the Fall of Communism*

1. Discrediting attacks. Immediately after the Revolution, some of the "intellectuals" together with Roman Catholic and Evangelical circles started a discreditory attack against the Orthodox Church and against Orthodoxy as a whole accusing the Church of collaboration with the communist regime. Due to this, the patriarch resigned, but after a few months the Synod and the people brought him back as no canonical nor moral fault could be found in his previous activity in the Church.

The Christian history of Romania has been "revised." Articles were written that as a Latin nation, the Romanian were first Catholics and only later were made Orthodox. Consequently, the Orthodox Church has been accused of separating the Romanian from their sister Latin Catholic nations in Europe and for keeping them in the dark uncivilized sphere of the Slavs and the Greeks.

Despite these, the people remained strongly closed to their Orthodox Church. Thousands of young people study theology, many people

share interest for reading theological, patristic and spiritual books, the monasteries are full with young monks and nuns.

2. Proselytism was conducted by Western Evangelical groups as well as by Uniates. Sects and new religious movements are also active.

3. New converts from Oriental religions, Transcendental meditation, Evangelical groups etc. As they come with a different ethos, often become intolerant, strongly confessionalist, and antiecumenical. Although their number is very few, the Church has to deal with that new challenge.

4. Individuals and groups led by messianic and apostolic visions. Many people claim to have visions and revelations of God, being convinced about their messianic role in the salvation of the world.

5. Political and mass-media manipulations. Every political party, for electoral purposes tries to make use of the influence of the Church among people. Since the Church tries to remain neutral, she is almost always criticized and blamed by all parties.

6. Relationship between State and Church. The old Byzantine symbiosis between the two entities, made out of these two an almost ecclesiological reality. There are voices who long for the Christian tsar or *basileus*, for a Christian state, nation or culture. It has to be faced in the light of the present day culture.

### *C. The Missionary Endeavors of the Church in Facing the Present Day Challenges*

Despite the different economic problems and the lack of enough trained personell, the Church has made efforts during the recent years to respond adequately to the new challenges that confront her.

Great efforts have been made in the following fields:

1. Renewal and strengthening of her liturgical life and her social involvement in society.

2. Religious education in public schools. Although not compulsory, more than 98% of children attend classes. Through the children, many families are returning to the Church.

3. Religious broadcasts on radio and television.

4. Chaplains for students in universities, in prisons, hospitals, orphanages, and old people homes.

5. Diaconia for street children, for the poor, Christian hospitals, and care for the needy

*D. Missionary Principles for Orthodox Endeavors Today.*

In order to be authentic to our own Orthodoxy, as well as credible and effective in our missionary endeavors today, the following principles and methods should be, in my opinion, taken into account:

1. to make Orthodoxy and its liturgical life alive and fully and fully understand by the people;

2. to promote, strengthen and encourage the Orthodox ethos and way of life as a liturgy after the Liturgy, as a living out of the faith, teachings and liturgical life of the Church;

3. to make all people aware of the responsibility to share their experience and life in Christ with the whole of creation;

4. and a sharing which characterizes the Orthodox missionary witness has to be an art of love towards others; any passionate, aggressive and discrediting campaigns against others with the purpose of uprooting them from their constituencies and increasing the number of the members of our own Church should be avoided; we witness but God in the one who converts and who leads people to His truth;

5. while deeply looking at problems of our times and trying to give answers and solutions to these, to avoid the temptation of making our message attractive to and accepted by the people of our time by modeling it according to their expectations and by avoiding to clearly convey God's own revealed message;

6. to show respect and sensitivity towards a certain local, national and cultural context, avoiding any sign of superiority or self-sufficiency. To witness in humility together with the local Church, avoiding tendencies of giving lessons but being rather open to what the Spirit in teaching both groups during their common effort of witnessing together;

7. to continue our genuine witness within the Ecumenical Movement, joining our efforts with other Churches in our common search for the visible unity of the Church as it is also a priority and a high responsibility of our Orthodox Church.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

difficulty not being touched by the frightening moral tale of “The Proud Monk” (138-143), or moved by the lively intercession of the loving abbot in “The Monk in the Cave”, or else frankly amused by the plight of the robber chieftain who finds himself, by virtue of a totally unexpected and undeserved miracle, taken as a holy man in the very convent he had set out to despoil (134-137), or the reluctant confession of virtue by an imperial administrator of brothels in “Sergius, Demotes of Alexandria” (119-126). This is not heavy stuff. It deals with neither the intricacies of divinity nor the solemn and exalting mysteries of the masters of the spiritual life, but it is edifying – sometimes – and nearly always a pleasure to read, perhaps especially to read aloud.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

Archimandrite Vassileios (Gondakakis), *Beauty and Hesychia in Athonite Life; Europe and the Holy Mountain; and Monastic Life as True Marriage*: Numbers 1, 2, and 4 resp. of the *Series: Mount Athos*, tr. Dr. Constantine Kokenes (1 and 2) and Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff(4), pub. by Dr. John Hadjinicolaou, (Montreal: Alexander Press, 1996).

Archimandrite Vassileios is already familiar to American readers from the St. Vladimir’s Press translation of his earlier work, *Eisodikon (Hymn of Entry, NY: 1984)*. Abbot successively of two Athonite monasteries, Stavronikita (1968-1990) and Iveron (1990-present), his writings on the Orthodox spiritual tradition draw on both learning and experience, study and decades of prayer. The three pamphlets listed above, running from seventeen to just over thirty pages each, are part of series begun recently through the efforts of Dr. John Hadjinicolaou. They are beautifully printed, illustrated with cover icons in color and black and white line drawings within the text, and are well served by the clear and idiomatic translations that we have come to expect, in particular, from Dr. Theokritoff, the translator for St. Vladimir’s Press of both *Eisodikon* and C. Yannaras’ *He Eleutheria tou Ethous (The Freedom of Morality, NY: 1984)*.

Father Vassileios’ writing is remarkable. He quotes his sources on occasion, but far more often is content with allusion. The Cappadocians, Desert Fathers, Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus Confessor, Isaac of Nineveh, Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas figure most prominently, together with echoes of the liturgy



and the conciliar teaching of the Church. Yet the prose is never labored nor, certainly, “academic” in tone. The reader has the impression instead of the sort of thing one feels in St. Symeon, an immersion in the Tradition which is so complete that the author can write freely since he has made the mind of the saints his own.

Another result of this immersion is that the three little treatises published here tend to blend into each other. To be sure, each one has its ostensible topic, but each is also, at root, about the one mystery of *theosis* under one or another of its aspects. Thus *Beauty and Hesychia*, the first in the series, speaks of the comeliness of creation, both as it appears to even the casual observer – thus the splendid opening passage (pp.7-8) describing the luminescence of an Athonite sunset – and, more particularly, as restored in the crucifixion, resurrection, and transfiguration of humanity in and through the monastic life as a participation in Christ. The second, *Mount Athos and Europe*, takes as its starting point the question, “what has Athos to contribute to the emerging European union” (pp.7-10), sketches the fusion of cultures, Jewish and classical Greek, that Eastern Christianity effected (11-14), in order to move on to the “kenotic”, communitarian society incarnated by the life of an Athonite monastery (15-25). The latter is at once “conciliar” and, therefore, Trinitarian (26), echoing the liturgy (27-30) and thus revealing all humanity as the one, new man” in Christ (30-32). *Monastic Life as True Marriage*, the fourth in the series, returns in a sense to the specific themes of the first pamphlet, the at once universal and personal aspects of union with the Son of God which are revealed in monastic life as the transfiguration of *eros* (7-12). Balancing the first two pamphlets, however, with their macrocosmic and communitarian emphases, Father Vassileios brings up in this little treatise the ancient – both Christian and pre-Christian – theme of the human being as microcosm: “Each Christian becomes by grace the place of Him [Christ]...a Church in miniature” (17). This note of the believer as the “place” of God, the *topos theou*, is a theme at once rooted in ascetic literature and in the lexicon of the Old Testament tabernacle and temple. The author extends the image through a consideration of the “stretching” of the soul in order to make “room” for Christ, “the infinite extension” of human possibilities through cooperation with uncreated grace (18-22). The soul’s expansion through the spiritual marriage with Christ leads Father Vassileios on to another traditional image, though an unusual one: the recovery of the

beauty of the image through spiritual “pregnancy” and “childbirth” (23-25). At the end of this process lies the miracle of heaven itself, that concelebration of opposites – divinity and humanity, infinity and boundedness, motion and repose – which is the *telos* of the transfiguration of *eros* (26-27). The whole meditation concludes (28-32) with an extraordinary paean of praise to St. Isaac of Nineveh as the exemplar of all these qualities. Here the author’s language clearly appears to want to break into poetry, with sentences collapsing into fragments. He does this effectively, though, since the breakdown, as it were, of his grammar is deliberate, intended to serve and underline the sense of paradox and wonder.

These three works, particularly the latter two, might serve very well as the base reading for an adult study group, though the group in question would have to be fairly advanced and, moreover, be graced with a leader versed in the thought and literature of the Church. Given that, however, each little pamphlet turns out to be wonderfully dense, a kind of distillate of the cosmology, ecclesiology, spiritual life – and not to forget Christology and Triadology as well – of the Orthodox Tradition. “Unpacking” them, to use a modern expression, would be to take the participants on a grand tour of the scriptures, the liturgical tradition, and the fathers.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **Papal Authority and the Ministry of Primacy\***

---

ANTONIOS KIREOPOULOS

The issue of authority in the Church has been with us since the first days of the believing community's existence. The confrontation between Paul and the leaders in Jerusalem to which Galatians 2 and Acts 15 refer is but one example. One merely reads the accounts and is struck by the passions which characterized the conflict. Since biblical times, this issue has been no less hotly debated, perhaps with even more passion. Indeed, because the controversy over the centuries came to focus on the power – real or imagined, perceived or misperceived – of the Bishop of Rome, the issue of authority became the central, divisive issue in the One Church of Christ.

The story of the estrangement<sup>1</sup> and schism between East and West is often told, and quite familiar to us all, and therefore in no need of repetition here. Also in no need of repetition are the divergent histories of the two Churches: Rome's rise in political and ecclesiastical power, and the subjugation of Orthodox patriarchates to political and religious enemies. It suffices for us here to recall only that two views of primatial authority evolved in the respective halves of the Christian world: in the East, a primacy of honor, and in the West, a primacy of jurisdiction, or rather of (supreme) power. To use such simplistic categories is perhaps to commit the sin of generalization. I do so for the sake of brevity. Nevertheless, such a sin often invites a further sin within Orthodox circles: an all-too-common negative polemic against papal primacy, with an accompanying triumphalism regarding our

\* This Paper was first presented at the Orthodox Theological Society of America meeting in June, 1995.

<sup>1</sup> See Yves Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years: The Background of the Schism Between Eastern and Western Churches* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1959).

own understanding of primacy. If we can avoid this second sin, such general categories may well serve our purposes here today. How so? First, despite the historical development of a powerful papacy, understanding primacy in terms of honor still offers a sound critique to universal primacy of jurisdiction. Second, and more importantly for our present discussion, despite living within the Church that has reaped the benefits of such historical development, the *problem* of understanding primacy in terms of power is one with which contemporary Roman Catholic thinkers are struggling. In short, in the spirit of renewal that was the characteristic and inheritance of Vatican Council II, Roman Catholic theologians are re-thinking the meaning of primacy. This, then, a review of the current Roman Catholic debate on papal primacy, a review of the literature, if you will, though we will only be scratching the surface, is the main concern of the present discussion. At the same time, it is hoped that some light will be shed on the viability of some aspects of our age-old critique, and thus perhaps that some ideas might suggest themselves so that this critique is to indeed remain a critique and not become an outdated criticism.

### *Papal Authority: Historical Overview*

It was at Vatican Council I (1869-70) that the papacy was defined in the strongest of terms. The definitions concerned both primacy and infallibility: one, that the pope enjoys primacy of jurisdiction, which was said to be instituted by Christ in his promise to Peter (Mt. 16:16ff) and immediately and directly bestowed upon him, and which was specifically not to be regarded simply as a primacy of honor; two, that this primacy was instituted to secure the perpetual welfare of the Church, and thus as Peter lives in his successors, so does the perpetuity of the primacy; three, that the pope therefore enjoys an ordinary and immediate power over the whole Church, a supreme and universal power which in turn requires the full submission of all the Faithful in matters of faith, morals, discipline and government; and four, that when the defense of the faith requires it, the pope is able to pronounce infallibly the doctrine of the Church.<sup>2</sup> Though this latter definition, infallibility, is beyond the scope of this paper, it would be good to keep in mind that infallibility is, of course, an extension

<sup>2</sup> See *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990).

of the teaching on primacy. Also good to remember, is that the invocation of infallibility, though not subject to reformability or the consent of the Church, is severely circumscribed: it must deal with matters of faith and morals only; it does not extend to the definition of new doctrines, only to the preservation and teaching of already-accepted beliefs; it can only be used when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, or, in other words, when he speaks as the pastor and teacher of the entire Church; it refers only to that infallibility with which Christ is understood to have endowed the Church itself. Despite these restrictions, the doctrine of infallibility is considered today by many – and even by many Roman Catholics, I suspect – as a “scandal” and even “offensive.”<sup>3</sup>

If we are to look for the immediate reasons for the definitions of Vatican I, we need merely look at the political and cultural context of 19th-century western Europe. As Avery Dulles sums up the situation, the Church was battling the inheritance of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, i.e., nationalism, subjectivism, liberalism and relativism.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, the Church was specifically battling Gallicanism, a movement which sought to eradicate the pope’s powers in temporal affairs. But such a battle was not new to Rome. As early as 1610, St. Robert Bellarmine wrote in defense of the pope’s right to depose state monarchs.<sup>5</sup> Bellarmine was at the time writing a defense against William Barclay’s criticism of Pope Sixtus’s move to depose Henry of Navarre, a move occasioned by the latter’s support for the Reformation. Gallicanism, which had its roots in the 17th century, likewise sought to strip the pope of the powers of deposition, and, among other things, to make him subject to the conciliar process. In the 19th-century context, i.e., facing a further weakening of the Church, the conservatives in the Church could not give in to this threat. These conservatives, or Ultramontanists, as they were called, won the day at Vatican I. Still, it was not a complete victory; the restrictions placed on the doctrine of infallibility, mentioned above,

<sup>3</sup> Avery Dulles, “Papal Authority in Roman Catholicism,” in *A Pope for All Christians? An Inquiry in to the Role of Peter in the Modern Church*, ed. Peter McCord (New York: Paulist Press, 1976) 61.

<sup>4</sup> Avery Dulles, *The Resilient Church: The Necessity and Limits of Adaptation* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977) 114.

<sup>5</sup> St. Robert Bellarmine, *Power of the Pope in Temporal Affairs, Against William Barclay*, trans. and ed. George Albert Moore (Chevy Chase: Country Dollar Press, 1949).

ensured the unlikelihood that that particular and extreme power would be used very often. Indeed, since the First Vatican Council, there has only been one other infallible proclamation: the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1950).

It would be an error to think that, for the Roman Catholics themselves, Vatican I settled once-and-for-all the problem of papal authority. On the contrary. If we jump ahead to Vatican Council II (1962-5), the defining event for today's, and probably the next, generation of Roman Catholic thinkers, we can say that Vatican II saw Vatican I as an exaggeration of papal claims, and hence sought to make them more intelligible and acceptable.<sup>6</sup> Albeit relatively, the Council did so – and this is the most important ecclesiological action made by Rome in this century – by placing primacy within the context of collegiality. The text proclaiming this change of perspective is Chapter 3 of *Lumen Gentium* (*Dogmatic Constitution of the Church*).<sup>7</sup>

True, as Yves Congar has said, "Vatican II did not in any way lessen the prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome."<sup>8</sup> But this rediscovery of collegiality, which at least one Roman Catholic commentator called an affirmation of an "ancient truth" previously slighted,<sup>9</sup> was of monumental significance. Its importance for Roman Catholic theology cannot be downplayed. Not only did it signal the beginning of what the Faithful of the Roman Catholic Church hoped would be a new era, in which the pope would be seen, not any more as a supreme monarch, but as a supreme *pastor*; it also signaled the seeds of another rediscovery, that of the integrity of the local bishop. This, according to theologians such as Karl Rahner and Patrick Granfield, was the most important teaching of Vatican II.<sup>10</sup> Despite such positive results, however, Vatican II failed in one very important matter:

<sup>6</sup> See Christopher Butler, *The Theology of Vatican II* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1967) 80-103.

<sup>7</sup> See *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery (Northport: Costello Publishing Company, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> Yves Congar, *Diversity and Communion*, trans. John Bowden (Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1985) 42.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Vorgrimler, et. al., "The Hierarchical Structure of the Church, with Special Reference to the Episcopate," in *Commentary on Documents of Vatican II*, Vol. 1, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (New York: Herder & Herder, 1967-9) 187.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Karl Rahner, "Pastoral-Theological Observations on Episcopacy in the Teaching of Vatican II," in *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 6, trans. Karl H. and Boniface Kruger (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1969) 361; Patrick Granfield, *The Limits of the Papacy: Authority and Autonomy in the Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1987) 77.

it failed to define in any concrete way the relationship between the Bishop of Rome and the other bishops of the Church.

The ambiguity of this relationship has proven problematic. As early as 1971, Alexandre Ganoczy stated in Hans Küng's *Papal Ministry in the Church* that post-conciliar applications of collegiality had not evolved in any manner consistent with the Council.<sup>11</sup> This was during Pope Paul VI's tenure. Ganoczy had in mind, among other things, the Synod of Bishops formed by Pope Paul VI which, though it was meant to foster collegiality, emerged superfluous. According to Ganoczy, this was because the Synod was merely a consultative body, and not a deliberative one. In other words, the work of the Synod, not to mention its actual influence, is of little substance. The same could be said of the influence of the national episcopal conferences. In 1983, five years into Pope John Paul II's reign, Hans Küng, in *Infallible? An Inquiry*, vehemently complained that the power structure in the Church had not been altered, that the Church had opted for maintaining the status quo rather than implementing real change.<sup>12</sup> In 1987, ten years after John Paul II's election, a similar complaint was voiced by Granfield, one of today's leading students of the papacy, in his book, *The Limits of the Papacy: Authority and Autonomy in the Church*. In that work, he lamented the tendency toward centralization and the increasing monarchical exercise of papal authority, all in the name of strengthening the papal office and increasing the Church's credibility. And as recently as February and March of 1995, in a three-part series in the *National Catholic Reporter*, Bernard Cooke commented on the problem. His thesis, in a word: the principle of collegiality has failed to be absorbed into the life of the Church.<sup>13</sup>

Ultimately, the success of Vatican II for Roman Catholics will come down to the success of collegiality. Within that Church, the verdict has not yet been returned. Indeed, as intimated above, the spirit of renewal born at Vatican II continues to move within the Roman Catho-

<sup>11</sup> Alexandre Ganoczy, "How Can One Evaluate Collegiality vis-à-vis Papal Primacy?" in *Papal Ministry in the Church*, ed. Hans Küng (New York: Herder & Herder, 1971) 84f.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Küng, *Infallible? An Inquiry*, trans. Edward Quinn (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) 12.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Cooke, "Renewal of Papacy Will Transform Church," *National Catholic Reporter*, 24 Feb. 1995, 14, in a series entitled, "Is This the Papacy Jesus had in Mind?" Vol. 31, Nos. 17-19.



lic Church, and it allows theologians to work and re-work and re-work yet again issues precisely like collegiality. It allows them to call for renewal of the papacy, and to search for reinterpretations of papal primacy. Such work seriously reflects on the current situation in the Roman Church, and it genuinely seeks to find an acceptable relationship, both theologically and practically, between the Primate of the Universal Church and the bishops of each local church.

We, the Orthodox, have an interest in this work. Why? If Christian unity is ever to be realized, any work that moves toward solving the problem of the relationship between primate and bishops, between primacy and collegiality, is of interest to us. This goes for the Roman Catholic Church, and it goes for the Orthodox Church as well. After all, despite our emphasis on the local church, we still ascribe to a ministry of primacy. And again after all, though our problems may be of a different nature, we certainly haven't worked out the solution.

### *Primacy in the Roman Catholic Church*

A study of the Roman view of primacy raises several questions. Is authority in the Church, as Wilhelm Bertrams maintained, writing during Vatican II itself, supremely the pope's *power*, which is up to his discretion should he want to share it with other bishops?<sup>14</sup> Thankfully, there are few conservatives among Roman Catholic theologians that would answer this question positively along with Bertrams. Still, if Granfield is correct – and the evidence certainly seems to suggest that he is – one might conclude that John Paul II is to be counted among such conservatives. But even Rahner – who goes to great pains in explaining that there is one supreme power in the Church, that of the united episcopacy with the pope as its head, and that there are two modes in which this power is exercised, that of the college and that of the pope acting as its head<sup>15</sup> – allows that there is room for such thinking, precisely because of the vagueness of *Lumen Gentium*. In one place, following *Lumen Gentium*, he states that the college has power only because the pope is its head<sup>16</sup>; elsewhere he shows

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm Bertrams, *The Papacy, the Episcopacy, and Collegiality* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1964) 133f.

<sup>15</sup> Karl Rahner, "On the Relationship Between the Pope and the College of Bishops," in *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 10, trans. David Bourke (New York: Herder & Herder, 1973) 55-56.

<sup>16</sup> Rahner, "On the Relationship" 51.

that the pope, as head of the college, is therefore not limited by the college and, for all practical purposes, permitted to act as if there were no college.<sup>17</sup>

Anticipating the Orthodox critique, one can ask another question: instead of an authority of power, is authority in the Church, as Nicholas Afanassieff believed, an authority of service, love and charity that exists so that all the local churches can function in their fullness, and that the bishops of these local churches can function with the full pastoral authority given them by their episcopal consecration?<sup>18</sup> As we will see later in this study, Roman Catholic theologians such as Congar are sympathetic in many ways to this understanding.<sup>19</sup> But a very sound criticism of this – sound from the viewpoint of Roman Catholic universal ecclesiology, to which we will turn later in this discussion – comes from none other than Joseph Ratzinger. In essence, his question is this: what good is a primacy of love and service, as offered by Afanassieff, without jurisdictional primacy?<sup>20</sup> In other words, if the reality is such that a Church of universal proportions must be administered, how can this be done practically without the actual authority to do so? This point is echoed by Granfield who, though he urges the prudent adoption of certain limits to the papacy, admits that the pope needs a certain amount of actual authority if he is to lead effectively.<sup>21</sup> Despite our objections to universal ecclesiology, the reasons are obvious why the Orthodox should take note of this criticism. Nevertheless, the sense of the Faithful, the common rule for the use of papal power, is hardly a practical guideline either.

The power which the pope possesses in the Roman Catholic Church reflects the Catholic believer's view of him as the center of unity in the Church. As Joseph Descuffi said in a speech at Vatican II, though "the pope alone does not constitute the Church... where the pope is, there is the true Church in agreement with him."<sup>22</sup> This is echoed by

<sup>17</sup> Karl Rahner, et. al., *The Episcopate and Primacy* (Freiburg: Herder, 1962) 92f.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Afanassieff, "The Church Which Presides in Love," in *The Primacy of Peter*, ed. John Meyendorff (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992) 112-113.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Congar, *Diversity and Communion*.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology*, trans. Robert Nowell (New York: Crossroad, 1988) 37.

<sup>21</sup> Granfield, *Limits* 2.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Descuffi, "Papal Infallibility in the Church," in *Council Speeches of Vatican II*, ed. Hans Küng, Yves Congar and Daniel O'Hanlon (Glen Rock: Paulist Press, 1964) 70-71.

Ratzinger, who writes that “only he who is in communion with the pope lives in the true *communio* of the body of the Lord, i.e., in the true Church.”<sup>23</sup> Taking this notion to the college of bishops, Rahner states that the “college is constituted as such in virtue of the unity it achieves through the presidency of the pope...”<sup>24</sup>

Unity, then, is the central reason why, according to Roman Catholicism, it is necessary to have a pope. Unity (and secondarily though relatedly, as a witness to universal mission) is the papacy’s reason for being as such. To maintain unity in the Church is the reason why universal primacy is seen as necessary by Roman Catholic scholars as diverse as Dulles<sup>25</sup>, Rahner<sup>26</sup>, Granfield<sup>27</sup>, Hermann Pottmeyer<sup>28</sup>, and Jean Tillard<sup>29</sup>, though their views on the shape such primacy should take may vary. At least one of these scholars considers the possibility of primacy of honor as a proper guide for the shaping of a future papacy<sup>30</sup>, though how such primacy of honor could fit with a universal ecclesiology has yet to be sufficiently explained.

Fortunately, no longer do Roman Catholic scholars for the most part look to the divine institution of the papacy in Peter as the root of today’s papacy. Few men would write, as Charles Journet did just before the Second Vatican Council, that power of jurisdiction is the foundation of the Church, and that such power intrinsically belongs to Peter’s successors because his apostolic charism, alone among the others’, was to be transmitted within the future Church.<sup>31</sup> An exception to this general rule, though he expresses this view in more nuanced terms, would be Ratzinger, whose defense of Roman primacy is based on the responsibility of safeguarding Peter’s confession.<sup>32</sup> Here we are making a small digression, but an important one. To the claim of one such as John Meyendorff, that right confession of faith, i.e., Peter’s

<sup>23</sup> Ratzinger, *The Episcopacy and Primacy* 39

<sup>24</sup> Rahner, “On the Relationship” 56

<sup>25</sup> Dulles, *The Resilient Church*

<sup>26</sup> Rahner, et al., *The Episcopacy and Primacy*

<sup>27</sup> Granfield, *Limits of the Papacy*

<sup>28</sup> Hermann Pottmeyer, “Why Does the Church Need a Pope?” *Communio* (US) 18 (1991) 304-312.

<sup>29</sup> Jean M R Tillard, *The Bishop of Rome* (Wilmington Michael Glazier, 1983)

<sup>30</sup> Dulles, *The Resilient Church* 123-124

<sup>31</sup> Charles Journet, *The Primacy of Peter from the Protestant and from the Catholic Point of View* (Westminster Newman Press, 1954) 62f

<sup>32</sup> Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, and Politics* 43

confession, is the rule for all episcopal authority, and hence for the equality of all bishops<sup>33</sup>, Ratzinger posits his anachronistic belief that because there can be no dichotomy between the person of Peter and his confession (which is true), there can be no separation *between Peter and his supposed successors*.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, this view would seem to ignore the work of people of such stature as Raymond Brown, which shows that there is no demonstrable link between the first apostles and the first Christian communities.<sup>35</sup> (The Orthodox who make such claims should take note of this work as well.) But to make the “right confession of faith” a criterion at all proves problematic in today’s theological milieu, in that the current use of varying theological methods precludes a common framework for getting at what could constitute a “right confession of faith.”

Consistent with Brown’s work, today’s Roman Catholic thinkers, along with the Orthodox, rightly agree in the fundamental, though analogous, succession of the apostolic college by the episcopal college. Here, both East and West would agree on the divine right of the episcopacy. But it is on the question of the divine right of the papacy that today’s Catholic scholars depart from their predecessors. They may not be in full agreement with their Orthodox counterparts, but they nevertheless have charted a new course amongst themselves.

Dulles is the first to agree with Orthodox historians that Rome’s early preeminence was due, not to Scriptural witness, but to politics and commerce, as well as to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, and that its later preeminence was due to the rise of the Franks in the West and the Muslims in the East.<sup>36</sup> He would also agree that Rome’s position as the only apostolic see in the West gave it a certain aura among western Christians. This aura, totally absent in the East, allowed for the evolution of the notion of the divine election of the Church in Rome, and hence of its Bishop, while in the East, all churches were seen as ontologically equal, and so too the bishops.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> John Meyendorff, “St. Peter in Byzantine Theology,” in *The Primacy of Peter* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1992) 89.

<sup>34</sup> Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, and Politics* 35-36.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Raymond E. Brown, “Episkopé and Episkopos: The New Testament Evidence,” *Theological Studies* 41, No. 2 (1980) 322-338.

<sup>36</sup> Dulles, *The Resilient Church* 117f.

<sup>37</sup> John Meyendorff, “Rome and Orthodoxy: Authority or Truth?” in *A Pope for All Christians? An Inquiry into the Role of Peter in the Modern Church*, ed. Peter McCord (New York: Paulist Press, 1976) 132.

Of course, this fostered the growth of two different ecclesiastical structures and notions of authority: in the East, authority was found in the consensus of the bishops in council; in the West, it was found in the papacy.

Such historical development is not seen by Catholic scholars as problematical. Killian McDonnell, for one, sees it as an acceptable combination of human and divine factors.<sup>38</sup> What is important here is, not a demonstrable link between Peter and today's papacy, but a continuation of function, namely what is called the Petrine Function. What is the Petrine Function? It is a role, according to George Tavard, analogous to that of Peter, e.g., as a shepherd, which translates today to the service of unity.<sup>39</sup> Rahner agrees with this idea of functional continuity.<sup>40</sup> In fact, he applies this to the episcopacy in general. In the absence of historical and biblical links between Christ and the episcopacy, he finds justification for the episcopacy in the guarantee it provides in the concrete for continuity between the community of Christ with its origins.<sup>41</sup> Such a schema takes for granted historical contingency. In short, historically contingent as the circumstances of the papacy's development may be, the continuation of function reveals the truth of the claim to papal primacy.

Such a criterion seems quite subjective. It would seem to validate what was said by His All Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, in an address given in London in November, 1993, where he remarked that in the case of Christian Church history, the old maxim holds true, that history is written by the victors.<sup>42</sup> This is not to say, of course, that the ministry of unity and mission is not a valid one; on the contrary, it is very much so. But to claim the rightness of the present situation based on historical contingencies is of dubious value.

<sup>38</sup> Killian McDonnell, "Papal Primacy Development, Centralization, and Changing Styles," in *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church*, Vol 5 of *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue*, ed Paul C Empe and T Austin Murphy (Minneapolis Augsburg Publishing House, 1979) 174-175

<sup>39</sup> George H Tavard, "What is the Petrine Function?" in *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church*, Vol 5 of *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue*, ed Paul C Empe and T Austin Murphy (Minneapolis. Augsburg Publishing House, 1979) 209, 211-212

<sup>40</sup> Rahner, et al., *The Episcopacy and Primacy* 21-22

<sup>41</sup> Karl Rahner, "Aspects of the Episcopal Office," in *Theological Investigations*, Vol 14 (New York The Seabury Press, 1976) 188

<sup>42</sup> Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, "Mnemosyne and the Children of Memory," British Museum, London, 12 Nov 1993

Indeed, Meyendorff raises this point when, in a seemingly obscure review of Tillard's book, *The Bishop of Rome*, he wonders whether such a conclusion is based on divine right or on the absolutization of historical conditioning.<sup>43</sup> Not incidentally, similar assessments are made by Joseph Burgess and George Lindbeck when writing about the Lutheran view of the papacy.<sup>44</sup>

Roman Catholic theologians, as we have seen, accept this conclusion that the papacy as we know it is the result of historical development. Nevertheless, as we have also seen, this for them is not problematical. In short, while discounting any identification between divine right and institution by Christ, they ascribe to the view that, despite historical contingencies, the development of the papacy, and thus of papal primacy, is guided by "divine design."<sup>45</sup> A typical quote: "...the papacy appeared in history when the Christian community needed a personal embodiment of the Petrine function."<sup>46</sup> In essence, the theory of "divine design" holds the view that, while the Petrine Ministry remains permanent, the concrete exercise of it is changeable. Hence historical development is seen as guided by Providence, and at the same time, the permanence of the ministry does not preclude a change in its exercise.

Of course, to claim to have the support of Providence is of questionable value. But this claim is based on the understanding that the promise of Christ to Peter assures the permanence for the Roman Bishop of the charism to carry out the Petrine Ministry.<sup>47</sup> This reasoning appears to fail on three counts. First, it would seem to be based on an unsophisticated reading of Scripture. While J. Michael Miller, who has devoted two volumes to the divine right of the papacy, abandons the traditional view of institution of the papacy by Christ, and of the notion that "Christ's will that there be successors in

<sup>43</sup> John Meyendorff, "An Orthodox Response," *Ecumenical Trends* 13, No. 8 (1984) 120.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Joseph A. Burgess, "Lutherans and the Papacy: A Review of Some Basic Issues," in *A Pope for All Christians? An Inquiry into the Role of Peter in the Modern Church*, ed. Peter McCord (New York: Paulist Press, 1976) 31f; George A. Lindbeck, *The Future of Roman Catholic Theology: Vatican II - Catalyst for Change* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970) 90f.

<sup>45</sup> J. Michael Miller, *What are They Saying about Primacy?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); see also, J. Michael Miller, *The Divine Right of the Papacy in Recent Ecumenical Dialogue* (Roma: Universita Gregoriana Editrice, 1980).

<sup>46</sup> Miller, *What are They Saying about Primacy?* 89.

<sup>47</sup> Miller, *What are They Saying about Primacy?* 88.

the primacy can be deduced from the permanence of the Church”<sup>48</sup>, he nonetheless sees the development of papal primacy as guided by the Holy Spirit. In other words, there is a shift among the persons of the Trinity. Second, the irreversibility that is attached to this divinely-guided historical development seems to contradict the notion of divine design. If the exercise of papal authority is seen as historically contingent and thus changeable, how can it be considered irreversible? Third, and most importantly, what was the content of Christ’s promise to Peter? Was it really a charism which Peter could only hand on to the future bishops of Rome and which other bishops did not possess? Not according to the Orthodox understanding. True enough, as Meyendorff points out, the East has always considered Peter as higher than the other apostles.<sup>49</sup> And also true enough, when shifting from the apostolic college to the episcopal college, the Roman bishop was in the early tradition seen by the Orthodox as having primacy among other bishops. But this primacy, analogous to that of Peter among the apostles, was determined by the consensus of bishops in council. Thus primacy was not one of jurisdictional authority; it was a primacy of honor which was deemed good for ecclesiastical order. Of course, in this view each bishop was seen as the successor of Peter. But it is here, according to Meyendorff, in favoring the succession of Peter “in the person of the universal primate at the expense of the succession of Peter in the person of the bishop of every local church,” that Rome erred.<sup>50</sup> And it is precisely in a situation of dealing with this “error” that the Roman Catholic Church finds itself in its struggle to find a workable solution to its problem regarding collegiality.

### *And What of Collegiality?*

Among the many Roman Catholic theologians writing specifically on collegiality are Congar, Richard McBrien, Georges Dejaive, Granfield, Rahner, and Ratzinger. In posing the problem, McBrien states that the history of the Church is a history of balancing the integrity of the local church and the reality of the universal Church. The imbalance, he wrote in 1971, and sounding quite a bit like Meyendorff, favors primacy at the expense of episcopal authority.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Miller, *The Divine Right of the Papacy* 65.

<sup>49</sup> Meyendorff, “St. Peter in Byzantine Theology” 88.

<sup>50</sup> Meyendorff, “St. Peter in Byzantine Theology” 89-90.

<sup>51</sup> Richard McBrien, “Collegiality: The State of the Question,” in *The Once and Future Church*, ed. James A. Coriden (Staten Island: Alba House, 1971) 7.

Dejaive, writing just as Vatican II was getting under way, was one of the first to call for the Council to address this imbalance.<sup>52</sup> Nearly 20 years later, in 1978, he observed that, although a “decisive turn” had been made in Roman ecclesiology at the Council, namely the rediscovery of the collegial principle, it had not yet been fully implemented.<sup>53</sup> As we can see, nearly 20 more years have passed since that second work, and the problem of the relationship between primacy and collegiality still plagues the Roman Catholic Church. This, as we shall see, is because of Rome’s insistence on defining primacy in terms of jurisdiction.

Is there a way out of this impasse? There seems to be a consensus among these authors that the solution is only to be found in further examining the opportunities afforded by seeing the Church in terms of *communion*. The first step was taken at Vatican II by rediscovering the local church. As Congar has pointed out, from as far back as the Council of Trent (1545-63), the Roman Catholic Church saw the local churches in the universal Church as extensions of the Church of Rome, and only at Vatican II did it see the universal Church as a communion of local churches.<sup>54</sup> It was considered nothing short of an affirmation of the fullness of the local eucharistic community.

Collegiality among the episcopacy is based on these premises: the fullness of each local community, and the communion of such communities. But when trying to reconcile this with primacy of jurisdiction, it does not bode well for collegiality. As Granfield points out, the success or failure of collegiality depends on the pope.<sup>55</sup> Of course, it also depends on the way one defines collegiality. According to Granfield, collegiality is the co-responsibility among bishops for teaching and policy-making in the Church.<sup>56</sup> This allows him to call for decentralization.<sup>57</sup> If one sees collegiality strictly in terms of the unity achieved through the presidency of the pope, as does Rahner,<sup>58</sup> a call for decentralization is hardly to be heard.

<sup>52</sup> See Georges Dejaive, “First Among Bishops,” in *Eastern Church Quarterly* 14, (1961).

<sup>53</sup> See Georges Dejaive, *Un tournant décisif de l’Écclésiologie à Vatican II* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1978).

<sup>54</sup> Congar, *Diversity and Communion* 42.

<sup>55</sup> Granfield, *Limits of the Papacy* 84-86.

<sup>56</sup> Patrick Granfield, *Papacy in Transition* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1980) 70.

<sup>57</sup> Granfield, *Papacy in Transition* 179.

<sup>58</sup> Rahner, “On the Relationship” 56.



The former opinion, that of Granfield, recalls Ganoczy's question: why is it that the college of bishops can do nothing without the pope but that the pope can act without the college?<sup>59</sup> Basing his analysis precisely on the notion of communion, he finds that collegiality – the “fundamental law of ministry” – requires reciprocity, albeit a “functionally-differentiated reciprocity.”<sup>60</sup> Within this schema, the function of primacy becomes one of coordination. If Ganoczy truly sees communion as equal people “united in a common submission to Christ”<sup>61</sup>, we can assume that this function of coordination, which allows the bishops to administer their churches in full freedom, is characterized by the spirit of solicitude. This solicitude is precisely that which characterizes the Orthodox understanding of primacy.

In Orthodox eucharistic ecclesiology, primacy is indeed an integral part.<sup>62</sup> In fact, because “the ontological identity of all churches with the Church of God...[makes] them the Church universal”<sup>63</sup>, the Church very simply requires the exercise of primacy. It does so, according to Alexander Schmemmann, as “the expression and manifestation of the unity of the churches as being the unity of *the* Church.”<sup>64</sup> As such, primacy is firstly an authority which assumes the care of the whole church so that each local community can abide in its fullness. Secondly, it is power – the power which all bishops possess though exercised by one – which allows, in fact demands, a particular bishop to speak for the entire Church, because the Church, a communion of local churches, is *one* and, in particular instances, in need of one voice. As mentioned above, such primacy is given to the one bishop by the consensus of all bishops. It is not a unique power given by divine right or divine design, as in Roman Catholicism; it is not the supreme power of one bishop over all the others. Schmemmann attributes that type of power to what he calls the “permanent temptation” of “universal ecclesiology.”<sup>65</sup> Of course, it is doubtful that Roman

<sup>59</sup> Ganoczy, 89.

<sup>60</sup> Ganoczy, 89,90.

<sup>61</sup> Ganoczy, 85.

<sup>62</sup> For a concise discourse on Orthodox eucharistic ecclesiology, see John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985).

<sup>63</sup> Alexander Schmemmann, “The Idea of Primacy in Orthodox Ecclesiology,” in *The Primacy of Peter*, ed. John Meyendorff (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992) 155.

<sup>64</sup> Schmemmann, 165.

<sup>65</sup> Schmemmann, 166.

Catholic theologians would agree with Schmemmann's negative appraisal of universal ecclesiology. Where they would agree with Schmemmann is in the fact that such an ecclesiology makes its primate into the *origin* of unity.<sup>66</sup> Recall here the above quotations, wherein communion with the pope constitutes communion with the body of Christ. In Orthodox ecclesiology, primacy does not constitute the origin of unity; rather it is the manifestation of the unity already inherent in the Church.

Of course, Schmemmann was not blind to the misuses and abuses in the Orthodox exercise of authority, or lack thereof. One can point to the ascendancy of the principle of autocephaly to the exclusion of any form of universal primacy.<sup>67</sup> One can relatedly point to the competition between autocephalous churches, or worse, to the problem of religious nationalism. Closer to home, one can point to the disheartening reality of parallel jurisdictions. In the concrete, these problems promote division and thus inaction when action is needed. In the end, eucharistic ecclesiology, that which we offer to the Christian world as an alternative to universal ecclesiology, suffers.

Returning here to the Roman Catholic view, to completely embrace eucharistic ecclesiology at the expense of universal ecclesiology is plainly considered wrong. Yes, Roman Catholics heralded the re-discovery of the local church at Vatican II. And yes, understanding the universal church as the communion of these local churches is seen as the key to "renewing" the papacy. After all, if the Church has its basis in the fullness of each local church, the Church as a whole must eventually find its way toward a system of administration by which this fullness is fully served. But in doing so, Congar warns, one cannot oppose eucharistic ecclesiology and universal ecclesiology.<sup>68</sup> For him, there is the local religious reality of communion, and there is the universal reality of jurisdiction, the two of which must be reconciled.

Congar realizes that this isn't an easy task. Perhaps as a first step, he hints that maybe the right of the pope to appoint bishops is not intrinsic to his office.<sup>69</sup> Citing early church history as evidence to the

<sup>66</sup> Schmemmann, 163

<sup>67</sup> Schmemmann, 165f

<sup>68</sup> Yves Congar, *Ministères et communion ecclésiale* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971) 128f.

<sup>69</sup> Yves Congar, "Le Pape comme patriarche d'Occident: Approche d'une réalité trop négligée," *Isis* 28 (1983) 389-390.

opposite, he suggests that if the pope were to relinquish his right to appoint bishops (this is what Granfield would call a *voluntary* limitation of the papacy<sup>70</sup>) perhaps this would – and here I may be extrapolating a bit from his conclusion – facilitate the collegial spirit. At the very least, on the practical level it would leave the bishops freer from possible recrimination for taking positions at odds with the pope. This is a problem inherent in the Synod of Bishops created by Pope Paul VI mentioned above.

Still, I don't think this is too much of an extrapolation. As Meyendorff writes in *Orthodoxy and Catholicity*, the episcopal office is a function of the local church.<sup>71</sup> In other words, it is as a bishop of a local church that a man is qualified for the universal college. Not vice-versa. It is not because a superior – in this case, the pope – appoints a man to the college that he is thus a member of it and therefore, as a bishop, a representative of it in the local church. Congar, in *Ministères et communion ecclésiale*, says as much.<sup>72</sup>

### *Re-Thinking Primacy*

It would be no exaggeration to say that the issue of primacy is the main obstacle to unity among Christians – Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant. Recognizing the validity of the Petrine Function with regard to unity, the Joint Lutheran-Roman Catholic Study Commission asked the question: "Could not the pope in our time become in some real way a pastor and teacher of all the faithful, even those who cannot accept all the claims connected with his office?"<sup>73</sup> A positive answer to this question is doubtful.

Granfield, a Roman Catholic, and Lindbeck, a Lutheran, both suggest that the papacy become more *symbolic* than juridical, that the pope should become a symbol of pastoral unity and service.<sup>74</sup> This,

<sup>70</sup> Granfield, *Limits of the Papacy* 67, 178f.

<sup>71</sup> John Meyendorff, *Orthodoxy and Catholicity* (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1966) 160.

<sup>72</sup> Congar, *Ministères* 127.

<sup>73</sup> Joint Lutheran-Roman Catholic Study Commission, "Differing Attitudes Toward Papal Primacy," in *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church*, Vol. 5 of *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue*, ed. Paul C. Empie and T. Austin Murphy (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979) 37-38.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Granfield, *Papacy in Transition* 88f, George Lindbeck, "Lutherans and the Papacy," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13 (1976) 373-374.

they believe, would make the papacy more acceptable to all Christians. But is such a move realistically to be expected? A negative answer can be given to this question as well. Indeed, in a recent article in *The New York Times*, one can find support for this negative answer. After stating that the pope had called on other Christian leaders to join him in a “discussion on the role of the papacy,” the author writes that the Roman Pontiff had “made clear that the authority of his office remains absolute and supreme”...and that this primacy was based on the notion of the “Roman Pope as the successor to St. Peter.”<sup>75</sup>

Most of this presentation has dealt with the internal Roman Catholic debate regarding the relationship between primacy and collegiality. We have seen how the Roman Catholic Church has, since Vatican II, affirmed the fullness of each local community. This affirmation should, in theory, lead to a better implementation of the collegial principle. It has not. Suggestions such as Granfield’s are moving the Roman Catholic Church in the right direction, for they take note of the fact that if collegiality is to take hold, it is necessary for the Church to re-think its understanding of primacy. Such re-thinking is necessary, we have seen, for both the internal Roman Catholic debate on collegiality and the ecumenical issue of Christian unity. But to re-think primacy is, in reality, not a simple task. And the reason for this, primacy of jurisdiction, as presently exercised by the Roman Pontiff, is thoroughly coherent with universal ecclesiology. Within such an ecclesiology, as Schmemann noted, “primacy is of necessity *power*.”<sup>76</sup> It is because of this that reconciliation of primacy and collegiality has not been found within the Roman Catholic Church. And it is because of this that Christian unity continues to remain elusive.

In essence, then, we are suggesting that, if Roman Catholic theologians want to break the primatial-collegial log jam, they must re-think their entire ecclesiology. This, it would seem, would be the only way for the spirit of Vatican II – and specifically the “ancient truth” previously slighted – to come to full fruition. It would also be instrumental to the realization of Christian unity. Only then would primacy approximate that which Pope John Paul II wrote in his re-

<sup>75</sup> Celestine Bohlen, “Seeking Christian Unity, John Paul Reaffirms Papal Supremacy,” *The New York Times*, 31 May 1995, Sec. 1, A7, col.1.

<sup>76</sup> Schmemann, 151.

cent apostolic letter, entitled "*Orientale Lumen*": "If those who want to be first are called to become the servants of all, then the primacy of love will be seen to grow from the courage of this charity."<sup>77</sup>

But the Roman Catholics aren't the only ones who need to re-think their ecclesiology. The Orthodox need to do so as well. The present disunity among the Orthodox Churches is disheartening. It is not enough to state, as we have tended to do in the past, that though Orthodoxy is made up of several administratively separated local churches, we are theologically united. Aren't we really saying that, in the absence of something else, perhaps an empire, to hold us together, we are condemned to, for want of a better term, 'competing autocephalies'?

This hardly does service to our universal witness to Christ. It doesn't help our ecumenical witness. After all, if our present situation is all we offer at the table, it is neither attractive nor a real alternative to that of Rome. If, however, we look critically at our own ecclesiological reality, perhaps then we can offer something better to ourselves, and something different to other Christians. If anything, it may help us to rediscover something we have previously slighted, namely the ministry of primacy.

<sup>77</sup> John Paul II, "Apostolic Letter: '*Orientale Lumen*,'" *Origins* 25, No. 1 (18 May 1995) 10.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Problematic Sources: A Survey of Recent Scholarship Concerning Ambrose of Milan and the Defeat of Western Homoianism<sup>1</sup>

---

GEORGE DEMACOPOULOS

Was St. Ambrose of Milan a holy man who successfully purged the West of the Arian heresy, or was he a tyrannical administrator in bishop's clothing who craftily purged the West of the Arian heresy? For centuries, Orthodox and Roman Catholics, alike, have held St. Ambrose to be among the greatest of the early Church's leaders. Thus, the general impression of him was one of piety, asceticism and saintliness. This view has been challenged recently by Neil McLynn and Daniel Williams whose separate works question the veracity of the hagiographic sources and propose two distinct "Ambroses" which differ, not only from the traditional view, but from each other.<sup>2</sup> How are we to decide which is the correct "Ambrose?" To better understand Ambrose, it is necessary to understand his role in the Arian controversy. It is therefore necessary briefly to review the debate from its inception to Ambrose's personal involvement.

The council of Nicaea in 325 was the first universal attempt of the Church to address the teaching of Arius. This infamous presbyter had confessed that Jesus was both "created" by God and subordinate to Him. Subsequently, the bishops at Nicaea condemned Arius and his teaching. Yet what had appeared to be a victory for the *homoousion* faith,<sup>3</sup> emerged to do little more than escalate the controversy for the subsequent sixty years. In the East, the Nicæan cause was championed by the Cappadocian fathers (Sts. Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa) whose victory at the council of Constantinople in 381 pronounced the death of Eunomius' *anomoion*<sup>4</sup> challenges to Nicaea. In the West, however, the Arian debate continued quite differently. Unlike the East, the Latin heirs of Arius often preferred political manipulation to elaborate debates of theology; in

fact, their theological position was far less demonstrative.<sup>5</sup>

This struggle provides the setting in which McLynn and Williams have situated their work. Despite common sources and frequent discussions of similar events, the aim of each author is distinct. Williams' focus is, as the title suggests, the issues and events which ensured the victory for the Nicaeans. McLynn, however, seeks to redefine the person and career of Ambrose by re-interpreting the sources that had provided the origin for his modern biographers.

For the purposes of this review essay, I therefore propose to engage the authors' use of their sources as well as their conclusions regarding the events that led up to the celebrated election of St. Ambrose to his episcopal see in 374. After a closer inspection of these events, I hope to survey several of the events that continue to capture the attention of Williams and McLynn concerning Ambrose's career.

### *Constantius II, Auxentius and St. Hilary of Poitiers*

Although we do not know why Constantius II supported Ursacius and Valens, it is clear that the 350s saw a sweeping pro-Homoian move westward led by the coalition of Constantius and his bishops.<sup>6</sup> Williams devotes his first chapter to the four councils (Arles, Milan, Biterae and Rimini) which provided the Homoians with stunning anti-Nicaean victories. He is quick to show, however, that the Nicaean formula had not manifest itself until the mid-350s. He argues that until this time, the *homoousion* had not been of great concern in the West; rather its denunciation was merely appended to the condemnations of St. Athanasius at the aforementioned councils. He concludes that acceptance or non-acceptance of the creed was solely determined by one's feelings toward Athanasius – those in favor of Athanasius supported the term *homoousios*, those opposed to him, rejected it. Williams dissents from the opinion of Gwatkin, by inserting that Athanasius had not even employed the term *homoousios* until the publication of *De Decretis* which he dates, without explanation, to 352/3.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted, however, that Quasten dates it to 350/1 and the author of the translation into English, Newman, places it in 350.<sup>8</sup>

Williams continues with a thorough overview of the events that trace the conception of Ursacius' and Valens' published statement in 357 through both sessions of the council of Rimini (359). He pre-



sents the leading Homoians as a group eager to unite all those splintered and confused concerning the *homoousion* terminology. He also suggests that their proclamation in 357 denouncing the terms *ousia*, *homoousion*, and *homoiousion* may have originated in Sirmium as early as 351. However, by 359 and the publication of the “dated creed,” these same individuals re-appropriated the Homoian claim, without discussing the generation of the Son. He concludes his first chapter with a discussion of the “fraud” of Rimini. Therein, he focuses on Valens’ deception of the bishops remaining at Rimini who were duped into believing that all their eastern counterparts in Niké had already consented to the statement.

Williams’ discussion makes several complicated maneuvers intelligible. His primary objective is showing the supremacy of the Homoian victory at the conclusion of Rimini, regardless of its condemnation at a series of synods in Gaul. “Its conclusions continued to get perceived as binding by the Homoian community ... [and in the West it] came to stand in juxtaposition to Nicaea.”<sup>9</sup> It will be crucial for his later arguments to have a firm Homoian position in Milan both in 364 and in 374.

McLynn’s does not devote an entire chapter to this period; yet, he hardly neglects the issues. Rather, he immediately engages the lone source for the Council of Milan, Sulpicius Severus. In what will become a standard and perhaps justifiable criticism, McLynn emphasizes the hagiographic nature of Sulpicius’ account, which identifies a unified populace behind the Nicaean bishop, who is to be ousted and replaced by imperial decree. He argues that Sulpicius wanted to show that the unanimity behind Ambrose is the result of a laity that had remained Orthodox during the intervening twenty years, silently dissenting during the pontificate of Auxentius. So McLynn counters that most lay persons in 355 would have been unable to detect the heresy in Valens. Although McLynn does not see it, this position can complicate his subsequent argument.

McLynn further discounts his source by denying that a riot ensued at the proclamation of Dionysius’ exile and Auxentius’ elevation. His argument is at least partially based on the lack of martyrs, which, he argues would not have gone unnoticed. McLynn cleverly avoids a further complication by suggesting that Constantius, Ursacius, Valens and even Auxentius (whose journey to the city took eighty days) should not be viewed as foreigners. Why is this important to his argument?

Because he realizes that a large urban population might rebel if a foreign king with foreign clerical aids deposes the city's ecclesiastical leader for an issue that it (as McLynn suggests) probably can not understand and replaces him with someone who can hardly speak Latin. Although McLynn is right in noting the absence of martyrs, his suggestion that the city took the news without much concern remains unsubstantiated.

McLynn provides one final argument concerning the city's population. He notes that only extreme loyalists to Dionysius would create a nuisance at the deposition of their leader. Temporarily avoiding the question of number, this is plausible. However, McLynn suggests that active demonstration is required for someone to possess a strong opinion.<sup>10</sup> Yet in Late Antiquity, such demonstrations frequently ended in bloody riots (especially if it was against the emperor), and it is unlikely that persons were quite so eager to put their lives on the line. McLynn's purpose is to show that the people of Milan accepted Constantius' actions. Not only does the number of protesters remain a question, but more importantly, the number of people sympathetic to Dionysius and Nicaea should not be measured simply by the number that rioted.

For the Milanese, the controversy regarding Auxentius' election was not an issue of scholarly debate – he was their bishop. Apart from the initial protest related to his election, the sources provide few instances of Homoian-Nicaean conflict inside of Milan during his reign. One failed attempt was led by Filastrius who attempted to organize disheartened Nicaeans to oust the heretical bishop. This attempt failed, and the perpetrator was chased out of town, only to be elevated to the See of Brixia at a later time. A second possible troublemaker, St. Martin of Tours, attempted to establish a monastery in Milan, but Auxentius, apparently fearing Martin's Nicaean sympathies, arranged to have him sent packing as well.

Auxentius' most serious challenge, however, came from Hilary of Poitiers in 364. Hilary, who had been exiled at Biterrae in 356, returned from the East in 360 under clouded circumstances. The source for Hilary's return is Sulpicius, but his two accounts appear to confuse the matter. Williams determines to dismiss (as did Meslin) Sulpicius' account as hagiographic and therefore unconcerned with historical detail. He subsequently proposes that Hilary simply left the East without permission. The pro-Nicaean climate in Gaul asso-

ciated with Julian's rise,<sup>11</sup> and the apparent swing in Hilary's own mind concerning the Christology of the emperor (reflected in *In Constantium*) provide Williams with a suitable defense of this position. Undoubtedly, if it was through the aid of Julian that Hilary was able to return, a sympathetic biographer fully aware of the apostasy in Julian's later career would certainly have refrained from associating one of his heroes, Hilary, with the Apostate.

Upon his return, Hilary (aided by Eusebius of Vercelli in Italy), attempted to repopulate Gallic and Italian Sees with Nicaean bishops.<sup>12</sup> It was in 363 that Hilary, apparently without the support of his companion, sought to have Auxentius removed from Milan by appealing to the quasi-Nicaean emperor Valentinian. The attempt ultimately failed and Hilary was told to stop causing trouble. The question beckons to be asked: what was the extent of the Homoian sympathies in Milan nine years after Auxentius' election? Drawing from the failure of Hilary to unseat Auxentius, both McLynn and Williams provide a reasonable scenario. Williams' primary position is that Milan has become the stronghold of Western Homoianism. McLynn argues that the Nicaean cause eroded as the memory of Dionysius faded. Each position will have interesting consequences at the time of Ambrose's election in 374.

In Williams' account, the number of Homoian communities may have decreased, but they managed to remain strong even after the death of Constantius in 361.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, (according to Williams) Auxentius, a robust and tenaciously Homoian bishop, is seen as the scourge of the Nicaeans. Williams, in an attempt to prove Auxentius' heresy, emphatically recounts several anti-Homoian polemics and many hagiographic accounts which anathematize him.<sup>14</sup> The evidence is extensive but much of it is from the same encomiastic genre that Williams is unwilling to accept in so many other instances.

A possible failure in Williams' theory is that he polarizes the communities. Is it not somewhat dubious to assume that the majority of these communities were completely united in their Trinitarian theology under the leadership of their bishop? Each community, regardless of its leader, would likely consist of Nicaean and Homoian sympathizers. Although we may not credit laymen with understanding the many complexities of Christ's generation, we need not assume that they were utterly ignorant of the most important theological issue of their day. Certainly, only the most obstinate members of a commu-

nity would remove themselves from the larger body of the Church, but an unwillingness to protest or impose schism should not lie as proof for the eradication of a theological opinion. It may therefore be plausible that several members of the Milanese laity continued to attend the churches under Homoian leadership without consigning their Nicaean sympathies.

Yet throughout Auxentius' career, Williams portrays a powerful Homoian partisanship that binds the Milanese faithful. He defends this position with Auxentius' ability to stay in power despite direct attacks on him and Nicaean gains elsewhere. If, however, Filastrius is viewed as an extremist, as many of the Milanese unwilling to speak out against their bishop may have seen him, then his failure to oust Auxentius does not provide solid ground for Williams' position. Moreover, it could be argued that Hilary failed to oust Auxentius, not because of the latter's strong Homoian support, but because he failed to convince the emperor (who was quasi-Nicaean at best) and the Milanese sympathetic to Nicaea that their bishop was actually as dangerously heretical as Hilary claimed.

McLynn argues that the core of Dionysius' faithful compatriots eventually accepted Auxentius' leadership. However, he also believes that the reason Hilary failed in his attempt to remove Auxentius is a result of this shift in loyalty – thus suggesting that by acceptance they also adopted a Homoian position. For McLynn, Auxentius is hardly the theological standard-bearer that Williams attempts to prove, in fact he dismisses Hilary's attacks as extreme. McLynn presents Auxentius in light of his defense that was appended to the *Contra Auxentium*, that is, as one who held Homoian sympathies, but who was wise enough to dance around problematic language. Therefore, the reason Hilary failed was because he could not prove his enemy's heresy to the emperor.

One final comment about the *Contra Auxentium* concerns a brief passage near the end of Hilary's complaint. At this point in the treatise, Hilary, who has recounted all the events, including the emperor's disapproval, concludes with a few final blasts at his rival and remarks "*Congreget nunc ille quas volet in me synodos, et haereticum me, ut saepe jam fecit publico titulo proscribat ....*" The "*congreget ....*" "let him call synods against me" can mean either that he has the power to call synods and Hilary does not fear him because he is not afraid to defend his faith; or if taken contrafactually, it means that Auxentius

lacks the ability to do so. McLynn opts for the first translation, thereby granting Auxentius a Homoian power base in Northern Italy.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Election of Ambrose*

Perhaps the best way to examine the election in 374 is to begin with the ancient sources. Obviously hagiographic, they nevertheless retain the popular memory of Ambrose's rise to episcopal duty. As the story goes, Ambrose is a young and coming imperial magistrate who arrives in Milan on the eve of the sharply contested episcopal election in the wake of Auxentius' death. Supposedly, the two sides (Nicaean and Homoian) are bitterly locked in debate each attempting to promote its candidate. Ambrose enters the scene and in the midst of attempting to calm tempers a child's voice is heard to claim "Ambrose for bishop." Each party recognizes that Ambrose would be an ideal neutral candidate (after all he was still only a catechumen with an unpronounced Trinitarian position and the debate had grown laborious). Despite his humble attempt to refuse the elevation, he eventually concedes and takes office a few days later. So goes the story. Not surprisingly, both McLynn and Williams question the historical authenticity of such an account, but interestingly enough, they do so in strikingly different ways.

McLynn's Ambrose had strong Nicaean connections and involved himself in the episcopal election solely to ensure that the Nicaean cause would be heard. McLynn is sure that, had Ambrose neither those connections nor that intent, he would have avoided the controversy and the Nicaeans would not have been allowed in the church during the election. Only when election conflicts got out of hand, as one did in Rome several years before, and only after the controversy calmed down, would a Roman official have risked intervention. According to McLynn, Ambrose's action was atypical, but is it enough to suggest an aggressively Nicaean position?

Although McLynn does not suggest that Ambrose orchestrated the entire affair, he firmly asserts that it is only the Nicaeans who rejoiced at the notion of Ambrose's candidacy. It is interesting that McLynn, who denied the authenticity of the sources concerning the crowds at Dionysius' deposition, is so willing to accept that the city was filled with staunch pro-Nicaean supporters twenty years after the last Nicaean held the episcopal throne (especially when he argues, no less than twenty pages prior, that Nicaean support dwindled

during Auxentius' reign). Where did they come from?

This skepticism is admittedly overdrawn, for at times of transition, such as the selection of new leadership, normally silent members of a community were most likely to have voiced their concerns. For example, it is quite plausible Nicaeans would keep their sympathies to themselves during the pontificate of a given bishop, especially if he was not blatantly hostile to those sympathies.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, such a scenario may explain why both Nicaeans and Homoians were inside the same Church attempting to fill Auxentius' vacant see – thus discounting the first of McLynn's arguments that Ambrose's pro-Nicaean sympathy was revealed by his actions during the election. Furthermore, if McLynn is correct in suggesting that it was only the Nicaean sympathizers who rejoiced at Ambrose's election, the Milanese Church must have had a substantial concentration of members who remained sympathetic to the Nicaean cause without separating themselves from the main Church body.

Williams' account of the election is drastically different. Essentially, he denies any Nicaean patronage on the part of Ambrose. Moreover, Williams provides at least four revisionist arguments to support his theory that Ambrose refrained from pro-Nicaean activity before 380. First, he denies that Ambrose was baptized by a Nicaean bishop, but rather by a priest, Simplicianus. Additionally, Williams downplays the explosive nature of a Nicaean baptism. Second, Williams engages a letter of St. Basil of Caesarea in which the Cappadocian responded to Ambrose's request for the relics of his predecessor Dionysius (who would be considered a martyr because of his death in exile), an obvious affront to the Milanese Homoians. In his haste to discount the second half of this letter (which deals with the return of Dionysius) as spurious, Williams neglects the significance of the first part of Basil's letter which suggests his approval of the newly enthroned bishop.<sup>17</sup>

Williams' third revisionist argument pertains to the depositions of an Homoian priest in Milan. In his attempt to discredit this event as demonstrative of Nicaean action, Williams manages to alter the date from the traditional forecast. The final revision relates to a council in Sirmium in 378 at which Ambrose is believed to have been present. The council not only deposed six Homoian bishops, but also installed a Nicaean, Anemius, into a traditionally Homoian see. Williams is able to deny Ambrose's participation at the council because Paulinus'

account appears to muddle the date of the synod, and the three other accounts are difficult to piece together. Moreover, Williams argues that the account in Paulinus employs hagiographic techniques to show Ambrose as the scourge of Arianism. The reason that Williams must revise these four possibly pro-Nicaean actions of Ambrose's early career, is because he is committed to a strong Homoian Milan, one which Ambrose would have to appease until he grew strong enough to criticize openly.

While discussing the events that led to Ambrose's election in 374, our two historians have provided new perspectives to both the Homoian-Nicaean conflict as well as the personality of Ambrose. McLynn, who has characterized Ambrose as a staunch and opportunistic Nicaean, and Williams, who viewed Ambrose's early career in a much different, less manipulative manner, will both build upon the foundations that they have built until this point. We shall see, in the brief overview that follows, that each will continue to draw upon his sources in a provocative manner.

### *The Defeat of Western Arianism*

One issue that remains unresolved for both Williams and McLynn is that of the Homoian clergy in Milan. Both authors agree that Ambrose was either unable or unconcerned to expel the Homoian clergy in Milan upon his ascension to the pontificate. Williams treats the issue from the perspective that the Homoians were far too strong and, even if Ambrose did have anti-Homoian sympathies, he dared not reveal them. McLynn, on the other hand, who long ago argued strong Nicaean partisanship believes that Ambrose's body of support was too shaky for him to risk such a maneuver, so he spent his early years building a foundation.<sup>18</sup> But that position is difficult to maintain given the following events. In the wake of the military disaster at Adrianople, Justina makes her first trip to Milan in 378 and must ask Gratian for a church to worship according to her Arian faith. Although granted by Gratian, this clearly reveals a Milan that is absent of Homoian clergy just four short years after St. Ambrose's elevation. Moreover, because the sources are barren of a pro-Nicaean cleansing of Homoian clergy, we have no way of knowing how early Ambrose began his purge – a point which both of our authors avoid. The absence of this information cannot be underestimated; it has a direct bearing on the beginning of Ambrose's anti-Arian activities.

Without question, the publication of *De Fide* reveals Ambrose's strong Nicaean position. The text was traditionally believed to have been written at the request of the emperor who wished to know the true faith. Because both McLynn and Williams are committed to a revisionist view, neither accepts the origin of this text in the traditional way. McLynn offers an argument to suggest that Ambrose may have in fact been placed in a defensive position. He bases this on a possible reaction to Ambrose's "outrage caused by his intervention at Sirmium."<sup>19</sup> Because McLynn has difficulty viewing the episode in Sirmium in the traditional light (it suggests a weaker Homoian party and a stronger Ambrose than he is willing to admit), he opts to regard Gratian's request as a challenge to Ambrose's belief. The outrage McLynn refers to is, however, the same synod that Williams denied Ambrose attended. Nevertheless, Williams also portrays Gratian's commission of Ambrose as a defense of his faith rather than an exposition of Orthodoxy.

The council of Aquileia in 381 was one of the greatest displays of Ambrose's authority. Essentially, Palladius, a Homoian bishop from Illyricum, had leveled several charges of heresy against Ambrose based on *De Fide* and requested that Gratian call for an ecumenical council to test his Orthodoxy. As it turned out, Palladius was put on trial and was anathematized with several of his supporters. The reconstructions of McLynn and Williams share little with the *Acta* of the council or one another.

In McLynn's account, Ambrose is seen to win the emperor's favor by virtue of the public relations job he works once news is out about the council in Constantinople. Initially, Gratian had expected his council at Aquileia to be attended by both East and West. Not only did the Easterners stay home for their own council, but several Western officials also attended the great council in the East. McLynn portrays Ambrose reassuring the emperor that the questions to be discussed involve only a few individuals and a large attendance is not required for such small matters. He is able to convince the emperor that he need not force the elderly and sickly bishops within his domain to travel a great distance. In his recounting of the events of the pretrial proceedings, McLynn somewhat quietly, yet provocatively, draws solely from Palladius' reenactment of the events thereby damning Ambrose's actions. Moreover, throughout his discussion of the trial



itself, when faced with contradictory accounts in Palladius and the official *Acta*, McLynn generally opts for the version of the accused. What is the basis for choosing one source over the other? They are both biased, but the one McLynn prefers supports his picture of Ambrose as a manipulator.

Williams, on the other hand, downplays the significance that the council at Constantinople may have had in decreasing the attendance at Aquileia. Rather, he believes that Ambrose's influence on Gratian allowed him to decrease the size of the council. Moreover, Williams believes that Theodosius had a significant influence on Gratian's policy toward latent Arianism. One further distinction that perhaps makes McLynn a more successful "story-teller" is that Williams ignores the biblical misquote on the part of Palladius that apparently wins the day for the Nicaean cause.

A second triumph for Ambrose was his achievement of episcopal authority at the expense of the government during the Basilica controversy in Milan in 386. Essentially, after the defeat of the eastern army at Adrianople in 378, Milan received an influx of Illyrian refugees fleeing Gothic raids. Coming from Illyricum, many of these refugees had Homoian sympathies, most notably, Justina the mother and imperial regent of Valentinian II. Arriving in Milan in 386, she attempted to secure one of the city's churches so that she could participate in Homoian services. Ambrose refused to relinquish one of the churches under his control and a lengthy standoff ensued. Milanese committed, not only to the Nicaean cause, but clearly to Ambrose as well, held a sit-in at the designated church and refused to yield to imperial demands and soldiers. Although not part of the actual demonstration, Ambrose held continual services in his cathedral and provided all possible support for his co-religionists.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, he issued a lengthy sermon *Contra Auxentium* wherein he passionately declared his obligation to the Church and his refusal to submit to imperial demands.<sup>21</sup> The entire event crystallized when Ambrose uncovered the relics of two lost martyrs, Sts. Protasius and Gervasius thus providing divine recognition for the Nicaean position. Consequent of these events, and in part because of the threats of Maximus Magnus (a committed Nicaean and rising power), Justina relinquished her claim for the church. In the aftermath, Ambrose was recognized as a bishop with significant influence and power.

There are several interesting points for our review of McLynn and Williams. First, McLynn, who is always ready either to downplay or to enforce the number of partisans in the streets has a problem with the accounts concerning the soldiers in the streets. McLynn revises the opinion that there was a large blockade around the church, and that these soldiers were aggressively threatening to the Christians inside. His argument is based upon conflicts in the sources that suggest that church doors were unlocked and that the people would have been able to leave and soldiers to enter at will. But it is precisely that the Nicaeans refused to leave the church that won the day for them. Moreover, it is unlikely that Justina would send her soldiers into the church thereby breaking the codes of sanctuary and running the risk of creating martyrs.

For Williams, the Basilica controversy provides the first of two prominent events which eventually cause the collapse of Western Homoianism. The recovery of the relics of Sts. Protasius and Gervasius, Williams argues, whether staged or not, provided divine approval for the Nicaean position as well as the establishment of Ambrose as rightful leader of the Milanese people. The second event which he believes ends the Arian issue in the West is the invasion of Maximus in the summer of 387 and its consequences for Theodosian rule. From that point on, Williams argues, all subsequent Nicaean-Arian conflicts became associated with Roman vs. Barbarian cultural elements.

It is at this point that Williams' account ends. McLynn, however, who is more directly concerned with Ambrose, continues with a cultural discussion of the Milanese people and Ambrose's personal relationships. Therein, he makes an error by overlooking a passage in Ambrose's *De Cain et Abel*. Referring to Epistle 50, in which Ambrose consoles a magistrate who must carry out capital punishments, McLynn reports that Ambrose tells the magistrate that it is justified to carry out the punishment of the wicked. McLynn's presentation suggests that a punishment as severe as death was acceptable. This is not explicit in Ambrose's response. On the contrary, as early as 375 when giving his exegesis of Cain and Abel, Ambrose says: "Therefore, anyone who has not spared [the life] of a sinner has prevented his final opportunity for the remission of his sins and at the same time deprived him of all hopes of remission. This one will in fact, be subject in equal measure to [divine] justice."<sup>22</sup>

*Conclusions*

Throughout the course of this review, we have been at times overly critical in an attempt to show a questionable appropriation of sources. Despite their possible inconsistencies or omissions, both McLynn and Williams have produced serious contributions to the study of Ambrose and the Nicaean-Homoian controversy. Perhaps the greatest contribution of McLynn is his elegant prose which enables him to depict often complicated political relationships in a highly intelligible and readable manner. His study is well-organized and incorporates the many elements of the Milanese milieu that are necessary for his revisionist portrayal of Ambrose. Williams, not without his own literary graces, provides a more involved theological perspective of the issues at hand and includes an overview of modern scholarship concerning many of the same issues.

We have seen McLynn begin his work by presenting a thoroughly Nicaean Ambrose, who after his election, temporarily suspended his anti-Homoian activities through a series of pragmatic and opportunistic activities so that he might build a platform by which he could crush his enemies. What we are left with is a very dynamic and powerful, yet conniving bishop. McLynn's restructuring of his sources, allows him to find Ambrose first forcing the Homoians to deal with the Nicaeans as equals in the cathedral in 374 and then manipulating the events and agenda at Aquileia in 381. Ambrose is the ultimate power broker – the first in what will be a long line of medieval bishops entrenched in political and secular affairs.

Daniel Williams, on the other hand, disputes that Ambrose was a committed Nicaean at his election and that the Homoian cause was on its way out after the death of Constantius. Williams presents a thoroughly Homoian Milan that Ambrose dared not disturb, at least not until the Homoian stronghold had weakened. For Williams, it is not until the Basilica controversy and Maximus' invasion in 387 that the Homoians were truly at the end of their line.

I have argued that contrary to the opinions of Williams and McLynn, any city in this period was likely to be populated by persons sympathetic to both Nicaea and Rimini, Milan included. Such sympathies do not require a thorough knowledge of the complexities of the Trinitarian debate, nor do they require that a person remove himself from the church body if the current bishop may oppose their position, especially if he is not openly hostile to it. It is quite likely that

Homoian sympathies were to have remained in Milan even after Ambrose's tenure, only to die out after generations of opposing leadership

The life of St Ambrose presents a difficult challenge for any historian. Biographers of the men and women which they deem saintly, are more interested in what the lives of individuals such as St Ambrose could do for their personal salvation than in historical precision. As a result, anyone who attempts to read these sources with different intentions will inevitably struggle to master their subject.

<sup>1</sup>This paper was prepared too early to include a discussion of the fascinating dialogue between Peter Kaufman, Neil McLynn and Daniel Williams in the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5 (1997) 421-450. I would like to thank Peter Kaufman who read and commented upon an earlier draft of the present essay.

<sup>2</sup>Neil McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in the Christian Capital* (Berkeley, 1994). Daniel Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of Nicene Arian Conflicts* (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>3</sup>*Homoousion* or "of the same essence" was the term that the Nicaean delegation chose to describe the relationship between Jesus and God the Father.

<sup>4</sup>*Anomoion* or "not of the same essence" was the banner of the avid defenders of Arius who refused to see any relationship of nature between Jesus and God the Father.

<sup>5</sup>They often presented an *homoiousion* or "of a similar essence" position. Nevertheless, it was bitterly rejected by die-hard Nicaeans. In relation to the challenge of Eunomius and Aetius (the chief anousion proponents), this compromise was less offensive and won acceptance on several occasions.

<sup>6</sup>Charles Pietri argues that Constantius, himself, was the motivational force behind the Homoian surge. C. Pietri, "La politique de Constance II. Un premier Césaropapisme ou l'imitatio Constantini?", in *L'église et l'empire au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. A. Döhle (Geneve, 1989). McLynn appears to view the relationship as a mutual accord between Constantius and the bishops that have his ear. McLynn, p. 14. And Williams seems to view Ursacius and Valens as the activists who employ the power of the emperor when in need (for example the different outcomes between the two sessions at the Council of Rimini).

<sup>7</sup>Williams, p. 15. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism: Chiefly Referring to the Character and Chronology of the Reaction which Followed the Council of Nicaea* (Cambridge, 1882).

<sup>8</sup>J. Quasten, *Patrology* Vol. 3 (Westminster, 1992), p. 61. Newman, *Athanasius: Select Works and Letters*, NPNF, Second Series, Vol. 4 (Peabody, 1994), p. 73.

<sup>9</sup>Williams, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup>Although different issues, I find it hard to believe that everyone who has strong opinions about contemporary issues such as civil rights, abortion, etc. actively participates in demonstrations, and thus in an age when it is very rare that such events end in riots and murder.

<sup>11</sup>Julian is known to have initially returned bishops to their sees who were exiled for ecclesiastical reasons perhaps in his attempt to fluster his imperial rivals.

<sup>12</sup>See Y.-M. Duval, "Vrai et Faux problèmes" *Athenaeum* n.s. 48 (1970) 251-275,

M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Roma, 1975); M. Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident* (Paris, 1967).

<sup>13</sup>He cites the number of Homoian publications after 361 in defense. Williams, pp. 72-75.

<sup>14</sup>Williams provides nine arguments to show Auxentius' strong Homoianism: (1) his installation by Constantius at the deposition of Dionysius, (2) his condemnation by the Synod of Paris in 360, (3) his condemnation at first session of Rimini, (4) his condemnation by Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of Martin, (5) a letter of St. Athanasius which reveals his condemnations in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, (6) the attempt of Filastrius to oust him on grounds of heresy – again we only know of this from Sulpicius, (7) St. Hilary's failed attempt, (8) a document *Ad Afros* which glories in Damasus' work but laments that Auxentius is still in power in Milan and (9) Damasus' assembly at Rome in 370/1 which condemns him. Williams, pp. 76-83.

<sup>15</sup>Williams mistranscribes the passage, thereby neglecting the subjunctive altogether and thus suggesting that Hilary knows Auxentius calls synods against him. For Williams this reading falsely portrays the authority that Auxentius wields. Williams, "The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the 'Liber Contra Auxentium'" *Church History* 61 (1992) 7-22.

<sup>16</sup>It is precisely this complacency that individuals such as St. Hilary attempted to stir to action when he pronounced that good men were being swayed by the anti-christ unknowingly. In the mind of Hilary, these silent and complacent members who were sympathetic to Nicaea were endangering their salvation by not realizing the extent of Auxentius' error.

<sup>17</sup>Speaking of Ambrose, Basil says: ". . . and now, a man from the imperial city, a trusted ruler of a whole nation, lofty of intellect, in the illustriousness of his birth, in the renown of his life, in the power of his words, conspicuous among all throughout the world, He (God) has drawn forth for the care of the flocks of Christ. . . but the Lord Himself transferred you from the judges of earth to the chair of the Apostles . . . in this way we shall always be able to be near each other in spirit, even if in our earthly dwelling we are very far apart." This is significant because St. Basil was one of the strongest Nicaean proponents of the era. Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* Vol. 2, trans. A. Way, *Fathers of the Church Series* (Washington, D. C., 1969), pp. 42-45.

<sup>18</sup>McLynn suggests Ambrose attempted to gain a platform by appealing to virgins and those grieving over their deceased family members. This entire line of argumentation that a pragmatic Ambrose was searching desperately to find the foundation that would help him seize both control of Milan and recognition in history is nothing short of desperate. It is rather McLynn who is searching for a foundation to build a case for an opportunistic Ambrose.

<sup>19</sup>McLynn, p. 99.

<sup>20</sup>Many of the events concerning the controversy are recorded by Ambrose in two of his letters to his sister Marcellina (epistles 76 and 77) and a sermon that has been catalogued among his letters (75a). St. Ambrose, *Epistulae* CSEL 82.3, ed. by M. Zelzer (1982), pp. 82-140.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 82-115.

<sup>22</sup>St. Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, CSEL 32.1, ed. by C. Schenkl (1897), p. 406.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **“Pseudomorphosis:” A Theological Judgement as an Axiom for Research in the History of Church and Theology\***

---

PROF. DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG

It is not often that mineralogical terms find their way into theological usage. One such term, however, has been transferred from mineralogy to modern Orthodox theology and has found there enormous popularity: the term *pseudomorphosis*. Originally taken over from mineralogy into the philosophy of history by the German philosopher Oswald Spengler,<sup>1</sup> *pseudomorphosis* was introduced into modern Orthodox theological thought by Georges Florovsky<sup>2</sup> and has become virtually indispensable in its new field. The term is widely used by Orthodox and non-Orthodox theologians alike and applied by both sides in the course of their theological dialogue as well as in their reflections on Orthodoxy.

*Pseudomorphosis* denotes a historical and theological assessment, an evaluation of, and a judgement on the last 500 years of Orthodox Church history with a view towards the relationship between eastern and western Christianity and their respective theological thought. This judgement implies certain theological axioms. And it has direct consequences regarding research undertaken on the history of the Christian East: To scholars who accept the judgement implied in the concept of *pseudomorphosis*, certain epochs, developments, individuals and texts will not be of interest, whereas others will merit special attention.

These preliminary remarks outline the issues to be discussed: First, I shall briefly describe how the last half-millennium of Orthodox history is viewed by those who use the term *pseudomorphosis* as a summary label of that history; then I shall look at the way this view

affects research done in this field; finally I shall outline the axioms and presuppositions of such a view. After these first, more descriptive parts, I shall add some critical remarks and conclusions which follow from all that as regards scholarship in the field of Eastern Church history.

## I

According to Florovsky, *pseudomorphosis* occurs when a group that has originally been characterized by its own, specific spirit or “genius,”<sup>3</sup> begins to express itself in a language, in categories and symbols alien to its original “genius.”<sup>4</sup> Outwardly its life continues as before, but the symbols and images in which the group tries to give expression to its life and its consciousness have changed; as a strange “Überbau”<sup>5</sup> they don’t fit the genius anymore and fail to give it expression.<sup>6</sup> This leads to “a kind of schism in the soul,”<sup>7</sup> a split in the consciousness of the group,<sup>8</sup> collective schizophrenia.

Such *pseudomorphosis* was suffered, in Florovsky’s view, by Orthodox Christianity during the second half of this millennium – in parts even earlier. During the last 500 years, specific terms, questions and images that originated in western theological thought – Roman Catholic and Protestant – found their way into Orthodox theology, even into the liturgy, the art and the constitutions of the East. Examples usually mentioned in this context are the Orthodox “confessions of faith” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, individuals like Cyril Lukaris or Peter Mogila, Russian scholasticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and Greek scholasticism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> In all these cases, Orthodox thought was forcibly shaped by transferring western thought to the East in ways alien to Orthodox life.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, theology was disconnected from the experiences of and within the Orthodox church while, at the same time, these experiences could not find theological ways of expressing themselves adequately. Even though in its core the Orthodox Church remained untouched by such “poisoning by the West,”<sup>11</sup> and the Orthodox soul was able to preserve the “old, eastern and Byzantine Orthodoxy” in mysticism, liturgy and monastic life, it no longer spoke its own theological language and thus was unable to find itself in its own theological thought.<sup>12</sup>

In the last decades most Orthodox theologians – be they of Slav, Greek or other backgrounds<sup>13</sup> – who have looked into the recent past



of their respective Churches have more or less come to share Florovsky's view.<sup>14</sup> For an especially devastating judgement from a Greek perspective see Christos Yannaras.<sup>15</sup> It is important to note, though, that their criticism is not simply directed at individual theological terms, statements or liturgical formulae which might appear contrary to Orthodoxy. Rather, the entire perspective which the East allowed to be superimposed on its thought is judged as radically wrong. Wrong in the sense that the East began to consider questions which were not its own – new, alien questions posed by the West, which did not develop naturally in the context of eastern Orthodox life. These new and alien questions and problems came with their own new, alien solutions and answers.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the entire *pseudomorphotic* superstructure is the inescapable result of that basic self-alienation that grew from the acceptance of western problems.

In view of this diagnosis the therapy is obvious: Orthodoxy must submit to a "cleansing" from these new elements;<sup>17</sup> instead of alien questions it must ask its own questions again and give its own answers. Or rather, it need not ask and answer questions at all, since the need constantly to ask questions and give answers is a basic disease of the West whose "mind is never at rest," as Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos of Constantinople said of his dialogue partners in the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The East, on the other hand, is not in need of such constant intellectual activity, because here all the right and relevant questions have long since been asked and all the true answers given – in the "unveränderlichen Wahrheit der väterlichen Orthodoxie."<sup>19</sup> This is said to be the case objectively speaking, as the Fathers asked the questions, developed the categories and found the answers that are normative for the church at all times; problems not dealt with by the Fathers, questions for example relating to individual salvation, which have always been of such great importance to the West, may well be left open and unsolved.<sup>20</sup> It is also true with regard to the individual and subjective experience since the questions and answers of the Fathers grew naturally from the experiences that have determined the life of the Church from within at all times.<sup>21</sup> All later generations will therefore be able to find themselves in the experience and thought of the Fathers, while there is no need nor room for new categories and problems. Any such new question would only be the artificial brain-child of an intellectualism far removed from experience, as it is typical of the culture and theology of the West.<sup>22</sup>

In other words, the return of Orthodoxy to its own questions and answers is simply the return to the experience and thought of the Fathers, to “Christian Hellenism,”<sup>23</sup> a return demanded in unmistakable – and sometimes explicit<sup>24</sup> – antithesis to Adolph von Harnack. This return is achieved when a theologian of today goes through a process of “spiritual hellenization (or re-hellenization)”<sup>25</sup> which leads them to a “re-living” of Christian Hellenistic thought.<sup>26</sup> Thereby eastern theology regains its own “complete self-sufficiency” (αὐτάρκεις).<sup>27</sup> At the same time it realizes fully, in true catholicity and ecumenism, what is at the core of the Church’s being as such, for “Christian Hellenism” is the “eternal category of Christian existence.”<sup>28</sup>

## II

As mentioned above, viewing Orthodox Church history through the prism of *pseudomorphosis* determines the way in which certain epochs, developments, individuals and works are dealt with. Not just the judgements passed upon them but also the actual choice of subjects that research focuses on is directly determined by this view. We shall show this with regard to the time after the fall of Constantinople, leaving open the question of how far this view also influences the approach to the period before.<sup>29</sup>

In concrete terms, the centuries after the fall of Constantinople are not only judged critically, in that they are understood as a time when foreign influences were inundating the East. This judgement has led Orthodox theology and historiography to virtually ignore the entire epoch in their scholarship. A comparison between the First Congress of Orthodox Theology in 1936 and the Second Congress in 1976<sup>30</sup> may serve as an illustration of this: At the former the post-Byzantine centuries and their theology played a major part.<sup>31</sup> The theory of eastern decline referred to above was put forward here. The epoch concerned was regarded under a predominantly<sup>32</sup> negative perspective, but it was critically analyzed from a position of detailed knowledge.<sup>33</sup> At the Second Congress the picture is entirely different. As a consequence of the theory of decline those centuries were completely ignored.<sup>34</sup> There is only the Patristic period, marginally the Byzantine period – and then the present. The same is true of works of scholarship:<sup>35</sup> For instance, if we take a look at the periodicals of the past thirty-three years<sup>36</sup> they reveal much the same picture –

Patristics, a few articles on Byzantium, and then the great leap into the present. References to the centuries in between are extremely rare: among a total of several thousand publications there are fewer than three dozen. With monographs and editions, it is the same.<sup>37</sup> The *damnatio memoriae* is complete.

This applies to the scholarship undertaken by Orthodox theologians on the Christian East. Surprisingly, things are not much different in the West, both with regard to Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars. Here, too we find a strong tendency to reduce Orthodoxy to Greek Patristic theology and to regard the developments that resulted from an encounter with the Western Churches and their questions and doctrines as alien. Therefore the number of Western publications on the Eastern theology of the post-Byzantine centuries may be a little larger but still remains virtually negligible.<sup>38</sup>

This view has not always dominated the way Orthodox theology was regarded by the West. It is the result of significant changes. On the side of the Roman Catholics this change is bound up with that theological re-orientation which has been noticeable since the *renouveau patristique* during the second third of this century, whose influence is visible in the texts of Vatican II: The importance of the scholastic heritage has diminished while that of the Patristic tradition has increased. Even though there is no simple equation of Orthodoxy with Patristic theology – as is the case among Orthodox theologians – there is a strong tendency among Roman Catholic theologians to see here what they long for in their own Church: a theology free of scholastic narrowness and oriented towards the Fathers.<sup>39</sup>

Consequently that which is not highly regarded in one's own Church cannot be judged positively in the Sister Churches: Attention to questions that had arisen in the West with scholasticism or the reformation, and to the transfer of categories, terms and even solutions that had been developed there, can only be judged negatively as self-alienation suffered by Orthodoxy.<sup>40</sup>

The change was radical: Before Vatican II, traditional Roman Catholic scholarship on Eastern Church history – which after all had produced the monumental, famous and notorious classic *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium* by Martin Jugie<sup>41</sup> and a number of other, very learned works<sup>42</sup> – would refer to documents of scholastically influenced Orthodox theology with special reverence. But the new spirit put an end

to this. And here, too, the negative judgement had the effect that scholars were hardly interested any more in developments, individuals and their works that showed such western influence. There is a notable exception: Gerhard Podskalsky's handbook *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821)*;<sup>43</sup> time will show whether it will remain an exception or become the starting point for fresh interest in that field.

On the Protestant side this whole problem was already discussed near the end of the last century, in the well-known controversy between Wilhelm Grass and Ferdinand Kattenbusch, the father of modern *Konfessionskunde*. The question was whether, and to what extent, Orthodox works that emerged in the course of controversies with the Western Churches and which had been influenced by western theology should be regarded as representative of eastern Orthodoxy. In 1872 Grass had written his *Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*,<sup>44</sup> in which he drew upon the Orthodox "confessions of faith" of the 17th century methodically, completely in line with traditional scholarship up to his day. In his review Kattenbusch sharply rejected this approach as totally inappropriate<sup>45</sup> and in 1892 put forward his own concept.<sup>46</sup> "[Es] existiert ... kein Anlaß, die griechischen Gedanken in der Projektion auf die protestantischen, oder in der speciellen Reaction wider diese, – resp. in der Beziehung auf die römischen ... – darzustellen. Das ergäbe ein ganz schiefes Bild von dem wirklichen 'Glauben' der Griechen."<sup>47</sup> For Kattenbusch, the problems that concerned the West and that for a time were discussed in the East were "keine naturwüchsigen Probleme"<sup>48</sup> of the East, whose real theological interest was limited to those questions that had been answered by the dogma of the early Church. "Es wäre an und für sich möglich, daß der anatolischen Kirche alle Gedanken über das 'Dogma' hinaus abhanden gekommen wären,"<sup>49</sup> a dogma that was "fertig"<sup>50</sup> in the sixth century. After that there was "kein neues Ferment"<sup>51</sup> in the Eastern Church.

Kattenbusch's view has become widely dominant in Protestant scholarship.<sup>52</sup> What has changed, though, is its inherent value-judgement. To Kattenbusch, the liberal Protestant, the diagnosed limitation of representative Orthodoxy to its ancient heritage appeared to be a deficit, evidence of the fact that the Eastern Church had lost all intellectual vitality, all desire and ability for theological reflexion.<sup>53</sup> Later on, however, scholars came to the opposite conclusion.<sup>54</sup> To them the

limitation to Patristic thought is precisely a measure of the vitality and fertility of Eastern theology.<sup>55</sup> Implied in this positive judgement is the corresponding negative assessment of later Orthodox theologians and theological writings that take up problems and, in part, solutions developed by the Western Churches.<sup>56</sup> Here, too, this negative view may reflect a certain disappointment with developments within one's own tradition; and, as is the case among Roman Catholic theologians, reducing Orthodoxy to the theology of the Fathers may go hand in hand with the search for alternatives in one's own Church – a tendency always prone to comparing reality on the one hand with the ideal on the other.<sup>57</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that scholarly interest in post-Byzantine Orthodoxy is insignificant and the number of contributions from Protestant scholars is not large.

### III

The picture of Orthodoxy as it is painted by the representatives of the *pseudomorphosis*-theory and as it is shared more or less consistently by the theory's western adherents is a picture of a separate, self-contained entity: Orthodoxy is a coherent system of thought and experience which, once and for all, was established within Christian Hellenism and is neither in need nor capable of change, challenge or enrichment; historic change is either a superficial phenomenon that would not concern the experience of the Orthodox believer and his thought or, should deeper levels indeed be touched, reflects a decline and loss of identity; the history of the Orthodox Church is history in this former sense, i.e. a constant, only superficially altered identity with the Christian Hellenism of the Fathers; the other denominations are seen as currents that separated themselves from the Christian Hellenistic stream of experience and theological thought and their theology, liturgy, spirituality, art, etc. are now alien to and incompatible with Orthodoxy.

This idea is quite obviously based on a specific understanding of Church history. It is history proper only for a limited period of time during which the Church evolved in creative discourse with its environment until it reached a state of perfection – as far as perfection is attainable in this imperfect world. From then on there is no more development, the achieved state of perfection itself is the life of the Church. This state of perfection is "Christian Hellenism," the blending of the Gospel and Greek culture that occurred in late antiquity

and shaped the specific outlook on life, ethos and thought of the Fathers. It was a process that affected the whole of society in all dimensions of its life as it presented itself in the Roman-Byzantine empire and to a certain extent in Russia. But its fruits were not dependent on this social framework – after its decline it was the Church with its liturgy, its teaching, its ethos, its art and its structures that preserved Christian Hellenism and provided the context for Christian Hellenistic experience and thought, albeit in a different secular context.<sup>58</sup>

The dignity and definitiveness of this stage of development reached with Christian Hellenism are rooted in the synthesis it achieved: Secular history and the Gospel were bound together in perfect harmony<sup>59</sup> so that from neither side there would be tension which might motivate change. From the Gospel there would be no impulse to question the synthesis; nor could cultural, intellectual, social, political or economic changes prompt further development<sup>60</sup> let alone new conjunctions with the Gospel.<sup>61</sup> The synthesis is complete, inwardly and outwardly. This is true objectively, because it is a perfect synthesis. And this can be experienced subjectively – by those who live within the framework of this synthesis, i.e., within the sphere of Christian Hellenism as it is represented by the Orthodox Church through all times. To those who live in this sphere, the Gospel will bring no new questions and no new answers; nor will new constellations that may arise in the course of history affect or disturb them – whatever may happen around them, it passes them by, it passes the Church by like distant stormclouds.

In that epoch, however, that has been accused of *pseudomorphosis* and has been punished with *damnatio memoriae* the storm did hit the Orthodox Church. The reasons were at first primarily external: the political circumstances brought large numbers of Orthodox Christians into contact with the Churches of the West and their theology. The circumstances were tragic: the final collapse of the Byzantine empire, refugees fleeing westward, the limited opportunities of education and training within their own Church, the overtures by Western Christianity that were not always entirely selfless nor too scrupulous in the choice of their methods. All this has been mentioned time and again. Notably, however, the tragedy is seen not only in the sad circumstances of the new contact with the West, but in the actual contact itself. The fact that Orthodox Christians personally encountered Ro-

man Catholicism, Protestantism and the Enlightenment and that they were exposed to their questions and began to think about them, is not simply a historic event to be acknowledged as such; much less is it to be understood as a challenge; Rather, it was probably the historically inevitable<sup>62</sup> though fundamental by a wrong turn in the course of post-Byzantine history.<sup>63</sup> Because from this moment on, historical change that so far had passed the Eastern Church by began to enter its sphere.

How did Orthodoxy cope with the new situation? Against the background of the *pseudomorphosis*-concept, one post-Byzantine theologian in particular is seen as a model of expressing how the integrity of Orthodoxy could be preserved even in historically different circumstances: It is the above-mentioned Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II in the second half of the sixteenth century. As is well known, for several years he was engaged in a dialogue with German Lutherans that was conducted both face-to-face in Constantinople and via an extensive correspondence.<sup>64</sup> His interlocutors would expound on the teaching of their Church and ask his opinion. The most significant feature of his answers – driving his counterparts to distraction<sup>65</sup> – is the fact that Jeremias hardly dealt with their statements and questions. Most of his answers are strings of quotations, often several pages long, from the Fathers and some more recent Byzantine theologians,<sup>66</sup> which are loosely connected to the topics in question but never to the point. For example, a long passage from a liturgical commentary by Nikolaos Kabasilas, describing and explaining the divine liturgy, would be Jeremias' answer to an explanation of the purpose of the sacraments.<sup>67</sup> Passages in the letters of his partners concerning the justification of man before God he would counter with long quotations from the writings of St. Basil on ethics;<sup>68</sup> paragraphs on the Lutheran view of original sin would be answered with instructions on the correct practice of baptism,<sup>69</sup> and so on.

One Orthodox commentator describes the Patriarch's method as being "vorbei und oberflächlich" in his answers, "ohne Verständnis für den ganzen Sachverhalt" that was the matter of concern for his partners.<sup>70</sup> This diagnosis is doubtless correct. The point is, however, that it is not simply a diagnosis but meant as a compliment: the Patriarch's "superficiality" and his lack of understanding is not only seen as inevitable owing to historic circumstances, which it certainly was, but is appreciated as the appropriate attitude towards questions, categories and statements which do not belong to his own Christian

Hellenistic tradition.<sup>71</sup> Thereby Jeremias stands in positive contrast<sup>72</sup> to all those who like him came into contact with the Churches of the West and their traditions of thought but did not remain immune to them, thereby opening up Orthodoxy to the process of *pseudomorphosis*.

#### IV

Lack of understanding, talking at cross purposes as the object of appreciation and admiration – at this point the problem posed by the notion of *pseudomorphosis* becomes obvious. When non-communication is the price for the integrity of the faith, then the concept itself becomes questionable. And then the way in which post-Byzantine theology is to be regarded must be examined afresh, too. In other words: one must ask whether this epoch in the history of Orthodoxy should not be seen in a new light, whether it should not be taken more seriously by scholars of theology and Church history. It should be regarded and taken seriously as a time of new historic constellations as they come about in the course of history and in themselves are neither good nor bad. It should be seen as a new chance to encounter the truth of the gospel. And it should be taken seriously as a time during which Orthodox Christians, theologians, men of the Church tried to come to terms with these new circumstances. Their individual attempts may have been successful or unsuccessful, fertile or futile; in any case they have to be taken seriously as manifestations of Orthodox life and thought in the face of the challenges of a new situation. However, this perspective presupposes that Orthodoxy is basically open to such challenges and is not a hermetically sealed off sphere immune to everything from outside; and it presupposes that the Gospel and its truth might potentially be able to confront Orthodoxy from outside.

In concrete terms, the situation to give heed to as the framework of all those theological challenges were the many and manifold contacts between Orthodox Christians on the one hand and Roman Catholics and Protestants on the other in the centuries after the fall of Constantinople. Here scholarship usually takes into account those cases where different denominations coexisted in one territory, e.g. the Baltics,<sup>73</sup> Poland-Lithuania,<sup>74</sup> or Romania.<sup>75</sup> But there is also a growing awareness of the many Orthodox communities in non-Orthodox Europe. The importance of such communities in northern



Italian territories has been known for some time, even though their full scope has come to light only within the last few decades.<sup>76</sup> Additionally, there were at least a hundred Orthodox communities in Hungary;<sup>77</sup> there were those in Vienna,<sup>78</sup> – Vienna being, in the eighteenth century, the second-largest cultural center of new Hellenism<sup>79</sup> after Venice; and in Austrian Trieste,<sup>80</sup> the communities in London,<sup>81</sup> and finally the three communities in the German towns of Leipzig, Breslau<sup>82</sup> and Potsdam,<sup>83</sup> with Leipzig as one of the most important places for the printing of Greek theological literature in the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup> With few exceptions we do not know the size of these communities, their way of life and how they actually originated; nor do we know about their relations with their non-Orthodox neighbors or why most of them eventually disappeared.<sup>85</sup> These gaps ought to be filled; the results should be taken seriously by Church historians, not simply because these communities are a part of Orthodox Church history, but mainly because their emergence was a decisive step towards the end of the Orthodox Church's denominationally separate existence that characterizes recent Orthodox history and is an essential factor among the new challenges – challenges that, sooner or later, had to be faced by the other Churches as well. Our century was to lend this process an entirely new dimension.

In addition to the Orthodox communities, important centers of Orthodox education in the West must be mentioned, places like Vilnius,<sup>86</sup> Padua,<sup>87</sup> Rome,<sup>88</sup> Oxford,<sup>89</sup> Halle,<sup>90</sup> or Leipzig.<sup>91</sup> Greeks and Slavs studied in these places, taking home with them either new ideas and concepts for reform or the will to reject and the desire to retreat and fall back on their own resources.<sup>92</sup> There were also a number of printers in these places<sup>93</sup> which printed Greek and Slav versions of both Orthodox and Roman Catholic or Protestant works. These works travelling East were mostly educational and edifying in character, works like Martin Luther's *Small Catechism*,<sup>94</sup> Bellarmin's *Great Catechism*,<sup>95</sup> Franz of Sales' *Philothea*<sup>96</sup> and Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae*,<sup>97</sup> together with a number of pietistic works.<sup>98</sup> Some of these works had no visible effect, others were highly successful. Since there were several cases in which theological writings from the West became widespread and often used in the East, the question arises how one is to judge this fact: Is it just an external event, a superficial contact with something that is to be seen as alien, and effected, if anything, only estrangement? On the contrary, the

fact that the above-mentioned *Meditationes Sacrae* by Johann Gerhard, who taught dogmatics in Jena, were so widely read in Russia, “even among conservative clergy,”<sup>99</sup> and the fact that Johann Arndt’s bestseller *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* became a popular devotional book in the Russian Church that was repeatedly reprinted during one-and-a-half centuries<sup>100</sup> and “was highly regarded even within the monasteries,”<sup>101</sup> both point to a spiritual common ground which allowed for mutual enrichment and inspiration by other denominations.

The same is true for the reception of dogmatic works: The lasting and creative effect of both scholastic literature, as it can be seen in the area of Kiev and is embodied in the figure of Peter Mogila,<sup>102</sup> and Lutheran dogmatic works,<sup>103</sup> as can be seen in eighteenth and nineteenth century Russia and men like Feofan Prokopovic, can hardly be explained away as superficial, ephemeral contact. Nor is the scope of these influences fully comprehended as long as they are dismissed as using the methods of one denomination merely to hold one’s own against the other,<sup>104</sup> or to explain one’s own position to an external forum.<sup>105</sup>

Instead of all these attempts to play down the importance of the contacts with western theology the question ought to be asked what these contacts tell us about Orthodoxy itself, about its developments and potentials.

If we examine texts which show western influence with this question in mind, one thing becomes clear: Orthodox theologians were able to accept such influence without feeling they were deserting Orthodoxy;<sup>106</sup> instead they felt they were serving it.<sup>107</sup> What they accepted they considered to be correct expressions of the Christian truth, and there they saw common ground shared with the Churches from which they borrowed. On the other hand they were quite particular and by no means took over everything. None of those texts are simply western documents – not even the exceptional *Confessio Fidei* of Patriarch Cyril Lukaris<sup>108</sup> – rather, they are documents by Orthodox men trying to express the Christian truth. Why they use some western elements and not others, why they do so in one way and not another, in which way Orthodox teaching is thereby rendered more precise, more closely defined and more clearly accentuated, which new questions appear plausible to them and which do not – to examine all this is much more gratifying and productive than the sweeping

condemnation of all these attempts as decline and loss of identity. From this perspective Orthodoxy appears as an entity that is not isolated but shares a rich common ground with the whole of Christianity, which enables it both to take and to give. It appears not as monolithic but encompassing in itself "eine Spannweite innerorthodoxer Problemlösungen"<sup>109</sup> – a wide range of solutions mirrored in the taking up of different western ideas. And it appears as an entity which does not reject new questions and insights out of hand, but which at several points has attempted, within the given historic context, to do justice to them while at the same time remaining faithful to its own tradition – no different, in principle, from what Christianity did in the Hellenistic epoch.<sup>110</sup>

That this perspective is not only more productive, but historically more appropriate can be seen from the current Orthodox agenda itself, including the *pseudomorphosis*-theory: Without previous contact with the West, that agenda, the idea of falling back on one's own resources, would not have been possible. This is true in a positive sense, where western scholarship led Orthodox theologians to reappropriate the treasures of their own tradition,<sup>111</sup> or where western theological categories were taken over as means of the rediscovery of one's own identity – e.g. the widespread concept of a theological "personalism" or "existentialism," even though it is frequently portrayed as specifically Orthodox, cannot hide its western roots.<sup>112</sup> But that agenda is linked to the West also in a negative sense: it is a program of antithesis. Such antithesis, however, does not resurrect the "self-sufficiency" of the time when no counterpart had yet appeared, just as the refusal to answer a question does not bring back the situation when the question had never been heard.<sup>113</sup> An agenda of reaction remains bound up with what it reacts to.

None in the Orthodox camp has seen this more clearly than Christos Yannaras, the most ardent supporter of the notion of *pseudomorphosis*. Yannaras accuses even Russian diaspora-theology, which actually propounded the program of return to Orthodoxy, of being dependent on the West,<sup>114</sup> in other words, of having fallen victim to *pseudomorphosis*. And indeed: At its core the notion of *pseudomorphosis* is nothing but – itself *pseudomorphosis*. His analysis, however, does not make Yannaras reconsider the entire concept; instead, he follows it through to its final consequence: In view of the unavoidability of the western world there is but one option for Ortho-

doxy: the "exodus," the retreat into the sphere of the liturgy.<sup>115</sup>

These uncompromising solutions by the Greek theologian and philosopher have by no means met with unanimous consent within Orthodoxy.<sup>116</sup> This is all the more reason for Western theology and historiography dealing with the East not to follow the *pseudomorphosis*-theory, both for the sake of the object of their research and for the sake of the Western Churches. Because only an Orthodox Church that is capable of dialogue will in turn be able to give to other Churches some of the insights and treasures it has to offer to the whole of Christianity.

\*First published as "Pseudomorphosis" - ein theologisches Urteil als Axiom der kirchen- und theologiegeschichtlichen Forschung" in *The Christian East Its Institutions and its Thought A Critical Reflection* Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute Rome, 30 May - 5 June 1993 Ed Robert F Taft Rome 1996 (OCA 251), 565-589 Translated by Alexandra Riebe, University of Tübingen

<sup>1</sup> Cf O Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte* München 1963, 784, specification 784-840, 271-277, referring to Russian history 788-794

<sup>2</sup> "Westliche Einflüsse in der russischen Theologie," in *Proces-Verbaux du Premier Congres de Théologie Orthodoxe à Athènes* 29 Nov-6 Dec 1936 Ed H S Alivisatos Athens 1939, 219, 222, 225, 229f /also, in a more elaborate version, in *Kyrios* 2 (1937), 9 12 14 20 (engl in G F, *Collected Works IV* Belmont/Mass 1975, 157-182), *Ways of Russian Theology* Part I Belmont/Mass 1979 (*Collected Works V*), 37 77, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* Ed R Rouse - S C Neill London 1954, 138/In G F, *Christianity and Culture* Belmont/Mass 1974 (*Collected Works II*), 181 (with a definition of the term in relation to its use by Spengler) Cf Chr Kunkel, *Totus Christus Die Theologie Georges V Florovskys* Göttingen 1991 (*Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie* 62), 265, n 14

<sup>3</sup> *Ways of Russian Theology* I (see n 2), 77

<sup>4</sup> "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement" (see n 2), 183/181

<sup>5</sup> "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n 2), 221/11

<sup>6</sup> "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement" (see n 2), 183/181, following Spengler

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* 183/181

<sup>8</sup> "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n 2), 221/10, 220/10

<sup>9</sup> Florovsky *passim* in all the above On Greece cf below, notes 13 and 15 and the authors mentioned there

<sup>10</sup> "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n 2), 222

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* 231

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid* 229f

<sup>13</sup> A Schmemmann, "Russian Theology 1920-1972 An Introductory Survey," in *SVTQ*

4 (1972), 172-174, Th Ware, *Eustratios Argenti A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* Oxford 1964, 7-16, M S Alivisatos, "Opening address at the First Congress of Orthodox Theology," in *Proces Verbaux* I (see n 2) 50f /63f /76f, P Chrestou, "Neohellenic Theology at Crossroads," in *GOTR* 28 (1983), 39-54, J Kalogirou, "Die Tätigkeit der Orthodoxen Kirche bei ihrer ersten Begegnung mit der Reformation (ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der neueren Auffassungen)," in *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 6 (1961), 89ff, cf for additional material the summary and earlier authors mentioned by K Chr Felmy, "Die Orthodoxe Theologie in kritischer Selbstdarstellung," in *KO* 28 (1985), 53-79, see also G Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Turkenherrschaft (1453-1821)* München 1988, 69f

<sup>14</sup> There are some exceptions, e.g. I Bria, "Evolution et originalité de l'église locale de Roumanie," in *Eglise locale et Eglise universelle* Chambesey-Geneva 1981, 101f

<sup>15</sup> "La Theologie en Grece aujourd'hui," in *Istina* 16 (1971), 131-150, later published in Greek as 'Η θεολογία στην 'Ελλάδα σήμερα, title 'Ορθοδοξία και Δύση 'Η θεολογία στην 'Ελλάδα σήμερα Athen 1972, engl. "Theology in Present-Day-Greece," in *SVTQ* 4 (1972), 195-214

<sup>16</sup> Cf J Karmires, 'Ορθοδοξία και Προτεσταντισμός I, Athens 1937, 184, taken up by Kalogirou (see n 13), 98f, Florovsky, "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n 2) 230, Yannaras, "La Theologie" (see n 15) 136, the same, "L'Orthodoxie et l'Occident," in *Istina* 16 (1971), 159 (engl. in *GOTR* 17 (1972), 123), J D Zizioulas, "Die Eucharistie in der neuzeitlichen Orthodoxen Theologie," in *Die Anrufung des Heiligen Geistes im Abendmahl Viertes Theol. Gespräch zwischen dem Ökumen. Patriarchat und der EKD* 1975 Ed. Kirchliches Außenamt der EKD Frankfurt/M 1977 (OR, Beih. 31), 166, see also N Nissiotis, "The Witness and the Service of Eastern Orthodoxy to the One Undivided Church," in *The Ecumenical Review* 15 (1962), 197 Cf D Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581* Göttingen 1986, 401f

<sup>17</sup> Alivisatos (see n 13) 52/65/77

<sup>18</sup> οὐδε ἴσταιται πῶς ὑμῶν ἡ διανοία. He writes this in his correspondence with the Lutheran church of Württemberg Τα δογματικά και Συμβολικά μνημεῖα τῆς 'Ορθοδοξου Καθολικῆς 'Εκκλησίας Ed J Karmires II Graz 1986<sup>2</sup>, 476 [556], cf Wendebourg, "Reformation" (see n 16) 342-401f

<sup>19</sup> Florovsky, Westliche Einflüsse (see n 2) 231

<sup>20</sup> B Krivocheine, "Is a New Orthodox Confession of Faith Necessary?," in *SVTQ* 11 (1967), 71, this and other problems belong, according to St Gregory Nazianzen, to the realm of theological freedom where "it is not dangerous to err" Karmires (see n 16) 184 Concerning questions of the Reformation and Counterreformation which have not been dealt with by earlier Orthodox theology Orthodox thought is free

<sup>21</sup> Most of the authors mentioned above speak of such a correspondence between patristic tradition and life or experience, albeit not all in the same way E.g. Florovsky, "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n 2), 231, *idem*, *Ways of Russian Theology* Part II Belmont/Vaduz 1983 (Coll. Works VI) 302f, Chrestou (see n 13) 54, Yannaras, "La Theologie" (see n 15), 131, *idem*, *Person und Eros Eine Gegenüberstellung der Ontologie der griechischen Kirchenväter und der Existenzphilosophie des Westens* Göttingen 1982, 25-99, A Schmemann, *Church World Mission Reflections on Orthodoxy in the West* Crestwood NY 1979, 47f, J Romanides, "Critical Examination of the Application

of Theology," in *Proces-Verbaux du Deuxieme Congres de Theologie Orthodoxe a Athenes*, 19-29 Aug 1976 Ed S Chr Agourides, 413-441, *passim*, e g 424 Cf Felmy, *Die Orthodoxe Theologie in kritischer Selbstdarstellung* (see n 13) 73

<sup>22</sup> Yannaras, "L'Orthodoxie et l'Occident" (see n 16) *passim*, *idem* "La Theologie" (see n 15) 131f 136f 143, *idem*, *Person und Eros* 101ff, Chrestou (see n 13) 46

<sup>23</sup> Florovsky, *Ways II* (see n 21) 297, *idem* "Patristics and modern Theology," in *Proces-Verbaux I* (see n 2) 241f, taken up by Yannaras, "La Theologie" (see n 15) 142 150, cf B Exarchos, "Theologische Probleme der modernen Orthodoxie," in *Θεολογία* 36 (1965), 261 "Die Grundforderung der Zeit an die Orthodoxie lautet Zurück zur Orthodoxie! Zurück zur klassischen Antike [i.e. of the church D W]!"

<sup>24</sup> Florovsky, "Christianity and Civilization," in *Coll Works II* Belmont/Mass 1974, 122f, unfortunately with an incorrect rendering of v Harnack's position Notwithstanding their differences Harnack and Florovsky are quite close to each other in that they both aim for experienc-related theology, cf Kunkel (see n 2) 418

<sup>25</sup> Florovsky, "Patristics" (see n 23) 242

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, *Ways II* (see n 21) 299

<sup>27</sup> Alivisatos (see n 13) 52/64/77, s a 52/65/78, cf Chrestou (see n 13) 46 "Greek Orthodox civilization, essentially independent and self-sufficient"

<sup>28</sup> Florovsky, *Ways II* (see n 21) 297, *idem*, "Patristics" (see n 23) 242 "Hellenism is a standing category of the Christian existence"

<sup>29</sup> E g the way in which the controversy concerning Gregory Palamas has been categorized in an East-West scheme, or how the reaction towards scholasticism during the final century of the Byzantine Empire has come under the heading of a clear east-West alternative in Orthodox historiography Cf among others H G Beck, "Humanismus und Palamismus," in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congres International d' Etudes Byzantines*, Ochrid 1961 Vol I Belgrade 1963, 63-82 and G Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz Der Streit um die Methodik der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14 /15 Jh), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* Munchen 1977, esp ch 3, both Beck and Podskalsky point to the methodological choices at stake here, but so far this has not led to a discernibly heightened awareness of the problems involved nor to visible consequences being drawn from such an awareness In passing let me mention that the complex and diverse attitudes towards St Augustine also belong to this context

<sup>30</sup> For bibliographic references see n 2 and n 21

<sup>31</sup> See the contributions of Chr Papadopoulos, K Dyobouniotes and G Florovsky

<sup>32</sup> The contributions of Papadopoulos and Dyobouniotes are, other than Florovsky's, not totally negative

<sup>33</sup> This is true especially of Florovsky's epoch-making "Ways of Russian Theology" (see n 2 and 21) which forms the basis of his contribution at the Congress and where the *pseudomorphosis*-theory is put forward and documented Whatever one might think of his conclusions, Florovsky's work gives evidence of his formidable knowledge of Russian history of ideas and theology of that period

<sup>34</sup> Of course this difference between the two Congresses has partly to do with their topics and historical contexts While the First was mainly taking stock, the Second was intended to look at the challenges of the present (cf the opening lecture by N Nissiotis) Nevertheless the difference is unmistakable and instructive Consequently, the Third Congress in 1979 (documentation in *GOTR* 24 [1979]) has nothing to say about the post-Byzantine centuries

<sup>35</sup> We are concerned here with articles or monographs of theology, history of theology or of Church history as far as they are relevant for the history of theology. There is a bit more to be found in general works on Church history and the history of spirituality of that period. Quite a number of contributions have been written by secular historians, especially by those at the Greek Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine studies in Venice (cf. the *θησαυρίσματα*) and the Society for Byzantine Studies in Athens (cf. the EEBS).

<sup>36</sup> My findings are based on the volumes of *Theologia*, *Epist. Ep. Theol. Scholes Athens*, *Studii Teologice*, *Ortodoxia*, *MEPR*, *Contacts*, *GOTR*, *SVTQ* since 1960, and *Kleronomia* since 1969.

<sup>37</sup> As can be shown from the reviews and the forthcoming contributions in the periodicals mentioned in notes 36 and 38; also from the references in G. Podskalsky (see n. 13).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the last thirty-three years of periodicals like *Istina*, *Irénikon*, *OCP*, *OstkSt* and *KO* and the monographs announced there and in Podskalsky (see n. 13).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. A. de Halleux, "Le concile de Florence: union ou uniatisme?" in: *Proche Orient Chrétien* 41 (1991), 218: "La théologie Orthodoxe a encore aidé l'Église catholique romaine à se dégager de son étroitesse 'confessionnelle' en lui apprenant à respirer par son 'poumon oriental.'" This can lead even to an acceptance of Palamism as the starting-point for a patristically based, "much longed-for non-scholastic theology" (introduction to the issue in: *Istina* 19 (1974), 259).

<sup>40</sup> Thus e. g. G. Dejaifve, "Orient et Occident chrétien: deux théologies?" in: *Nouv. RTh* 82 (1960) (Ital.: "Oriente et Occidente: due teologie?" in: *Filosofia*. Turin 1960; reprinted in: *idem*, *Una sancta et confessiones chrétiennes*. Rome 1987), 5: For Orthodoxy the connection with western theologies meant "épreuves qui ont altéré les traits de son visage. Aussi, est-ce par un retour à son passé, aux grandes époques où elle s'est montrée elle-même, que la théologie Orthodoxe cherche aujourd'hui à redécouvrir son *genie propre*" (my italics) Dejaifve explicitly refers to the First Congress of Orthodox Theology in 1936 (*ibid.* n. 4).

<sup>41</sup> Paris 1926-1935.

<sup>42</sup> Particularly in the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome. Cf. E. Farrugia, "La dogmatica al Pontificio Istituto Orientale," in: *OChrAn* 1993, see esp. about the theologians T. Spáčil and M. Gordillo.

<sup>43</sup> Subtitle: Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens. München 1988 (about to appear in Greek and Russian). See also E. Chr. Suttner on the history of the Romanian church, esp.: "Die Bedeutung der Donaufürstentümer für die Entfaltung der Orthodoxen Theologie im 17. Jahrhundert," in: *idem*, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Rumäniens*. Wien-München 1978, 240-250.

<sup>44</sup> Berlin 1872; see esp. 86.

<sup>45</sup> *Kritische Studien zur Symbolik im Anschluß an einige neuere Werke*, in: *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* 51 (1878) 98-121; for Grass' answer see: *Zur Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*, in: *ZKG* 3 (1879), 328-357.

<sup>46</sup> *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Confessionskunde I. Prolegomena und Erster Teil: Die Orthodoxe und anatholische Kirche*. Freiburg 1892.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 279.

<sup>48</sup> *Kritische Studien* (see n. 45), 106

<sup>49</sup> *Confessionskunde* (see n. 46), 279.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid* 273

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid* 281 Rather, because of the iconoclastic controversy, "das rituale Ferment" had become "alldurchdringend" (*ibid* )

<sup>52</sup> This is true of most of the studies on the Orthodox church and its theology written in this century. An exception is the well-known monograph by F Gavin, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought* Milwaukee–London 1923 (see esp XXIXf 28 206 208f ) Cf also P Hauptmann, Petrus Mogilas, in *Klassiker der Theologie*, ed H Fries–G Kretschmar, vol I, Munchen 1981, 391, who finds it regrettable that Kattenbusch's thesis had such an impact because the rejection of the theology that had come under western influence is not representative of the whole of Orthodoxy, e.g. "durfte die von Petrus Mogilas in seiner *Confessio Orthodoxa* vertretene Theologie aus dem ostkirchlichen Bewußtsein nicht mehr zu verdrängen sein" For an Orthodox echo cf Karmires (see n 16) 183, n 2, Kalogirou (see n 13) 89f

<sup>53</sup> *Confessionskunde* (see n 46) 273 "Der späte Grieche will Ruhe haben" "Das Dogma war 'fertig' Weitere Gedanken zu finden, hatte jetzt keiner mehr die Fähigkeit, keiner auch das Bedürfnis. Aber auch an den vorhandenen betätigte man jetzt ein anderes Interesse als ehemals. Das Wort von der Nothwendigkeit zu erwerben auch was man 'ererb't hat von den Vätern', um einen wirklichen 'Besitz' an ihm zu haben, ist für die Griechen seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert so unverständlich, als es für den antiken, auch den antik-christlichen Griechen ein selbstverständliches, ihn unbewußt leitendes war"

<sup>54</sup> But not unanimously. There are some who consider that limitation a deficit and who judge those theologians positively who entered into discussions with the west. K Onasch, *Confessionskunde der Orthodoxen Kirche* Berlin 1962, believes that theology must develop because new questions arise with new times (165). Theologians like Cyril Lukaris are to be honored because they took up the challenge of such new questions (45), F Heiler, *Die Ostkirchen* München–Basel 1971, 112, follows Onasch on this point (unreconciled with contrary statements, cf the following notes). P Hauptmann, *art cit* (see n 52) 388 praises Petrus Mogilas' *Confessio Orthodoxa* for having secured for his Church "den Anschluß an die theologische Entwicklung im Abendland"

<sup>55</sup> Heiler (see n 54) 41 17 144 (see on the other hand his remark that since the fifth century there had not been any dynamic creativity in the east but only "heilige Ruhe," even paralyzing passivity, *ibid* 15), K Chr Felmy, *Die Orthodoxe Theologie der Gegenwart. Eine Einführung* Darmstadt 1990, ch 1 *passim*, esp 6 10 13 17 18

<sup>56</sup> Heiler (see n 54) 41 113, H Schaefer, in *Wort und Mysterium. Der Briefwechsel über Glauben und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* Ed Außenamt der EKD Witten 1958, 19, E Benz, *Geist und Leben der Ostkirche* Hamburg 1957, 163f, Felmy, *Die Orthodoxe Theologie der Gegenwart* (see n 55) 7 14 (all in line with recent Orthodox criticism of this pseudomorphic theology)

<sup>57</sup> E.g. the comparison of the experience- or life-based theology of the East versus the rationalistic, intellectualistic theology of the West (cf Heiler (see n 54) 114f 433, Benz (see n 56) 39f, Felmy, *Die Orthodoxe Theologie der Gegenwart* (see n 55) ch 1 (despite his initial remarks p 1f)) – as if it had not been the desire of all great Western theology, of whichever denomination, to achieve an integral connection with real life and as if the Orthodox claim to an experience-related theology automatically implied its fulfilment



<sup>58</sup> Florovsky, *The Ways of Russian Theology*, in: Coll. Works IV Belmont/Mass. 1975, 195: "Hellenism, so to speak, assumed a perpetual character in the Church; it has incorporated itself in the very fabric of the Church as the eternal category of Christian existence... We are dealing with Christian antiquity, with the Hellenism of dogma, of the liturgy, of the icon." Also *idem*, *Patristics* (see n. 23) 241f. (cf. Künkel (see n. 2) 269-275.417-423); *Exarchos* (see n. 23) 256f.; Yannaras, "La Théologie" (see n. 15) 142.149; *idem*, "Philosophie sans rupture." Geneva 1985 (cf. the critical review by B. Dupuy, "La 'philosophie néohellénique' de Christos Yannaras," in: *Istina* 36 (1991), 385-388); see also Alivisatos (see n. 13), 72. On individual points, though, there are significant differences between these authors.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Künkel (see n. 2), 272-274.419-423.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Yannaras, "L'Orthodoxie et l'Orient" (see n. 16) 157f., who claims a special closeness between Orthodox theology and spirituality on the one hand and agrarian society on the other, the decline of which he sees as a problem for Orthodoxy.

<sup>61</sup> See as an example the complete lack of understanding for the conjunction of Christianity and the Germanic peoples and its historical and theological consequences right up to the scholasticism, which has found expression in terms like "frankish church" or "frankish theology" – terms that simultaneously convey the rejection of a theological development and of a historical and cultural epoch; today J. Romanides, *Franks, Romans, Feudalism, and Doctrine. An Interplay between Theology and Society*. Brookline/Mass. 1981; also, using different terminology, Yannaras, "La Théologie" (see n. 15) and *Philosophie* (see n. 58); *Exarchos* (see n. 23), 258.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Florovsky, "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n. 2) 216: "Geschichtlich ist dieses Einimpfen des Protestantismus vielleicht unvermeidlich gewesen; aber ...". For this perspective of tragedy, according to which the attention given to western categories was self-destructive but historically inevitable for Orthodoxy see Yannaras, "L'Orthodoxie et l'Occident" (see n. 16). Cf. also Dejaifve (see n. 40) 5, according to whom the taking up of western methods and arguments amounted to "épreuves" for Orthodoxy.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>64</sup> See Wendebourg, *op. cit.* (see n. 16).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 126f.

<sup>66</sup> see *Ibid.* 151-153.165ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 181ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 169.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 168.

<sup>70</sup> The commentator is N. Gilarov-Platonov, included in Florovsky, "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n. 2) 230.

<sup>71</sup> Florovsky *ibid.* with Gilarov-Platonov. Florovsky finds considerable psychological truth in these ideas; but they also correspond to his own theological thought, as the context shows.

The objection could be raised that on the following page Florovsky argues that the Orthodox Christian, when returning to his "väterlichen Quellen," must not "aus der Gegenwart oder aus der Geschichte verschwinden, vom Schlachtfelde abtreten." Simple rejection of western theology is not enough; the Orthodox Christian must overcome western thought by suffering "alle westlichen Schwierigkeiten und Anfechtungen." Only in this way would Orthodoxy be able to answer the questions of the west, and "aus den Tiefen ihrer ununterbrochenen Erfahrungen ... den Schwankungen des westlichen

Gedankens die unveränderliche Wahrheit der väterlichen Orthodoxie entgegenstellen” The objection, however, does not point to a genuine contradiction Western questions, even if they must be suffered, are still deemed theologically illegitimate and therefore must be overcome Accordingly, the difference between Jeremias’ affirmed immunity and the answers to be given by Orthodoxy today is only a difference in degree It is hardly possible to take another’s questions seriously when it has been previously established that these questions should never have been asked in the first place A genuine dialogue, a true discourse is impossible because it would acknowledge the legitimacy of the questions But the condition under which they can be “overcome” is precisely that they not be taken seriously

<sup>72</sup> Thus Karmires (see n 16) 135, Kalogirou (see n 13) 102, n 40, citing Schaefer (see n 56) 19

<sup>73</sup> Cf G v Rauch, “Protestantisch-ostkirchliche Begegnung im baltischen Grenzraum zur Schwedenzeit,” in *ARG* 43 (1952), 187-212, G Hering, “Orthodoxie und Protestantismus,” in *JOB* 31/2 (Akten I/2 des XVI Intern Byzantinistenkongresses, Wien 4-9 Oktober 1981), 847f

<sup>74</sup> Cf K Volker, *Kirchengeschichte Polens* Berlin–Leipzig 1930 III C D IV B, A Jobert, *De Luther a Mogila La Pologne dans la crise de la Chretiente 1517 1648* Paris 1974

<sup>75</sup> Cf Suttner, *op cit* (see n 43), G Hering (see n 73) 833-836

<sup>76</sup> Cf Manoussacas, “Structure sociale de l’hellenisme post-byzantin,” in *JOB* 31/2 (see n 73) 805-811, with literature

<sup>77</sup> N B Tomadakis, “Les communautés helléniques en Autriche,” in *Festschrift zur 200 Jahrfeier des Österreichischen Haus Hof und Staatsarchivs* 2 Wien 1952, 452-461 (reprinted in *idem, Miscellanea Byzantina – Neohellenica* Modena 1972, 179-188) with older literature, O Fuvés, *Oi Έλληνες της Ούγγαρίας* Thessaloniki 1965, *idem*, “Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung zur Geschichte der Griechen in Ungarn,” in *Ο Έλληνισμός εις το έξωτερικόν Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in neuerer Zeit* Ed J Irmscher – M Mineemü Berlin 1968, 313-338 (lit ), Manoussacas (see n 76), 811f

<sup>78</sup> E Turczynski, *Die griechisch deutschen Kulturbeziehungen bis zur Berufung König Ottos* München 1959, 89-95 108 111 230-236, Manoussacas (see n 76) 812

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid* 812

<sup>80</sup> Turczynski (see n 78) 96-100 111-114, Manoussacas (see n 76) 812f

<sup>81</sup> V Tsimpidaros, *Oi Έλληνες στην Άγγλία* Athen 1974, G Rhabanes, ‘Έλληνες σπουδασται εις Άγγλιαν κατα την Τουρκοκρατιαν, in *Έκκλ Φαρος* 54 (1972), 323

<sup>82</sup> Cf Turczynski (see n 78) 100-103 104-108, A G Alevizopoulos, *Η φιλέλληνική κινήσις και αι πρώται εν Γερμανία ελληνικαι κοινοτητες* Athen 1979 (not available to me) From 1828 there was also a community in Munich, cf Turczynski 253ff and Alevizopoulos, *op cit*

<sup>83</sup> E Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Rußlandkunde* Berlin 1953, 225

<sup>84</sup> Turczynski (see n 78) 120-122

<sup>85</sup> Cf Manoussacas (see n 76) 821 “malgré l’abondance de travaux, publiés ou en cours nous sommes encore très loin d’avoir des ouvrages de synthèse sur les rapports, si nombreux et si importants entre les Grecs et les Européens ” Manoussacas’

general remark is also true in the context of church history.

<sup>86</sup> E. Winter, *Rußland und das Papsttum*, Teil I. Berlin 1960, 227; G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik 1620-1636*. Wiesbaden 1968, 157f.; cf. *idem*, *Orthodoxie* (see n. 73) 849.

<sup>87</sup> Podskalsky (see n. 43) 50.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 52-54.

<sup>89</sup> Rhabanes (see n. 81); Podskalsky (see n. 43) 55f. (lit).

<sup>90</sup> J. Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*. Göttingen 1990 (KiG 4, 01) 77 (summary with a one-sided account of just the Russian students); E. Winter (see n. 83) esp. 98ff.; *idem*, *Die Pflege der west- und südslavischen Sprachen in Halle im 18. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1954, esp. 159ff.188; U. Moennig, "Griechischstudien und griechische Stipendiaten in Halle" (not yet published paper given at the Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Byzantinisten in 1993, which is part of the DFG- project "Neograeca in Germania" and analyses material from the archive of the Francke'sche Stiftungen); Turczynski (see n. 78) 122f.

<sup>91</sup> Podskalsky 55.348.367f.; Turczynski (see n. 78) 135.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Podskalsky 61; for the impact of these influences on Orthodox education see *ibid.* 46-62.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. the map, *ibid.*, 51; for information on the printers *ibid.* 62-67; for the printers in Vienna and Leipzig see Turczynski ch. V; for Halle see Winter (see n. 83) 211ff.

<sup>94</sup> Hering, *Orthodoxie* 864 n. 228; cf. also 834.

<sup>95</sup> Podskalsky (cf. n. 43) 64.126.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 250.

<sup>97</sup> Hering, *Orthodoxie* 867 n. 254.

<sup>98</sup> Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt* 222-226.229ff.

<sup>99</sup> Hering, *Orthodoxie* 867.

<sup>100</sup> Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt* 231.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 235; in one monastery in Moscow it would even be used for reading at table (*ibid.*, 237).

<sup>102</sup> The main sources, e.g. of his *Confessio Orthodoxa* are the *Catechismus Romanus* and the Great Catechisms by Canisius and Bellarmine (Podskalsky (see n. 43) 234; cf. Florovsky, "Westliche Einflüsse" (see n. 2) 217-219, with an opposing evaluation).

<sup>103</sup> The works mainly used were Joh. Gerhard's *Loci theologici*, the most extensive dogmatic work by a Lutheran high Orthodox theologian (nine volumes 1610-1622), together with dogmatic works by Joh. A. Quenstedt and D. Hollaz; in addition those of the Reformed theologians A. Polanus and F. Turretini (Hering, *Orthodoxie* (see n. 73) 867 n. 254; Florovsky, *Westliche Einflüsse* (see n. 2) 221.223; R. Slenczka, *Lehre und Bekenntnis der Orthodoxen Kirche: Vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, in: C. Andresen (hg.), *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte* 2. Göttingen 1980, 529-531 (lit.)).

<sup>104</sup> Hering, *Orthodoxie* 851.855; Kalogirou 101.

<sup>105</sup> Karmires. *Tā Dogmatiká* (see n. 18) I 17; A. Kattenbusch, *Confessionskunde* (see n. 46) 279 (quoted above with n. 47).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Hering, *Orthodoxie* 866: "Gegenüber der zeitgenössischen Polemik und bis heute fortgeschleppten Unteilen ist ... festzustellen, daß weder Prokopovic die Kirche 'protestantisieren' noch Javorskij sie Rom 'ausliefern' wollte." See also L. Müller, *Die Kritik des Protestantismus in der russischen Theologie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Mainz 1951 (AAWLM.G 1951, Nr. 1), 83-85.

<sup>107</sup> This is true even of Cyril Lukaris, see Hering, *Okumenisches Patriarchat* (see n 86) 20f 182 194-197, K Rozemond, "Patriarch Kyrill Lukaris und seine Begegnung mit dem Protestantismus des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *KO* 13 (1970), 16f. Therefore it is inaccurate to speak of a "conversion" of the Patriarch to Calvinism (thus Podskalsky (see n 43) 179 and Hering, *Okumenisches Patriarchat*, 188).

<sup>108</sup> Editions and translations in Hering, *Okumenisches Patriarchat* (see n 86) 188 n 58 60-62, and in Podskalsky (see n 43) 168f, n 696 701.

<sup>109</sup> Hering, *Orthodoxie* (see n 73) 865, cf N Nissiotis, "Orthodoxy and the West A Response," in *GOTR* 17 (1972), 134, who emphasizes the different, parallel streams of theology within Orthodoxy both past and present, none of which, not even the apophatic tradition, must be given singular prominence.

<sup>110</sup> It is by no means true that the Fathers had formulated absolute, eternal truths as such while more recent texts, e.g. the so-called Orthodox confessions of faith, only spoke to their own historic contexts and were thus bound to them (thus Krivocheine (see n 20) 69, similarly Hering, *Orthodoxie* (see n 73) 855, cf Wendebourg, *Reformation* (see n 16) 400). The dogmas of the early church no less than patristic literature also have to be seen within the framework and context of their time.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. J Zizioulas (see n 16) 172, who points to the fact that recent Orthodox eucharistic theology is based on the "Erneuerung der biblischen, patristischen und liturgischen Forschungen," which took place in the West (O Casel, G Dix, W Elert), and who, *ibid* 175, emphasizes the significance of the works of J Weiss and A Schweitzer for the rediscovery of the eschatological dimension within Orthodoxy (cf Felmy, "Die Orthodoxe Theologie" 72 73).

<sup>112</sup> Thus, as regards J Meyendorff – who was the first to expound programatically the theory of the personalist, existentialist character of Orthodox theology, especially in its palamitic form – one could argue "d'avoir trop bien assimilé les idées régnant dans l'intelligentsia chrétienne de France au cours de la première décennie de l'après-guerre existentialisme et personalisme" (A de Halleux, "Palamisme et Scholastique. Exclusivisme dogmatique ou pluriformité théologique," in *RTL* 4 (1973) (reprinted in *idem, Patrologie et Oecumenisme. Recueil d'études* Lowen 1990, 439), there are similar influences – both French and German – in D Staniloae and Chr Yannaras. In fact, prior to Martin Luther there had not been any personalist ontology (cf W Joest, *Ontologie der Person bei Luther* Göttingen 1967), it was a concept unknown to both Greek patristic and Byzantine theologians. "L' 'hypostase' des Pères n'a pas encore la résonance subjective ou existentielle que le mot de 'personne' évoque à un esprit contemporain" (de Halleux 438). "On pourrait même soutenir, que la théologie trinitaire latine augustinienne, 'psychologique' est plus 'personnaliste' que celle des orientaux" (*ibid*, n 89).

<sup>113</sup> Cf Wendebourg, *Reformation* 404.

<sup>114</sup> *L'Orthodoxie* 163f.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 165f.

<sup>116</sup> See the answers by N Nissiotis and Chr Konstantinides published as "Orthodoxy and the West A Response" following the publication of the English version of "L'Orthodoxie" (see n 16) in *GOTR* 17 (1972) 132-166.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Pure Orthodoxy: A Quest of the Times\*

---

HIS ALL HOLINESS  
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW

Beloved Brother in Christ, Archbishop Spyridon of America,  
Your Grace, Bishop Isaiah, President of this School,  
Beloved Brothers and Children in the Lord,

As a spiritual father, we rejoice and express our fatherly pride at the achievements which have been wrought in this Theological School over the past sixty years. This School, as a good mother, has given exemplary clergy and lay leaders to the Archdiocese of America and the entire world.

Many of them have come to Constantinople, the sacred location of the Great Church. There, they have become partakers of Her holy traditions and have made their contributions to Her work.

The Mother Church feels great joy, because each year She receives the graduates of the School, who remind us of the disciples of the First-called Apostle, Saint Andrew.

At this time, when the School celebrates the 60th anniversary of its establishment, we call to mind its ever-memorable founders, and all of its professors and graduates who have reposed, and we pray for their eternal rest. We give thanks for all those who have labored at, and labor in the task of teaching and learning here, and we pray for them, that they might receive help from on high and progress in all things.

The School, attending to the commandment of the Apostle Paul concerning the bestowal of a double honor to the elders who rule

\* Address of His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew at the convocation and conferral of the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *TIMAL ENEKEN*, on him and on the Occasion of the 60th anniversary of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts, Oct. 1997.

well (cf. 1 Timothy 5:17), deemed it right to proclaim an honor for our Modesty, by this honorary doctorate. We accept the honor, that we may honor the good intention of those who honor us, and that the apostolic exhortation, "in honor prefer one another" might be fulfilled. Thus, rendering to each his honor, we are found to be upholders of the third apostolic commandment concerning the rendering of "honor to whom honor is due" (Romans 13:7).

The bestowal of honor is an expression of gratitude. The gratitude of the recipient, one of the more noble virtues, activates the generosity of the one who gives, as the Fathers say. Certainly, every perfect gift descends from above and thus the One who gives is always God. Consequently, when we honor the one, by whose hand the Lord gives us His blessing, we honor Him Who is the True Bestower of gifts. In this way, the one who is honored, feels that he is a channel which conveys the honor to Him, to Whom it truly belongs, as exactly as he feels he is a channel of grace for whom it is intended, from Whom it truly issues.

This gathering in mutual honor, gives to our Modesty an opportunity, to address to your love a few fatherly words, about the need to preserve pure the truth of Orthodoxy especially in this country and in our contemporary age. In America, just as in a great melting-pot, cultures and religions blend in the search for a new synthesis of faith, manufactured by man, and wrongly hope that it will unite all people around it, and will set us free from religious divisions and opposition.

First of all, we ought to assuage every fellow man, who might think that our message is divisive, for such is not the case. The Orthodox Church feels and lives Her catholicity as a salvific embrace opened to all, not only for those who belong to Her or who are kindly disposed to Her, but even to Her enemies and persecutors. What is more, she clearly dissuades Her members from every fanatical and divisive tendency. As she accepts all of creation as very good (the body and soul of man, the material and the spiritual world), so does She accept every person, "Jew and Greek, male and female, bond and free." Indifferent to these and all the other distinctions, She accepts all people as children of God and brethren of Her faithful members. And even if She worships God in a special and unique way, excluding the non-Orthodox from Her worship, according to the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who handed to us the lofty and

sacred mysteries in the “Mystical” Supper, in all the rest of the life of the faithful, She does not divide them from the rest [of humanity]. As one of the first Christian authors characteristically wrote to Diognetus, Christians “follow customs not belonging to the world in their raiment and way of life and living . . . they believe in certain laws . . . they uphold the world” (PG 52:1173,1176).

Orthodoxy is a lived and continuously living truth. It is not a truth, which is comprehended intellectually and is received through some cold-hearted belief. It is truth, which was revealed to us by the incarnate Son and Logos of God, and from that time is confirmed experientially through the heart’s assurance by divine grace. It invites change in the whole mentality of the believer, which change confers substantial transformations in his inner condition as regards the world, his fellow man and his God, as in the sanctification of his behavior by grace. These changes of his condition and his life do not lead to isolation and quarrels with his fellow man, but to an abundance of joy, enthusiasm, peace, love toward all and, to employ the words of the Apostle Paul, lead to the fulfillment of his Christian [vocation] through the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which are “love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith, meekness, self-control.”

As we have said, Orthodoxy is a lived truth. This means that it is lived dogma. James, the Brother of God, writes about this in his Catholic Epistle [when he says] “show me your faith by your deeds” (James 2:18). That is, deeds reveal one’s faith, not as abstract concept, but as genuine content. For of one sort are the deeds of a believing Orthodox, of another sort are the deeds of one who believes, for example, in Hinduism. Consequently, the deeds of Orthodox Christians reveal to a careful observer what the content of our faith is. We are not speaking about sins and failings, to which we incline out of weakness; we are speaking about works which are in accordance with our convictions concerning doing what is right. For example, the way of chanting in the Holy Orthodox Churches reveals eloquently if the faithful attribute greater significance to contrition or to aesthetic enjoyment. Likewise, the manner of iconography reveals if greater importance is given to the natural light, or to the uncreated light which illumines the Saints from within; to the natural condition and natural comeliness, or to the supernatural beauty, for which we are reaching. The manner in which we arrange seating [in Church] manifests our



right [worship], or our excessive concern for comfort, and so on.

Because of this, the Orthodox Church, more than her basic teaching, which is contained in the Symbol of Faith (Creed) and the sacred Catechism, does not demand from the faithful a hairsplitting concern with her dogmatic teaching. Rather, she dissuades the majority from doing so because of the danger of misinterpretation and error. However, the Church preserves the dogmatic teaching unalloyed with great care, and calls that teaching to mind, when she sees an erroneous way of life being followed, which reveals a faulty understanding about the truth, that is, a faulty understanding about realities, such as our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is Himself the Truth, or the Church, which constitutes the Body of Christ. In these circumstances, the Church reveals by the Holy Spirit the correct dogma, the correct truth, so that She might teach the correct life and give peace to troubled souls.

Orthodox Christians, who live in a country where full religious freedom reigns and where adherents of various religions live side by side, like the country of the United States of America which has been so hospitable to us, constantly see various ways of living and are in danger of being beguiled by certain of them, without examining if their way of life is consonant with the Orthodox Faith. Constant vigilance and constant watchfulness are needed, especially by the shepherds, who are particularly responsible for the protection of the Orthodox inheritance of the faith. Already, many of the old and new Orthodox, who with zeal are deepening their understanding and living of the Orthodox Truth, are stressing different, [already] existing deviations from correct Orthodox lives. For example, they are stressing a continually expanding tendency of secularization, that is, a tendency of judging the significance of the ecclesiastical affairs and problems by worldly criteria, with a debasement of ecclesiastical criteria. They are also stressing, from ignorance, a substitution of specific and general Orthodox dogmatic positions and understandings, with Protestant and Roman Catholic ones, as in the case of an overvaluation of personal opinion, indifference to dogma (the truth), and recrimination at the expense of character or practical virtue. They also stress many extraneous liturgical customs out of an ignorance of the rich symbolism of each liturgical action and its deeper meaning, with the result that they become, in certain instances, arbitrary and altered.

The subject of the quality and faithfulness of the translations of

ecclesiastical and liturgical texts into English that are being used requires special attention. Already one can note that in many instances, not only are these inferior, but they are even unconsciously introducing wrong beliefs and even heretical notions into Orthodox worship. The conveyance of subtle and precise meanings of sacred texts and of the poetical hymnology of the Orthodox Church into another language is a most difficult task. Even the best knowledge of both languages is not enough. It demands holiness of life, for only then does the translator enter into the depths of divine meanings and is able to convey them faithfully into another language. It is sufficient to observe that only Saint John Chrysostom abbreviated the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, that Saints Cyril and Methodios successfully translated sacred texts into the Slavic language, and after them, holy persons successfully translated other texts into other languages. Many of these Saints translated into new languages hitherto untranslated ecclesiastical terminology and thus, enriched these languages with thousands of new foreign words from the Greek language.

The ecclesiastical language of the prototypes is poetic, lofty, rich, deep and draws those who hear it to spiritual ascents, to a place where the sacred and wondrous mystery is perfected, where the Most High Triune God is worshipped. It is not fitting that this worship be rendered prosaically into the usual everyday language, but through a subtle and exalted clarity, be rendered in such a way that the hearer is transported to another reality, to another higher world. Besides, the whole performance of liturgy aims at this mystagogical elevation to the Throne of God, before Whom the Trisagion Hymn is sung with the Cherubim. The amazement at the sacred vestments, the contrite psalmody, the fragrance of the incense, the environment of the Church decorated with sacred figures, the unique quality of the architecture – all these things transport us to the other reality, [which is] the Church. Within all this sanctity, we ought not use everyday language, which brings us down once again to the earth.

We know that many will say that the meanings of the prayers, the troparia, the readings and the rest of the liturgical texts must be understood. In principle, this is correct, but that which hinders understanding, is not so much the form of the language, as much as it is the lack of familiarity on the part of the hearers with the lofty meanings of our faith. Not a single text is comprehensible without

familiarity by the reader and the hearer of its content. Impoverishment not capable beyond only certain limits, will little support the understanding of a musical or medical book. That which is required for the unfamiliar is a simplified expression. In the Orthodox Church, this ought to be done through preaching, through study and through similar means, and not through the enfeebling popularization of sacred texts, for its own sake. Besides, as we said, these texts call us and ought to remain invitations to ascend.

Through all of this, we do not take sides against translations. Rather, the Orthodox Church has always recommended that the people be taught the faith, and worship God in their own language. We draw your attention, however, to concern over quality, dogmatic exactitude and a loftier language for translations.

Another subject, in which special attention is required, is the subject of the mixture, sometimes, of different local traditions with Orthodox Tradition. As is well known, the Orthodox Church came to America through immigrants, who brought to America at the same time their Orthodox Faith and their local or ethnic traditions. We respect these traditions and we congratulate those who make an effort to preserve them. However, we must distinguish them from the Orthodox Tradition. This has a special significance for those coming to Orthodoxy from other Confessions, who do not relate with the country of provenance of the community in which they are enrolled, for they have no obligation to follow the local traditions of the national provenance of the community, but only those of Orthodoxy. This certainly does not mean that the other members of the community are deterred in any way, rather we would encourage them to preserve the traditions of their people. As regards, however, our people we encourage them to keep the beautiful traditions of our race. This simply means that whatever traditions do not relate to Orthodoxy, but to other parts of our life, ought not to be imposed on the newcomers as a so-called part of Orthodoxy. For example, ethnic choirs of different Christian peoples ought not to be imposed as an obligation on our brethren committed to Orthodoxy of another nationality.

The offering [of this example] of our brothers and sisters brings us to another serious spiritual problem, which we ought to face. It is the problem of the suitable reception and instruction of those coming to Orthodoxy from another dogma or religion. As is known, Orthodox ecclesiastical communities were established by groups of immigrants

of a certain ancestry, with the purpose of serving them and their descendants. The Orthodox Church is open to all, however, for it has pleased the Lord in these latter days that the seed of truth should bear much fruit in the hearts of many non-Orthodox, who are returning to the Mother Church. We must prepare how we are to receive them suitably. The fitting manner of their reception has many wrinkles, from problems of language to their meeting in love, from the knowledge of their peculiarities, the remains of their former beliefs and mentality, and adapting to their needs for catechism and preaching, to their correct living out of the practical consequences of being Orthodox. This issue is serious and large and will be faced henceforth more frequently. For this reason and without setting forth solutions at this time, we propose that this occupy you seriously and that it occupy you continuously.

The aforementioned do not mean that these problems exist in all the parishes, or that they have impact everywhere. However, they do comprise a cautionary note for all of us to be vigilant about. This vigilance is the command of the Lord. The Lord said “watch and pray that you enter not into temptation” (Matthew 26:41), meaning surely temptation as regards the truth, which temptation is significantly more insidious. For usually, all of us notice the temptation to sin, and perchance we fall, we repent, go to confession and are restored. But if we fall into the temptation of error as regards the faith, it is with great difficulty that we discern it, and sometimes we remain in our error, rejecting the suggestion that we return to the correct path.

There is, therefore, a great need in these critical times, that we watch, so not to fall into the temptation of error concerning the faith, or a further course away from our faith. In this matter, the responsibility of the professors and students of this Theological School is even greater. For they have the necessary means and are able to note the stealthy insinuations which find their way into Orthodox teachings and life these days, even that which is written from a non-Orthodox perspective. It is not right for our newly enlightened brethren, full of zeal, to point out such issues, before we have done so ourselves.

We hope that it will be a joint effort on all our parts to remove every inimical and worldly effect from our Orthodox Faith, and that the Orthodox Faith may be preserved pure and unalloyed in America.

We close our address with our heartfelt paternal and patriarchal prayer that we may always see our faith be true to itself and untainted, and that those who labor in this work may have the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

May His grace, and the infinite mercy of the Father, and the illumination of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen.

October 30, 1997

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Receiving and Professing the Spirit of Adoption in Christ in the Contemporary Age

---

FR. GEORGE LIACOPULOS

Because of the breadth and depth of the topic assigned to me, I have elected to develop only one of the many theological pillars upon which our Orthodox Christian missiological tradition is based. This pillar, derived from the letters of St. Paul, centers around the Spirit of adoption in Christ which members of the Body of Christ experience, and which we as Orthodox Christians are called upon to proclaim and share with the unredeemed world.

First, however, it is essential to cursorily present several of the other foundational elements of our Orthodox missiological tradition in order to reiterate that we can never allow one theological teaching to subsume other equally important and essential doctrines of the Church. The fullness of our Faith and its multi-faceted wealth must be proclaimed and presented to the world in a manner that is balanced and true to the Tradition.

At the outset, it is imperative to clarify the distinction between the terms “mission” and “evangelism” even though they are often employed interchangeably.

“Mission” is typically understood to be a broader concept which encompasses the many expansionary ministries of the Church. The preamble of the Revised Bylaws of the former Greek Archdiocesan Mission Board composed in 1992 stated in part,

We know from the teaching of our Orthodox Faith that we are not fully the Church without a mission outreach to preach the *Evangelion*,

to bring persons into the life of the Faith, to establish worshipping parishes, and to spread the life, work, and message of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

This description of missionary work could certainly be expanded to include several other essential ministries which comprise the missionary outreach of the Church. For our purposes, it is important to note that the preaching of the *Evangelion* or proclaiming of the Good News, also known as “evangelism,” is understood to be one facet of the mission of the Church which is inextricably bound to the others.

Other theological pillars of the Orthodox missiological tradition articulated by Church Fathers and contemporary missiologists include and are grounded in the Holy Trinity which serves as the ultimate paradigm of the missionary goal. The perfect love, community, and fellowship shared and experienced by the three persons of the Trinity provide the vision of a transfigured earthly realm in which all people are joined to the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

Mission is always rooted *in the* life and teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ. The sending of the Son into the world by the Father, and the sending of the Holy Spirit into the world by the Son provide the examples for believers who should feel commissioned by God to serve and evangelize others. The crucifixion is always identified with Christ’s sacrificial love for the world and with His *kenosis* or self-emptying (Phil. 2:5-11). The resurrection has always been the core event for Orthodox theology and provides the joyful new which society yearns to hear. The active and charismatic work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and world, along with the synergistic relationship of the believer to the person of the Holy Spirit, have been stressed repeatedly as necessities for vibrant missionary efforts.

James Stamoolis and others articulate the incarnational quality of Orthodox missiology when lived and practiced properly. The incarnation of Christ reveals the manner in which God contextualized His revelation to humankind so that it would be comprehensible and meaningful. Likewise, Sts. Cyril and Methodios are repeatedly cited as stellar examples of missionaries who contextualized Orthodox Christianity into the language, customs, and thought forms of the Slavic peoples as they planted churches.<sup>2</sup>

The pursuit of holiness is also expounded in many missiological texts since it is the personal holiness and example of believers which ultimately convict others to believe in Christ. St. Seraphim of Sarov



and other monastics are frequently cited for their emphasis upon personal sanctification as a means by which others will be saved. This stream of the missiological tradition is sometimes referred to as the "leaven" approach.<sup>3</sup>

The liturgical contribution which Orthodoxy can make to society is frequently emphasized as well. The Divine Liturgy, modeled after the heavenly vision described in Isaiah 6, is one of the most effective ways of evangelizing society. Orthodox believers are called upon to ascend to the heavenly throne of God while participating in the Liturgy and partaking of the Eucharist, in order to feel inspired and sent by God out into the world to proclaim what has been experienced. Mission conducted after the Liturgy is usually referred to as the "liturgy after the Liturgy." The Holy Eucharist, of course, is the central and most profound encounter with God and is sometimes called the "springboard of mission."

The perpetuation of the longstanding tradition of preaching and teaching also comprises an essential element of the Church's mission. St. Paul's words, "...woe is me if I do not preach the Gospel!" (1 Cor. 9:16) are frequently quoted as showing the sense of inner necessity which should motivate bold proclamation of the Faith. Preaching should emphasize Christ's clarion call and desire to save all people, along with the necessity of repentance, baptism, *theosis*, and other essential teachings.

The Patristic encounter with and approach towards ancient pagan societies is repeatedly cited as a paradigm for how the Church can and should transfigure and convert a society which maintains antithetical teachings and values. The sense of longstanding tradition, dogmatic stability, and apostolic continuity asserted by Orthodox theologians needs to be stressed in an effort to reach out to those people who feel homeless, fragmented, and unrooted spiritually.

Other elements of the Tradition receiving increased attention in recent years include the importance of lay participation in evangelism, the restoration of the order of deaconesses, the role of monasticism in providing tangible spiritual values and ideals which should help to inspire and *transform* persons *and* societies, and social ministries to the destitute, oppressed, and marginalized people of the world as promoted by St. Basil and others.

The ultimate aim of the missionary task is to promote God's salvific plan for humankind. Salvation, also referred to as redemption, *theosis*,

and sanctification is the new, transfigured life in Christ which can be experienced by all people in this life and in the after life as a result of faith in the triune God and participation in the spiritual life of the Church. Salvation is a restored relationship with God.

In light of this very brief missiological background, we can now focus upon why it is imperative for us also to stress the adoption in Christ which we experience as Orthodox Christians and which we are called upon to profess to the world. In order to understand the importance of this spiritual reality for today's American society, it is necessary for us to realize that Orthodox missionaries have continually attempted to establish "points of contact" with societies being evangelized. In other words, elements of the Faith were presented and taught in a manner that would be comprehensible and meaningful to the potential convert.

These "points of contact" generally can be categorized into two types. First, there are those points which represent similarities in belief and practice between the Orthodox Church and the group to which Orthodoxy is being witnessed. For instance, Fr. John Veniaminov (later Metropolitan Innocent of Moscow), when evangelizing the Aleuts of Alaska, began by teaching about baptism and the blessing of the waters since he readily realized that the Aleuts held a tremendous respect for the oceans which was quite "sacramental" in nature. Other teachings were communicated once initial levels of understanding were established.

A second type of "point of contact" involves presenting dissimilarities to a group with the intention of providing a spiritual reality which is either absent from a group, desired by a group either consciously or unconsciously, or expressed in other forms. For instance, Fr. Schmemmann in defining secularism as the "negation of worship" and as the "absence of God" insisted that secularists still felt a need to stress the importance of "celebration" and ritual. He cites the masons as an example. Perhaps we could add that sectors of today's rock and roll culture attempt to create some kind of spiritual realm through the use of special effects. Presenting such individuals with the heavenly worship of Orthodox Christianity represents an attempt at establishing an initial point of contact with the perceived needs of that particular group.

In the case of adoption in Christ, as explained by St. Paul, Orthodox Christianity would be presenting a spiritual reality that is familiar

to many Americans and within the collective memory of the society, while also presenting a spiritual and emotional reality missing from the lives of many others and essential for their spiritual growth. It is for this reason that I believe adoption in Christ to be a prominent pillar of our missiological tradition which needs to receive renewed emphasis in our teaching and preaching.

The sociologist Robert Bellah, writing in the 1960s, describes America as a broken and fragmented culture. He describes himself as having been “raised among the fragments of a once coherent, Southern Protestant culture.”<sup>4</sup> In terms of family life in America, we are continuously reminded of the brokenness and fragmentation which prevail when we read about the proliferation of divorce, unwed mothers, extramarital affairs, alcoholism, drug abuse, gangs, street violence, dysfunctional families, and other debilitating realities.

In light of this situation, we need to emphasize the necessity of being adopted in Christ in order for spiritual and emotional wholeness and fulfillment to develop. We need to teach to others that their family life will begin to improve once they make a faith commitment to Christ and begin to understand themselves as His adopted children who are fully loved, embraced, and accepted. Moreover, we need to teach baptized Orthodox Christians about their own adoption in Christ so that they will feel motivated to reach out to others and encourage them to join our Lord’s family of believers. The adoption of homeless and unwanted children is a most beautiful and inspiring act of love on the part of couples seeking to raise orphaned children. How much more inspiring and moving is the reality of being adopted by our Heavenly Father from whom we have been spiritually estranged.

In Romans 8:14ff., St. Paul refers to those who are led by the Spirit of God as “sons of God.” He then tells the Christians of Rome that they “did not receive the spirit of bondage again to fear, but you received the Spirit of adoption by whom we cry out, Abba, Father.” Abba, of course, is a very affectionate and intimate way of referring to God, our Heavenly Father. St. Paul then refers to us as children of God and later as heirs of God and “joint heirs with Christ, if indeed we suffer with Him, that we may be glorified together” (Rom. 8:17). These verses would have had a profound impact upon Roman Christians who well understood that according to Roman Law, adopted children were accorded all the rights and privileges held by the natural children of a given family.<sup>5</sup> Hence, newly baptized and adopted

Christians become full heirs of the salvific inheritance made available by Christ. Moreover, these verses describe the intimacy of family life in Christ since members are called upon to suffer together with Christ so that they may also be glorified together with Him.

Romans 9:1-5 speaks to us, the baptized Orthodox Christians, about our own adoption in Christ and its precious quality. In these verses, St. Paul expresses great sorrow, grief, and anguish over the fact that his own countrymen, the Israelites, have neglected this adoption in Christ which pertains to them as revealed by the Law and the Prophets of the Old Testament. St. John Chrysostom understands these verses to present a warning to us as well so that we will take our personal adoption in Christ seriously and not drift away from the Church.<sup>6</sup> From a missiological standpoint, our outreach to the world will be conducted with greater conviction and enthusiasm if we understand ourselves as children who have been adopted by our Heavenly Father and as children who yearn to see estranged brothers and sisters world-wide also reunited to Christ's family – the Church.

In his epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul elaborates upon this new relationship of adoption in Christ. First he claims that young heirs are no different from slaves since they are still under the care of guardians and stewards until the time appointed by their father. Next, he proceeds to explain the nature of our spiritual freedom in Christ by noting that as unadopted children we were in bondage under the elements of the world. In other words, our level of spiritual understanding was extremely limited and vulnerable to the ungodly forces of the world. However, with the incarnation of Christ, and our subsequent acceptance as full-fledged, adopted sons of God, we were no longer slaves of the world, but rather sons and heirs of God. Put differently, our willingness to be adopted by Christ has liberated us from the debilitating and sinful forces of the world. It is this message of spiritual liberation which broken and fragmented souls and families yearn to hear in a society which stresses individualism. It is this message of adoption in Christ which provides a crucial point of contact with the spiritual needs of modernized individuals.

In Ephesians 1:3-6, we learn of God's great love for us when we read that, "just as He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world, that who should be holy and without blame before Him in love, having predestined us to adoption as sons by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will..." Here we see

that God has always desired that we be reconciled to Him through adoption so that we should become holy. This desire is also expressed in 1 Timothy 2:3-4 where we read, “For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the Truth.”

Implicit in these passages pertaining to adoption in Christ is another of the great theological pillars upon which our missiological tradition is grounded – the pervasive and powerful reality of sin. The need for adoption in Christ presupposes a pre-existing estrangement and alienation from God which must be acknowledged and addressed openly and honestly, and which similar to the estrangement existing between many parents and children in today’s society. Our struggle to come to grips with our personal sinfulness is vital, in light of the fact that we live in a modernized society which has diluted and limited its understanding of sinfulness to murder, robbery, and rape. The pervasive, corruptive, and alienating effects of sin must be communicated to Orthodox Christians and to those being evangelized in order for the Spirit of adoption in Christ to be readily understood and embraced by those living in fragmented and unrooted situations. In this context, the Parable of the Prodigal Son can be effectively employed to teach the constancy of God’s love for us, and our need to be reconciled to Him and to His family of believers.

Adoption in Christ is a powerful spiritual reality which we who have gathered here for this conference envoy and celebrate whenever we worship together and when we fellowship with one another. Our talk is to mobilize our brothers and sisters so that they too will understand themselves as adopted children of Christ whose mission is to assist God in the great task of reuniting other lost children to their Heavenly Father and His family – the Church. One of the many guiding visions for this mission provided by our Church is found in one of the *anavathmoi* chanted in the third tone during Orthros. Here we sing, “Rejoice with gladness, O chief Shepherd, as you behold your children’s children around about your table, offering branches of deeds.” This intimate vision of our Lord’s family gathered around His table, and more specifically His Eucharistic Table, provided the inspiration we need to lovingly seek out those unadopted children of God whose place setting awaits them at our Lord’s table. I pray that we will answer this high calling so that others will enjoy the love and communion in Christ which has so deeply blessed our lives.

<sup>1</sup> "Revised Bylaws of the Greek Orthodox Mission Foundation, Inc Preamble," (November 20, 1992) 2 [Unpublished text]

<sup>2</sup> James J Stamoolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* (Maryknoll NY Orbis Books, 1986), 61-70

<sup>3</sup> Ion Bria, ed , *Martyria Mission The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today*, (Geneva World Council of Churches, 1980), 223

<sup>4</sup> Robert Bellah "Introduction" *Beyond Belief Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*, (New York Harper & Row, Publishers 1970), xii

<sup>5</sup> William Barclay, *The Letter to the Romans*, (Philadelphia The Westminster Press 1975), 106

<sup>6</sup> St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Romans*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* XI, ed Philip Schaff, (Grand Rapids, MI Wm B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 459-60

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

#612, 613), also written by Lazaropoulos, describes thirty-three additional wonders performed by the saint, including the miraculous defeat of Melik, a Muslim Prince. Rosenqvist provides a thorough introduction to each text, its author and its historical setting with only rare editorial slips (e.g. there are two misspellings on p. 37 (eighth instead of eight), and there is a superfluous article on p. 63).

Scholars interested in context and history will find Rosenqvist's work interesting. He postulates that the Dionysios dossier is a replica of one assembled by Lazaropoulos, himself. His introduction and commentary reflect a historical critical methodology. He argues that the revisions in the texts reflect the political and religious situation in Trebizond in the early fourteenth century. In fact, he maintains that the cult St. Eugenios and the monastery which housed his relics were exploited for political advantage by Alexios III (emperor of Trebizond) and his assistant, John Lazaropoulos.

General readers of Orthodox hagiography receive in translation the life and miracles of a fascinating yet relatively unfamiliar martyr.

George Demacopoulos

*Visions and Longings: Medieval Women Mystics*, introduction and selection by Monica Furlong (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages viii+248. \$20.00.

*Secrets of God. Writings of Hildegard of Bingen*, selected and translated by Sabina Flanagan (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages xii+187. \$14.00.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, a remarkable development occurred in Western Christianity: spiritual women began to emerge from the silence of previous centuries, and through their activity and direction reenlivened and substantially changed the spiritual life and landscape of the Roman Catholic Church. Speaking with an astonishing intelligence and profundity, their voices still resonate today, despite the very different and, especially to modern sensibilities, sometimes quite bizarre experiences and context of their lives. Two new books offer translations of the writings of spiritual women from between the 12th and the 14th centuries. The first, *Visions and Longings*, is an anthology of the writings of eleven of these women, whereas the second, *Secrets of God*, focuses solely on the works of Hildegard of Bingen, and offers selections from a variety of her im-



portant writings. Each of these books performs a valuable service to scholars and students by presenting some material that was either not available in English translation or was not easily accessible.

In *Visions and Longings* Monica Furlong treats us to an exciting variety of texts that explore the many spiritual gifts of these medieval women. Unfortunately, this volume is disappointing with regard to the introductory and explanatory materials offered for the understanding of the spirituality and experiences of these women. Ms. Furlong presents these women as “mystics” but does not particularly explore this theme. Indeed, not all of the women are, in fact, mystics, nor are all the texts selected mystical ones. The introduction approaches the study of these women from primarily a sociological perspective and offers little in the way of theological reflection to illuminate the reading of the texts. Although helpful in understanding the cultural and socio-economic strictures under which these women lived, Ms. Furlong’s introductory comments occasionally become so extreme as to be misleading rather than instructive. For example, in discussing the “masochistic” elements in Marguerite Porete’s *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, Furlong makes the outrageous claim that the abuse of Marguerite by her divine lover is “almost identical” to that perpetrated on the female character by her lover in the modern *The Story of O* (p. 31). Comments such as these suggest that Ms. Furlong has misunderstood the operation of humiliation/humility and the denial and sacrifice of the self in the mystical mindset. However, the individual introductions for each woman are helpful in fleshing out the personalities and historical context of the women. The texts themselves vary substantially in content, from the sublime and truly mystical short text of *The Showings* by Julian of Norwich to the searing and eloquent letters of Heloise to Abelard. It is the strength of the texts themselves that recommends *Visions and Longings*, and the glimpses into these writings that this volume provides makes us long to read the full texts.

*Secrets of God* gives us the opportunity to delve deeper into the study of the spirituality of one of these remarkable medieval women, namely, Hildegard of Bingen. Hildegard was a spiritual director, reformer, visionary and mystic (although scholars are divided as to whether her writings are, in fact, “mystical”) whose music and poetry is deeply expressive, lyrical and immediately accessible, but whose prose writings can be theologically complex and difficult to

apprehend. *Secrets of God* is unusual in that it brings into one volume a very wide variety of Hildegard's writings in a generally successful attempt to give a more complete picture of her talents, thought, and concerns. We see here her theological fascination with the great themes of sacred history, especially creation and redemption, and her concern with piety and virtue, and then in later texts on medicine and natural history read of her remedies for headaches or her "scientific" opinion on ostriches. Some guidance in the reading of such a wide variety of material would be helpful, but Sabina Flanagan supplies only the barest of background information in her introduction to the texts. Nevertheless, the extraordinary intelligence of Hildegard shines throughout this volume, and by its close we find ourselves conversant with one of the greatest minds and spiritual leaders of the twelfth century.

Helen Creticos Theodoropoulos

*Λεμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* Ed. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 6, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996) pages xvi + 256.

The most recent addition to the Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia Series (vol. 6) is a Festschrift in honor of Lennart Rydén. Professor Rydén's many accomplishments in Byzantine Studies merit this recognition, as attested by the list of his eighty five publications included at the beginning of the text. *Λεμῶν* is edited by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, a former assistant to Rydén, who has contributed two previous volumes to this series and an article in this collection. Other contributions come from twelve well-known U. S. and European Byzantinists. Most of the articles reflect Rydén's scholarly interests in late antique and Byzantine Hagiography. The book is recommended to anyone interested in the latest scholarly discussions of those issues.

George Demacopoulos

*Towards God: The Western Tradition of Contemplation.* Michael Casey (Melbourne: Dove, 1995) pages viii + 179.

The title of this book conveys the image of a dry and dusty text-

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The anti-Apollinarist Christology of St. Gregory of Nyssa: A First Analysis

---

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

### *1. The problem of Apollinarism and the reactions of the Fathers*

The problem of Apollinarism<sup>1</sup> was at first seen as a simple “brotherly dispute”<sup>2</sup> and only gradually gained momentum especially in the later stages of its development. This was due to various factors and especially: a) to the fact that the instigator of this problem, Apollinaris of Laodicea, was recognized at first as a great defender of Orthodoxy,<sup>3</sup> who had distinguished himself by having attempted and succeeded in rendering the Bible into classical idiom for the education of the Greek speaking Christian youth, thus providing the Church with an apologetic against its pagan objectors;<sup>4</sup> and b) to the fact that Apollinaris’ disciples attempted to shake up the local unity of the ecclesiastical body through the creation of schismatic conventicles at Laodicea, Antioch and at various bishoprics of Syria and Asia Minor, including Cappadocia itself.<sup>5</sup> The subversive character of the ecclesiastical policy of the Apollinarists, would be fully exposed two centuries later when their attempts to disseminate Apollinarist literature through forgeries would be fully exposed.<sup>6</sup>

Very important in this context was the reaction of the accredited fathers of the Church to the Apollinarist challenge. The first reactions came from St Athanasius during the 360s and early 370s. Of particular relevance here are Athanasius’ *Tome to the Antiochenes*, his *Letter to Epictetus* and, especially, his so-called *Two Later Treatises against the Apollinarists*.<sup>7</sup> Other notable reactions, after Athanasius’ death (May 373), came from Epiphanius and the Cappadocian fathers. Epiphanius wrote his anti-Apollinarist account

in his *Panarion* on the basis of Athanasius' *Letter to Epictetus* in 375.<sup>8</sup> Gregory the Theologian wrote the celebrated anti-Apollinarist *Letters to Cledonius* in the 380s.<sup>9</sup> Still later Gregory of Nyssa wrote his *Letter to Theophilus of Alexandria* and his *Refutation (Antirrhetikos) of Apollinaris' Demonstration (Apodeixis) of the Divine Incarnation according to human Likeness*.<sup>10</sup> These reactions specified the dogmatic basis of the synodical condemnation of Apollinarism both locally and ecumenically between 373 and 381.

## 2. Modern scholarship on Gregory of Nyssa's reaction to Apollinaris

Gregory of Nyssa's reaction to Apollinaris, coming at the end of a process, was methodologically and dogmatically more daring – it attempted to answer Apollinaris in his own terms, and deserves special attention. It was outlined in a more specific way in his *Letter to Theophilus* and in a more elaborate way in his long *Refutation of Apollinaris' great treatise Demonstration (Apodeixis) of the divine incarnation according to human likeness*. It was both negative and positive in character, inasmuch as it negated the main Apollinarist perceptions and developed specific anti-Apollinarist alternatives. Yet, modern scholarly opinion, by and large, has been negative to and critical of Gregory's Christological response. As characteristic examples we may mention here the earlier work of the Anglican scholar Charles Raven and the more recent work of the Roman Catholic historian of dogma Aloys Grillmeier.

The Cambridge professor Charles Raven, who produced the first full scale study on Apollinarism in English, stated that the Cappadocian reactions to Apollinarism, although sufficient for bringing a general condemnation upon it, did not stand up to the reputation of Cappadocian theology, but rather misled general opinion about the real doctrine of the Apollinarists.<sup>11</sup> Raven claimed that Facundus of Hermianae's description of Apollinarism in the 6th century by means of the word "convertibiliter" – indicating the conversion of the Logos into flesh – is the actual heritage of the position of Gregory of Nyssa and of Gregory the Theologian, i.e. "that Apollinarius did not believe that the Logos became man by the assumption of human nature, but thought that part of the substance of the Logos was converted into flesh" (*Pro defensione trium capitulorum* 6:3, PL 67: 666). He then went on to add, that "Under cover of such delusion,

Cyril [of Alexandria], who had reintroduced the genuine teaching of the heretic into Christian theology, could be pronounced rigidly correct; and the work of Apollinarius could be incorporated in the Church's creed."<sup>12</sup> For Raven, then, such a description of Apollinarism is totally deceitful.

As regards Gregory of Nyssa, he says, that he "has much less learning [than Apollinaris], little power of systematic thought, and a fatal tendency to substitute rhetoric for logic: and, in addition, he is so near Apollinarius in his main beliefs that he cannot possibly produce an honest criticism upon much of the heretic's masterpiece. When he attempts to pour scorn upon every passage that he quotes, the result is a pathetic display of incompetence." ... "He tries hard to prove that Apollinarius is self-contradictory, and in so doing he falls himself into strange contradictions."<sup>13</sup> ... "and the contrast between the lucidity and steadfastness of the heretic and the incoherence and captiousness of his critic pitilessly reveals Gregory's utter failure."<sup>14</sup> ... "Amid the welter of arguments ... it is difficult to discover what his own beliefs are ... He manifests, in general and in particular, a very striking resemblance to the heretic."<sup>15</sup> Commenting on Gregory's famous simile of a drop of vinegar into a vast ocean as descriptive of the union of the human and the divine elements in Christ, Raven concludes: "Apollinarius, with his repeated insistence that the union does not effect a change in the body or destroy its peculiar attributes, would have repudiated such barefaced Monophysitism."<sup>16</sup>

More recently the Roman Catholic historian of doctrine Aloys Grillmeier observed that the Cappadocians, especially the two Gregories, although "laying stress on the two natures of Christ, actually laid greater emphasis on their unity." ... "Their formulation of the problem and their theory of the unity of Christ, however, were both very incomplete." ... "Whereas in their Triadology they succeeded in recognizing fully the unity and the distinction in the Godhead in a variety of ways, in Christology they do not seem to display the same clarity."<sup>17</sup> In fact there are "two failings in Cappadocian Christology: a) the adoption of Stoic theories about the mixing of two natural things, which completely permeate each other without either losing its nature, as a device for exploring the unity and distinction in Christ. The problem with this is that it remains only on the level of nature! b) The second failing is that no sufficient definition is provided between substance and hypostasis (person) because there is an exclusive use

of material categories. As a result the Cappadocian solution to the Christological problem is much more difficult than that of Nestorius.<sup>18</sup>

### *3. A re-examination of the anti-Apollinarist theses of Gregory of Nyssa*

It is the claim of this short investigation that a closer look at Gregory of Nyssa's texts indicates a different picture. The positive contribution of the Cappadocians and, especially, of Gregory of Nyssa, to the problem of Apollinarism, lies at the heart of the reaction of later orthodoxy. In this essay a fresh and close examination of the basic elements of Gregory of Nyssa's anti-Apollinarist Christology is attempted on the basis of his *Letter to Theophilus* with the intention to reassess the above views of modern scholars. These elements can be summarized by means of four theses, which emerge from the above mentioned document and which refer to, a) the manifestation of the Only-begotten by means of (or through) the flesh; b) the union of the two natures, the divine and the human of the Only-begotten who manifested himself through the flesh; c) the transcending of the antithesis of the two natures in the incarnate Son through the refashioning of the human element or nature in accordance with the divine and d) the "one" of salvation, i.e. the unification of the two natures in Christ. The careful structural analysis of this text also reveals the existence of seven clarifications which follow the above theses as further explanations.

#### *1st thesis: the manifestation of the Only-begotten through the flesh*

In his *Letter to Theophilus* Gregory begins with an outline of the characteristics of the heresy of Apollinarism and invites Theophilus to use all the strength which God has placed at his disposal to oppose this new heresy. His description of this heresy is very general, but provides him with the occasion for putting forward the primary or basic elements of his own anti-Apollinarist Christological teaching.

Gregory begins with the excuse which the Apollinarists put forward for their position, i.e. the alleged "*doctrine of the two sons of the catholic church*" which leaves them with no other option but to react. "*For they spell out ... that there are some in the catholic church who hold two sons in the dogma, one who is according to nature, and another who came to be later according to convention (or position).*"<sup>19</sup> Presumably this accusation was directed against Diodore of Tarsus

and his Antiochene supporters, but, given the monophysitic formula of Apollinaris, it also referred to Orthodox dyophysites like Athanasius and the Cappadocians.

Gregory not only denies the existence of such a doctrine in the Catholic Church but also invites Theophilus to refute it. At the same time, however, he makes certain observations about this doctrine, which reveal the first elements of his own position. It is totally unacceptable, he says, to operate with a distinction between "*the creator of the ages*" (ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν αἰώνων) and "*the one who appeared to the human nature through [or by means of] the flesh for the completion of the ages*" (ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῶν αἰώνων διὰ σαρκὸς φανερωθεὶς τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει). This is because "*the economic manifestation through [the medium of] the flesh of the only-begotten Son and God*" could not possibly imply "*the construction of another Son.*"<sup>20</sup> If that were the case, then, the theophanies of the Son of God to the saints, before and after the incarnate manifestation, ought to imply "*a multitude of sons*" (πλῆθος υἱῶν). This, however, is as equally unacceptable and out of place as the suspicion of a second Son on account of the manifestation of the Son of God through the flesh.

The Athanasian basis of Gregory's Christological position at this point is crystal clear. The starting point of this position is the Only-begotten Son and God, through whom God created the world, while the content of it is the manifestation of this Only-begotten Son "*through [the medium of] the flesh,*" i.e. as Incarnate.<sup>21</sup>

It is crucial to note here that for Gregory the incarnate manifestation of the Son of God does not differ in its content from the other divine manifestations which preceded it in the Old Testament. The difference is in the "*medium*" and not in the content of the manifestation. Indeed Gregory speaks here about "*greater*" (μείζων) and "*lesser*" (ἐλάττω), which presuppose "*the measure of the power of each one*" (τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐκάστου δυνάμεως). The manifestation through the medium of the flesh was due to the fact that human beings went astray, became so base, so that their generation came to be described as "*more fleshy*" (σαρκωδεστέρα). "*It is precisely for this reason*", then, "*that the Only-begotten Son, manifesting himself from above to a more fleshy generation, becomes flesh by contracting himself* (ἐαυτὸν συστείλας) *in accordance with the littleness of the one who receives him.*" In other words, "*he emptied*



himself" (ἐαυτὸν κενώσας), as Scripture puts it.<sup>22</sup> Gregory goes on to explain "*the reason for this manner of manifestation*" (τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τῆς φανερώσεως), which is none other than man's reception of the divine content, namely, the revelation of the Only-begotten Son. "*So that,*" as the holy father says, "*human nature may receive as much as it is capable for.*"<sup>23</sup>

The incarnate manifestation of the Only-begotten Son, then, has to do on the one hand with the magnitude of God's love for mankind (philanthropy) and condescension, and on the other hand, with the magnitude of the alienation of humanity from God. The generation which received the incarnate Only-begotten Son was, according to our holy father, "*blameworthy above all other generations which preceded it*" (κατάκριτος παρὰ πάσας τὰς προλαβούσας),<sup>24</sup> since even the Sodomites and the Ninevites, as well as the queen of the South would be the judges of it at the resurrection (Matth. 12:42, 10:15).<sup>25</sup>

Gregory also explains that the flesh of the Only-begotten became the necessary means of the manifestation of the Only-begotten, since neither the "cloud" of Moses (Ex. 20:21), nor the "third heaven" or "paradise" of the most high Apostle (II Cor. 12:2ff), nor the "etherial space" of Elijah the zealot (IV Kings 2:11), nor the "throne of glory" of Ezekiel (Ez. 10:1) and Isaiah (Is. 6:1) were accessible to human beings. The flesh, as Gregory explains, was necessary means for that "evil and fornicating" generation – "fornicating" inasmuch as she ran astray from the bridegroom and mingled (ἀνέκραθη) with the one who fornicates with the souls through evil – so that the weakness of the flesh might be healed.<sup>26</sup> Here Gregory concludes with a statement that fully brings out the soteriological basis of the manifestation of the Only-begotten One through the medium of the flesh, as St. Athanasius and the other Cappadocian fathers had done before him. "*It was on this account that the true physician, who was to heal 'those afflicted with various diseases' (Matth. 4:24) with a healing required by the disease, served the diseased with such a care that in a manner (τρόπον τινα) he became himself diseased with the disease of our nature in becoming flesh, which has the disease consubstantiated (συννουσιωμένην) with its own nature, as the divine oracle teaches when it says that 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak' (Matth. 26:41).*"<sup>27</sup>

It is noteworthy that the flesh of the "*contraction*" (συστολή) and

"emptying" (κένωσις) of the Only-begotten One is identified with our own [human] nature, which has a disease of weakness consubstantiated or coexisting with it. The phrase "*in a manner becoming diseased with the disease of our nature*" indicates the assumption of the entire lump (φύραμα) of the human nature," but also the blameless passions without sin, as it has been demonstrated by specialist scholars.<sup>28</sup>

*2nd thesis: the union of the divine and the human [elements or natures] of the Only-begotten Son who manifested himself through the flesh.*

Gregory, again following the fathers before him, further explains his anti-Apollinarist Christological teaching by employing other terms as well. So far he spoke in terms of the "Only-begotten Son" (Μονογενής) and the "flesh" (σάρξ). But now he speaks, on the one hand, of the "divine" (τὸ θεῖον), "immortal" (τὸ ἀθάνατον), "powerful" (τὸ δυνατόν), "immutable" (τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον) and "incorruptible" (τὸ ἄφθαρτον), and on the other hand, of the "human" (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον), "mortal" (τὸ θνητόν), "powerless" (τὸ ἀσθενές), "mutable" (τὸ τρεπτόν) and "corruptible" (τὸ φθειρόμενον) [element or nature]. Indeed, he places the former inside the latter, and so he expresses something comparable with the "*contraction*" (συστολήν) or "*emptying*" (κένωσιν) of the Only-begotten One "*in accordance with the littleness of the recipient,*" which he used earlier. Gregory wants, as he says, to oppose by means of these terms too the "pretext" (πρόφασιν) of the Apollinarists concerning the alleged dualist doctrine of the two Sons advanced by the Orthodox, and to replace it with "*the true duality of the One Son*" (τὴν ἀληθινὴν δυάδα τοῦ ἐνὸς Υἱοῦ). "*For if the Divine, coming to be in the human, and the immortal in the mortal, and the powerful in the powerless, and the immutable and incorruptible in the mutable and corruptible, allowed the mortal to remain in the mortal state, or the corruptible in corruption, and all the rest in all the rest in the same manner one would obviously see a duality (δυάδα) in the Son of God.*"<sup>29</sup> But what exactly does this duality specify? "*It specifies a duality which enumerates separately each one of those which are viewed as opposed to one another by virtue of what is peculiar to them.*"<sup>30</sup>

One, then, is the Only-begotten, but there is in him, on account of

his manifestation through the flesh, the duality of the divine and the human elements, which are distinguished from each other by their peculiar characteristics and indeed appear to contradict one another. The sequence of the discourse reveals that the antithesis of these two elements is due to the “disease” (ἀρρωστίαν) or “consubstantiated disease” of the second element, the human, which the Only-begotten assumed in order to heal it.

In this thesis too, we observe an absolute Christological agreement between this holy father and the Orthodox fathers who preceded him. The “*manifestation through [or by means of] the flesh*” (ἡ διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιφάνεια), or the “*contraction*” (συστολή) and “*emptying*” (κένωσις) of the Only-begotten Son is interpreted by means of the duality of the divine and the human [elements or natures] which exists in the Only-begotten Son in spite of the difference or opposition of the properties of these elements.

*3rd thesis: the transcending of the antithesis of the two natures in the incarnate Son through the refashioning of the human element or nature in accordance with the divine.*

The holy father has led us, then, from the first thesis of the manifestation of the Only-begotten Son of God through the flesh to the second thesis of the two opposite elements or natures which this manifestation entails. But he is not fully satisfied with these, for he goes further to a third thesis, because as he has already revealed to us, the basis of the entire mystery of Christ is Soteriological. The divine is “contracted” and “emptied” in the human and opposite [element], so that the salvation of the latter might be achieved. This is what he calls a “refashioning” – or “modification” (μεταποίησις) – of the antithesis of the human to the divine. “*If, then, the mortal came to be in the immortal, it became immortality, and likewise the corruptible was changed to incorruptibility and all the rest were likewise refashioned in accordance with what is impassible and divine (ὥσαύτως πρὸς τὸ ἀπαθές τε καὶ θεῖον μετεποιώθη).*”<sup>31</sup> Briefly, in other words, what the holy father tells us here, is what the great Athanasius had said before him: “*He became inhuman that we might become deified*” (Οὗτος ἐνηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν).<sup>32</sup> What else is Gregory’s “*refashioning of the human element in accordance with what is impassible and divine*” except Athanasius’ “*deification?*”<sup>33</sup>

If on this third thesis of his anti-Apollinarist teaching Gregory of Nyssa appears to be in agreement with the great Athanasius, what else is there for him to do? Is there, perhaps, some fourth thesis for him to make? It is he himself who tells us so. *"If, then, the mortal came to be in the immortal ... and all the rest were likewise refashioned, what further word is left any more for those who tear apart the One into a dualist difference (δυϊκὴν διαφοράν)?"*<sup>34</sup> In other words, what remains to be said is the result of the refashioning of the human element. It is this point that he goes on to expound in his fourth thesis.

*4th thesis: The "One" (τὸ ἓν) of salvation, i.e. the unification of the two natures, the human and the divine, in Christ.*

Obviously what remains is the rejection of the opposition – or, to put it in the words of St. Gregory, the overcoming *"of those which are viewed as opposed to each other by virtue of what is peculiar to them (τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον θεωρουμένων ἑκάτερον ἰδιαζόντως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ),"* on the ground that the saving exchange (καταλλαγή) has been effected, i.e. the complete *"refashioning of the mortal .. and of all the rest in accordance with what is immortal and divine."* There is now the One (τὸ ἓν) which cannot be torn apart into two! This "One" of the anti-Apollinarist doctrine of St Gregory, which appears elsewhere in his writings,<sup>35</sup> is the "One" of the salvation of humanity or of the refashioning of humanity according to the divine model. It is the "One" of the overcoming of the *"consubstantiated weakness or disease of our own nature"* – in the terms of the holy father. It is the "One" of man's deification. This "One" excludes every "dualist difference" (δυϊκὴν διαφοράν), because it comprises everything and reveals a full saving exchange (ἀποκαταλλαγήν). It is, finally, the same "One" which will be exegetically elaborated by the other great Alexandrian theologian, St. Cyril, in his *Quod Unus sit Christus*, the highest product of his labor against the dualist heresy of Nestorius.

Up to this point our holy father has outlined the basic theses of his Christological doctrine, a) the Only-begotten Son of God, b) his contraction or emptying through [the medium of] the flesh, c) the union of the opposite elements of the divine and the human in him and d) the overcoming of the antithesis between the divine and the human through the refashioning of the latter in accordance with the former,

i.e. the “One” of the complete saving exchange. Yet, his letter to Theophilus takes us further still as it exposes us to certain more daring, but exceedingly revealing, clarifications of the above steps. These clarifications can be summarized as follows:

*1st clarification:*

The refashioning of humanity in accordance with the divine in Christ does not imply any change in the divine Logos. “*For the Logos was and is Logos both before the flesh and after the ‘incarnate economy’ (ἐνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν – another Athanasian term!); and he was and is God both before the form of the servant and after it; and the true Light was and is true Light before and after it shone in darkness.*”<sup>36</sup>

This truth, says Gregory, excludes any view that differentiates between the “*pre-eternal Son*” (προαιώνιος Υἱός) and “*the Son who was born to God through the flesh*” (ὁ διὰ σαρκὸς τῷ Θεῷ γεννηθεὶς Υἱός), as, apparently, the Apollinarists believed. “*If then every godly notion concerning the Only-begotten One is seen throughout as undegradable (ἀμετάπτωτος) and unshakeable (ἀμετάθετος), and if he is always the same in relation to himself, remaining as he is, how could one force us to denigrate his manifestation through [the medium of] the flesh to a duality of Sons, as if there was on the one hand a pre-eternal Son and on the other hand another Son who was born to God through the flesh?*”<sup>37</sup>

*2nd clarification:*

In coming to be in the flesh the Son did not cease to be in the Father, nor to have the Father in himself, or to be united with the Father; rather he is and will be as he was before, and there is not, nor will there ever be, another Son different from him.<sup>38</sup> In other words, the Incarnation did not change in any way the intra-Trinitarian relations of coinherence of the Father and the Son.

*3rd clarification:*

Since God does not undergo any change or alteration at the incarnation, then, salvation has to do with humanity and not with the Only-begotten Son. Consequently, the “*fleshy Son*” (σάρκινος Υἱός) of the Apollinarists is a totally unacceptable notion. “*For we have*

*learned and believed from the mystery that the human nature was saved by being united with the Logos. We have not learned nor are we led by some sort of coherent sequence of thought to think of a fleshy Son viewed peculiarly in himself. For he did not leave uncured the sin and the curse and the weakness when he became, as the Apostle says (II Cor. 5:21, Gal. 3:13), sin and curse for us and when he took up our own weaknesses to himself according to the statement of Isaiah (Is. 53:12)."*<sup>39</sup>

#### *4th clarification:*

Salvation is the victory of life over death, overcoming weakness by power, refashioning a curse into a blessing, ... "*having every weakness and impediment of our nature being mingled (ἀνακραθέν) with the Godhead and become the same with what the Godhead is.*"<sup>40</sup> It is exactly this "*mingling*" of the weakness and corruption of human nature with the Godhead and the assimilation of the former with the latter that excludes the "*duality of Sons*" (δυσάδα Υἱῶν).

#### *5th clarification:*

The mingling (ἀνάκρασις) of the human nature with the Godhead is a "*complete mingling*" (κατάκρασις), and this is specified by the paradigm of the "*complete mingling*"<sup>41</sup> of a drop of vinegar with an infinite ocean. In other words, there is a complete alteration of "*the peculiar properties*" (ἰδιώματα) of the human nature, although it does not lose its essential identity since it continues to exist within the Godhead. "*As for the assumed firstfruits of the human nature by the almighty (all-enabling) Godhead, as one could say by way of using an image, it is like a drop of vinegar which has been completely mingled with an infinite ocean, but continues to be in the Godhead, but not in its own peculiar properties.*"<sup>42</sup> The last sentence excludes both Apollinarism and Eutychianism. The conjunction of this complete mingling with the acquisition of divine properties by the human nature excludes the confusion that the consubstantiation (συνουσίωσις) of the Apollinarists introduces. The "drop" of the human nature of Christ is not extinguished through its complete mingling with the "ocean" of the Godhead. The human nature exists in or within the divine, but is completely deified with respect to its properties. The key to St. Gregory's teaching here is the distinction between

properties and essence, which is a basic feature of his entire theology.

#### 6th clarification:

The notion of the duality of Sons would have been acceptable only if some heterogeneous nature had been the preserved within the ineffable Godhead of the Son, which would then be distinguished through its own peculiar properties – weakness, littleness, corruptibility, etc. – from the divine. Given, however, that this does not occur, “*since all the peculiar properties seen in the mortal [human nature] have been refashioned according to the peculiar properties of the Godhead so that no difference is any longer applicable - for whatever one sees in the Son is Godhead, wisdom, power, sanctification, impassability - how could the “One” be split up into a dual signification, when there is no difference to cut the number into parts?*”<sup>43</sup> It is crystal clear from this text that the oneness of the human and the divine in Christ is rooted in the complete communication of the divine properties to the human nature.

#### 7th clarification:

The last clarification elaborates in a sort of encomiastic or panegyric manner the unity of the saving exchange of the human with the divine properties in Christ. It constitutes the climax of this general anti-Apollinarist Christological doctrine of St. Gregory, which he hands over to Theophilus of Alexandria as the Cappadocian appropriation of the Athanasian legacy. The particular themes of this clarification comprise the “*transpositional exchange* (ἀντιμετάστασιν) *of the divine and human names*” – Gregory’s term for the *communicatio idiomatum* – the “*true and undivided union*” (Ἐνωσιν), the Pauline “*Jesus, the crucified Lord of Glory*” and the “*One Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things.*”<sup>44</sup>

In concluding his letter Gregory asked of Theophilus a “*greater and more perfect alliance* (συμμαχίαν) *with the truth,*” so that no heretical excuse can be used against the Church. Theophilus issued such an alliance and delivered it to the Church through his nephew and successor, St Cyril of Alexandria. In spite of this, however, as so aptly Gregory noted in the beginning of his letter, “*the words of the individual [heretics] triumph in the operation of the adversary, hav-*

ing the power which is against the truth.”<sup>45</sup> Yet, the Church too fights back, through Gregory and through Cyril and the unceasing patristic and apostolic doctrine and succession.

The above analysis clearly indicates that St. Gregory of Nyssa projected successfully the ecclesiastical teaching concerning the mystery of Christ and its soteriological presuppositions and implications for humanity. The unity of Christ is secured against Apollinaris in an orthodox manner, since what is stressed, is on the one hand the One person of the Only-begotten at the incarnation, while the doctrine of the two Sons in Christ is rejected as heretical, and on the other hand, the unity of humanity with the Godhead through the “refashioning” or “transformation” of the first in accordance with the second as far its properties go and without any loss of its being or essence being incurred. If the terms “refashioning” or “transformation” (μεταποίησις), or “mingling” (ἀνάκρασις), or “complete mingling” (κατάκρασις), etc., which St. Gregory used, following the other two Cappadocian fathers, especially the Theologian, were not adopted more widely by the Church in the subsequent dogmatic Christological formulae, the fact that they were closely connected with the wider patristic term of deification and were clarified by the distinction between properties and essence, makes these terms sufficient means for refuting directly the challenge of Apollinarism and indirectly the error of Nestorianism even before its appearance. Consequently, the wild views of Raven and Grillmeier which we mentioned in the introductory paragraphs of this essay constitute a misguided or misinterpreted understanding of the position of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

The general anti-Apollinarist Christological doctrine of Gregory of Nyssa developed in his *Epistle to Theophilus* is a profound appropriation and clarification of the Athanasian legacy. The ‘critical’ assessment of it by modern scholars fails to perceive its real import and significance, which is the true understanding of salvation as deification of the human nature in Christ. The modern criticism of this doctrine, whether we see it in Athanasius or in the Cappadocians or in Cyril of Alexandria, represents, to my mind, a “Nestorian” reaction to the challenge of Apollinarism, but this would require another essay on the basis of some other additional texts.



<sup>1</sup> On Apollinari[u]s and Apollinari[an]ism see P K Chrestou, *Patrologia* (Thessalonica), vol 4 (1989) 519-532, and S G Papadopoulos, *Patrologia* (Athens), vol 2 (1990) 530-549

<sup>2</sup> Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzen), *Oratio* 22 13, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφεῶν, Athens, Greece 1955ff (=ΒΕΠΕΣ) vol 59 10,11

<sup>3</sup> Basil the Great in his *Epistola* 265 2 (ΒΕΠΕΣ, vol 55 332, 11f, 15, 17) speaks of Apollinaris as “being one of us at the beginning,” or as “one who has the same soul and belongs to us as a codefender of the truth” Similarly, Epiphanius in his *Panarion* 77 (Hall iii (1933) 466 317) calls Apollinaris “ever beloved to Pope Athanasius of blessed memory and to all the Orthodox”

<sup>4</sup> Cf Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5 18

<sup>5</sup> Basil the Great in his *Epistola* 265 2 (ΒΕΠΕΣ 55 332, 21-24) to Eulogius, Alexander and Harpocraton, Egyptian bishops in exile (in Palestine), written about 377, says that, “I have truly found great distress among all who cleave to the peace of the Lord at the divers innovations of Apollinaris of Laodicea He has all the more distressed me from the fact that he seemed at the beginning on our side Now that very man I have found in many ways hindering those who are being saved, by seducing their minds what rash and hasty deed has he not done? Is not all the Church divided against herself, especially since the day when men have been sent by him to the Churches governed by Orthodox bishops, to rend them asunder and to set up some peculiar and illegal conventicle (προς το σχῆσαι καὶ ἰδιαν παρασυναγωγὴν ἐκδικῆσαι)?” Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzen) in his *Epistola* 125 to Olympius the Governor of Cappadocia, written in 382, sends his regrets for his initial policy of tolerance towards the Apollinarians in the hope that they would slowly-slowly come to see their errors, and adds “They had the audacity, these bad people, who are being lost badly, in addition to all else to invite a bishop deposed by the entire synod, eastern and western, or to use unlawfully those who happened to be passing by (I cannot say anything more exact about this) and in defiance of all royal regulations and your commandments, to name as bishop one of those impious and fraudulent from among them, taking courage not from anything else, save from my own mortification (for I must say this)” For the Greek text see ΒΕΠΕΣ 60 179, 15-21

<sup>6</sup> Cf Leontius of Byzantium *On the Pseudepigrapha of the Apollinarists*, PG 86/2 1976ff See also P K Chrestou, *Op Cit*, p 528f

<sup>7</sup> Cf *Tomus ad Antiochenos* ΒΕΠΕΣ 31 124-129, *Epistola ad Epictetum Episcopum Corinthi*, ΒΕΠΕΣ 31 151-159, *Contra Apollinarem I* ΒΕΠΕΣ 37 267-278, *Contra Apollinarem II* ΒΕΠΕΣ 37 279-298 None of these Athanasian treatises condemns Apollinaris directly, but all of them condemn errors which are associated with Apollinarian circles For a fuller exposition of these texts see my study, *Athanasius Contra Apollinarem*, Church and Theology vi, Athens 1985

<sup>8</sup> See his *Panarion* 77 (Hall iii 1933)

<sup>9</sup> See *Epistolae ad Cledonium* 101-102 ΒΕΠΕΣ 60 261-271, cf also *Epistola ad Olympium* 125 ΒΕΠΕΣ 60 279, *Epistola ad Nectarium Episcopum Constantinopoli* 202 ΒΕΠΕΣ 60 319-321, and *Carmina Theologica* ΒΕΠΕΣ 61 35ff

<sup>10</sup> See *Ad Theophilum contra Apollinaris* ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 207-211 (Jaeger III 1 (1958) 119-128), *Antirrheticos contra Apollinarem* ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 212-281 (Jaeger III 1 (1958) 131-233)

<sup>11</sup> C. Raven, *Apollinarianism, An Essay on the Christology of the Early Church*, Cambridge, at the University Press 1923, p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 242.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 263.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 264.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 265.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 267f.

<sup>17</sup> See his *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1, London 1975, pp. 368ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 368f. On this and other similar criticisms see the recent article of Brian E. Daley, "Divine Transcendence and Human Transformation: Gregory of Nyssa's Anti-Apollinarian Christology," *Studia Patristica*, vol. 32 (1997) 87-95. This article appeared after this essay was completed. It represents a similar but more general approach to the same question and reaches similar conclusions.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. BEΠΕΣ 68:207, 27-30. See the accusation of Apollinaris' pupil Polemon against the Cappadocians, Athanasius and those in Italy who teach duality of natures" in Lietzmann's *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, 1904, p. 274.

<sup>20</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:208, 12-13.

<sup>21</sup> For Athanasius' Christology see my article, "The eternal Son: an essay on Christology in the early Church with particular reference to St. Athanasius the Great," *Proceedings of the Academie Internationale des Sciences Religieuses*, ABBA SALAMA, x (1979) 18-54, or (same article) in *The Incarnation*, ed. by T.F. Torrance, Edinburgh, Handsel Press 1981, 16-57.

<sup>22</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 2-5.

<sup>23</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 5.

<sup>24</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 6.

<sup>25</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 7-9.

<sup>26</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 21-22.

<sup>27</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 23-28.

<sup>28</sup> For a full discussion and clarification of this point, see Elias Moutsoulas, "Observations on the Christology of Gregory of Nyssa," *Theologia* 40 (1969) 257-270 (especially pp. 261-263). J. H. Strawley in his article "St Gregory of Nyssa on the sinlessness of Christ," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 7 (1906) 434-441, accepts the sinlessness of Christ according to Gregory, but does not understand its presuppositions, since he identifies "disease of nature" with "sin" and adopts the premises of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the father of the Nestorian heresy. The article of D. F. Winslow, "Christology and exegesis in the Cappadocians," *Church History*, 40 (1971) 389-396 (especially p. 396, which refers to the sinlessness of the human nature of Christ according to Gregory of Nyssa) is equally questionable because his premises are also Nestorianizing, if not Nestorian.

<sup>29</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 29-34.

<sup>30</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 34-35.

<sup>31</sup> BEΠΕΣ 68:209, 35-210:1. It is noteworthy that Apollinaris does not use this term. Cf. my book *Athanasius Contra Apollinarem* (Church and Theology vi) 1985 and *Op. Cit.* p. 148, paragraph 4.

<sup>32</sup> BEΠΕΣ 30: 119, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Athanasius does not use the term μεταποίησις as Gregory does—although Gregory speaks of μεταποίησις πρὸς and not of μεταποίησις εἰς as Apollinaris does. In his

*Contra Apollinarem* Athanasius cites this latter Apollinarian term as unacceptable because it refers to a change (μεταβολή) either of the divine nature into flesh (cf *Contra Apoll II*, ch 5, 8, 12) or of the flesh into the divine nature (*Contra Apoll I*, ch 6, 10) See here my observations in my book *Athanasius Contra Apollinarem*, op cit pp 131-132 In his *Epistola ad Epictetum Corinthi* Athanasius condemns the same teaching which is conveyed by the term μεταβολή (ch 2,4,5,6,7,8, ΒΕΠΕΣ 30 119,11)

<sup>34</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 209,35-210,2

<sup>35</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 211, 4 (πῶς ἂν διαιροῖτο το ἐν εἰς διυκην σημασιαν ) See also Gregory the Theologian *Or 37*, 2 (ὁ ἦν ἐκενώσε καὶ ὁ μὴ ἦν προσελαβεν, οὐ δυο γενομενος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκ τῶν δυο γενεσθαι ἀνασχομενος), *Or 2*, 23 (τοῦτο ἡ κενωθείσα θεότης, τοῦτο ἡ προσληφθεῖσα σαρξ, τοῦτο ἡ καινὴ μῆξις, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἑξ ἁμφοῖν, καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἁμφοτέρω), *Epistola 101* (τα γὰρ ἁμφοτέρω ἐν τῇ συγκρασεῖ) The use of the neuter ἐν is quite striking, especially in light of St Cyril of Alexandria's εἷς, but it is obvious that what is meant by this is the real unity of the divine and the human which has overcome all opposition It is clear that St Gregory focuses on the unity of the natures through the assimilation of the one to the other, whereas St Cyril focuses on the unity of the person of Christ

<sup>36</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,3-6

<sup>37</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,6-11

<sup>38</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,25-27

<sup>39</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,12-18 As regards the sinlessness of the Lord, see also ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210, 30 and Footnote 27 herein

<sup>40</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,2122

<sup>41</sup> Cf the κατακραθεῖσα ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,30

<sup>42</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 210,27-31 See also his *Antirrhetikos* (Mueller, p 201 and 306) That this ἀνακρασις is applicable to the period after the resurrection, see E Moutsoulas, "Observations on the Christology of Gregory of Nyssa," *Theologia* (Athens) 40 (1969) 261 and 264ff

<sup>43</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 211,5

<sup>44</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 211,13

<sup>45</sup> ΒΕΠΕΣ 68 207, 20-21

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Concept of Divine Persons in Gregory of Nyssa's *To His Brother Peter, on the Difference Between Ousia and Hypostasis*

---

LUCIAN TURCESCU

The treatise under consideration, *Ad Petrum fratrem de differentia usiae et hypostaseos* (*Ad Petrum* hereafter)<sup>1</sup>, appears in many Basilian manuscripts; therefore, until not long ago it was considered to be the 38th Letter of St. Basil of Caesarea. Yet, scholarly studies such as those undertaken by Anders Cavallin<sup>2</sup>, Reinhard Hübner<sup>3</sup> and Paul Fedwick<sup>4</sup> have shown that in reality this letter belongs to St. Gregory of Nyssa, a conclusion accepted by most students of the Cappadocians today<sup>5</sup>. The addressee of this treatise is Peter of Anessi, the brother of

<sup>1</sup> References to the Greek text will be to Saint Basile, *Lettres*, text established and translated by Yves Courtonne, vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957), pp. 81-92. I also consulted the English translation of this letter, St. Basil, *The Letters*, with an English translation by Roy J. Deferrari, vol. I (London: W. Heinemann, 1926); however, since Deferrari's translation is not too reliable, I have had to alter it.

<sup>2</sup> Anders Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des hl. Basiliius* (Lund: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1944) 71 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Reinhard Hübner, "Gregor von Nyssa als Verfasser der sog. Ep. 38 des Basiliius. Zum unterschiedlichen Verständnis der *ousia* bei den kappadozischen Brüdern" in *Epikasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, eds. J. Fontaine and Ch. Kannengiesser (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972) 463-490.

<sup>4</sup> Paul J. Fedwick, "A Commentary of Gregory of Nyssa or the 38th Letter of Basil of Caesarea," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978) 31-51; idem, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1: The Letters (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993) 620-623. Robert Pouchet also accepts the Gregorian authorship in his comprehensive study of the Basilian correspondence, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance. Une stratégie de communion* (Rome: Augustinianum, 1992) 29.

<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, W.-D. Hauschild does not accept this attribution in his German translation of Basil's letters (see Basil of Caesarea, *Briefe*, tr. W.-D. Hauschild, vol. I

Gregory of Nyssa and a future bishop of Sebaste. As to its date, scholars agree that it was written sometime after Basil's death which occurred on January 1, 379. Jean Daniélou dated it to 381, whereas Gerhard May to 379 or a little later<sup>6</sup>.

As the title suggests, the letter proposes to explain the difference between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. This work is very similar to Basil's *Ep* 236 of which the entire sixth section is devoted to the same topic. R. Pouchet noted that, after the death of his brother Basil and inspired by *Ep* 236, 6, Gregory of Nyssa composed a more ample dissertation on the same topic, the famous *Ep* 38 in the Basilian corpus<sup>7</sup>.

In this paper, I shall present and analyze Gregory's view of the divine persons as it emerges from *Ad Petrum*. This evaluation will help us to understand better the Cappadocian contribution to the notion of person and the formulation of the trinitarian dogma.

### *The Common and the Particular*

To explain the distinction between God's substance (οὐσία) and the divine persons (ὑποστάσεις), the Cappadocians used the analogy of the universal and the particular. The understanding of this relation helps us to have a better grip of what they meant by divine persons. Yet, before dealing with Gregory's *Ad Petrum*, I consider it necessary to present the position Basil expresses in *Ep* 236, 6, in order to show how the latter influenced the former. The Basilian text reads:

Ὁυσία and ὑπόστασις have the distinction that the common has with reference to the particular (τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς καθ' ἕκαστον), for example, just as 'an animal' (ζῷον)<sup>8</sup> has with reference to 'a particular

---

[Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1990], pp. 182 ff, n. 181). Nor do Jürgen Hammerstaedt, "Zur Echtheit von Basiliusbrief 38," *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1991) 416-419 and Volker H. Drecoll, *Die Entwicklung der Trinitätslehre des Basilios von Caesarea* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 297-331. But I find their arguments unconvincing.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Daniélou, "La chronologie des oeuvres de Grégoire de Nysse," *Studia Patristica* 7 (1966) 163, n. 2; Gerhard May, "Die Chronologie des Lebens und der Werke des Gregor von Nyssa" in *Ecriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse. Actes du Colloque de Chevetogne (22-26 septembre 1969)*, ed. Marguerite Harl (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971) 57.

<sup>7</sup> R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand*, 60.

<sup>8</sup> "Animal" in English and other modern languages comes from the Latin word

human' (δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον). For this reason we confess one substance (οὐσία) for the Godhead, so as not to hand down variously the notion of the being; but we confess that the ὑπόστασις is particular, in order that our conception of Father and Son and Holy Spirit may be unconfused and plain. For unless we think of the characteristics that are sharply defined in the case of each, as for example fatherhood and sonship and holiness (πατρότητα, υἱότητα καὶ ἁγιασμόν), but from the general notion of being confess God, it is impossible to hand down a sound definition of faith. Therefore, we must add what is particular to what is common and thus confess the faith; the Godhead is something common, the paternity something particular, and combining these we should say: 'I believe in God the Father'. And again in the confession of the Son we should do likewise – combine the particular with the common and say: 'I believe in God the Son.' Similarly too in the case of the Holy Spirit, we should frame on the same principle our utterance of the reference to him and say: 'I believe also in the divine Holy Spirit,' so that throughout the whole, both unity is preserved in the confession of the one Godhead, and that which is peculiar to the persons (τὸ τῶν προσώπων ἰδιάζον) is confessed in the distinction made in the characteristics attributed to each. (*Ep.* 236, 6. 1-22)<sup>9</sup>

Basil uses the example of “animal” (ζῷον) versus “a particular human” (δεῖνα ἄνθρωπος) to show the difference between the common and the particular. To explain the difference between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, Gregory uses a similar example, speaking of the “human” (ἄνθρωπος) versus “a certain human” (τίς ἄνθρωπος):

From among all names some, used for subjects plural and numerically diverse, have a more universal meaning, as for example ‘human’ (ἄνθρωπος). For when you say “human,” you thereby signify the common nature (τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν), and do not specify any human who is particularly known by that name (τινὰ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἰδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος γνωριζόμενον). For Peter is no more human (Οὐ ... μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπος) than Andrew, John, or James<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, the community of the thing signified, since it refers to all alike who are included under the same name, demands a further subdivision if we are to understand not merely human in general, but “Peter” or “John.” (*Ad Petrum* 2. 1-11)

---

“animus” (soul). Thus, “animal” means an “ensouled or living creature” and is probably the best rendering of the Greek ζῷον.

<sup>9</sup> Basil, *Lettres*, ed. Yves Courtonne, vol. 3 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966) 53f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 2b25ff: “[O]f the primary substances one is no more a substance than another: the individual man is no more a substance than the individual ox.”

The influence of Basil's *Ep.* 236, 6 on Gregory's *Ad Petrum* 2. 1-11 is obvious, but a common philosophical source of inspiration for both Cappadocians should not be excluded. Therefore, I propose to investigate such a possible philosophical source: Aristotle.

### *Individuals in Aristotle*

As Dörrie noted,<sup>11</sup> it is not possible for the modern researcher to measure the width and depth of Gregory of Nyssa's knowledge of philosophy from citations – a method used comfortably with Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea – since Gregory is a master of “thought-citation,” whereby an idea is taken over from somewhere else, but then completely remodelled and reworded so that all direct verbal parallelism with the original disappears. Therefore, I suggest that Gregory might have used the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic concepts of individual presented in this article, but I do not pretend to be able to trace them back with certainty to Aristotle or Porphyry. Allegations that Gregory was a convinced Platonist, disguised as a Christian lest he be accused of heresy,<sup>12</sup> have been generally regarded with reservations or simply discarded in recent years.<sup>13</sup>

Aristotle's notion of an individual is neither consistent nor clear-cut throughout his writings. In an early work such as the *Categories* Aristotle tries to establish some rules to be used in logical and linguistic analysis, as well as in describing being (τὸ εἶναι). He first posits two sets of items which help him to describe reality: on the one hand, objects and properties, on the other hand, general and particular (or universals and individuals). He attaches general and individual to both objects and properties. Thus, in the *Cat.* 2 one can read of individual objects, individual properties, general objects, and

<sup>11</sup> Heinrich Dörrie, “Gregor III (Gregor von Nyssa)” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* vol 12 (Stuttgart A Hiersemann, 1983) 885

<sup>12</sup> Harold F Cherniss, *The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1930) and more recently Charalambos Apostolopoulos, *Phaedo Christianus Studien zur Verbindung und Abwägung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem platonischen “Phaidon” und dem Dialog Gregors von Nyssa “Über die Seele und die Auferstehung”* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986)

<sup>13</sup> J C M van Widen, Review of *Phaedo Christianus, Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987) 191-197, Henriette M Meissner, *Rethorik und Theologie Der Dialog Gregors von Nyssa De anima et resurrectione* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), Enrico Peroli, “Gregory of Nyssa and the Neoplatonic Doctrine of the Soul,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997) 117-139



general properties. Objects and properties are obtained by combining “things said without any combination” (2a25) which came to be known as “categories” (hence the title of the work). In this work, Aristotle conceives of ten such categories: substance (οὐσία), quantity, qualification, a relative, where, when, being-in-a-position, having, doing, or being-affected (*Cat.* 1b25-27). In later works Aristotle calls the last nine categories “accidents.”

In dealing with the category of “substance,” Aristotle says that there are primary and secondary substances; the former he calls “individuals,” the latter “species” and “genera.”

A substance (Οὐσία) – that which is called a substance most strictly, primarily (πρώτως) and most of all – is that which is neither said of a subject nor in a subject, e.g. the individual man (ὁ τίς ἄνθρωπος) or individual horse (ὁ τίς ἵππος). The species in which the things primarily called substances are, are called ‘secondary substances’ (δεύτεραι οὐσίαι), as also are the genera of these species. For example, the individual man belongs in a species, man, and animal (ζῷον) is a genus of the species; so these – both man and animal – are called secondary substances. (*Cat.* 2a11-18)<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, from *Cat.* 2 we learn that Aristotle not only conceives of individual substances, but also of non-substantial individuals, e.g. individual qualities (“this white”).

What is an individual anyway? The Greek word Aristotle uses for individual is ἄτομον, which means indivisible. In *Cat.* 1b6-7 Aristotle says that an individual is that which is “one in number” (ἐν ἀριθμῷ, cf. also 3b12). However, as one commentator noted, “being one is not a *proprium* of individuals: species and genera, i.e., the kinds into which objects fall, also have a kind of unity. One can, for example, count the species of a given genus. The kind of indivisibility characteristic of individuals must, then, be a special kind of unity.”<sup>15</sup> Frede concludes that Aristotle uses the expression “one in number” more frequently by way of contrast with “one in kind or species” and “one in genus,” and this means that in the *Categories*, “genera and species,

<sup>14</sup> E.T. in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. J. Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). Greek text in Aristoteles, *Categoriae et Liber de Interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

<sup>15</sup> Michael Frede, *Essays in Ancient Philosophy* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 51.

in a certain respect *are* one and, hence, indivisible, but in another respect, *are not* one and, hence, divisible.”<sup>16</sup> According to this schema of division, individuals are completely indivisible. Yet what kind of division is Aristotle having in mind?

At *Cat.* 1b3-9 Aristotle says that individuals are “not said of any subject.” This statement is not easy to understand unless we get some examples. Aristotle exemplifies with both individual substances and individual properties: individual human, individual horse, and individual knowledge-of-grammar are not said of any subject. In other words, they have no further subjects (ὑποκείμενα) underneath them of which they can be predicated. Add to this Aristotle’s other statement that in the case of secondary substance “the subject is not, as the primary substance is, one, but man and animal are said of many things” (*Cat.* 3b16-18), and you will have a clearer picture of what he means by individual. The species “human” and the genus “animal” are not individuals, because they are said of many things, i.e., they have a plurality of subjects. This strongly suggests, according to Frede, that “an individual does not have any actual parts and is indivisible, because it has no subjects.”<sup>17</sup>

It is not clear what exactly Aristotle means by non-substantial individuals, and modern commentators are at variance about this issue. Some say that individual properties (e.g. Socrates’ health), at least in the *Categories*, are individuated by their bearers, others that they are individuated independently of their bearers.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, Gregory of Nyssa does not seem to have been captivated by this issue, so I will not pursue it either. Frede’s observation is, however, correct that Aristotle’s notion of an individual is a weak one in the *Categories*, precisely because of the presence of non-substantial individuals; we tend to ground our notion of an individual in that of an object, rather than a property.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-52. Cf. also John M. Rist, *The Mind of Aristotle: A Study in Philosophical Growth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989) 258.

<sup>17</sup> Frede, *Essays*, 52.

<sup>18</sup> G. E. L. Owen, “Inherence,” *Phronesis* 10 (1965) 97-105 and M. Frede, *Essays in Ancient Philosophy*, 55-63 advocate the former position, whereas G. B. Matthews and S. M. Cohen, “The One and the Many” *Review of Metaphysics* 21 (1968) 630-655 and R. Heinaman, “Non-Substantial Individuals in Aristotle,” *Phronesis* 26 (1981) 295-307 support the latter.

<sup>19</sup> Frede, *Essays*, 63.

As seen in the above definition of primary and secondary substances, Aristotle moves back and forth between ontology and logic. The ontologic example, the “primary” versus “secondary substance,” is easily transposed into logic to illustrate the difference between “individual” and “species.” Aristotle returns to this theme in later works such as *De Interpretatione* 17a39-40 where he regards “species” as “universals.” In *Metaphysics* Z 13, however, Aristotle changes his mind dramatically and doubts that kinds or universals really exist:

[I]t seems impossible that any universal term should be the name of a substance. For primary substance is that kind of substance which is peculiar to an individual, which does not belong to anything else; but the universal is common, since that is called universal which naturally belongs to more than one thing.... Further, substance means that which is not predicable of a subject, but the universal is predicable of some subject always” (*Met.* 1038b10-12).<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, after the *Categories*, the phrase “secondary substance” disappears from the Stagirite’s language. As Frede noted, Aristotle’s dramatic change of mind represents a major change in his notion of individual, too: “if there are no genera and species, individuals no longer can be taken to be the ultimate, indivisible parts of genera.”<sup>21</sup> I think that Frede’s statement should be amended at this point by adding that: Aristotle’s later notion of an individual has indeed changed, but only in the ontological sense; it still continues to be the same notion of an individual in the logical sense. After all, the fact that kinds no longer exist, according to Aristotle, does not imply that we cannot imagine them and use them for logical and semantic analysis.

Aristotle’s also contends that the individual cannot be defined: “But when we come to the concrete thing, e.g. *this* circle, i.e. one of the individual circles, whether sensible or intelligible (I mean by intelligible circles the mathematical, and by sensible circles those of bronze and of wood), of these there is no definition, but they are known by the aid of thought or perception” (*Met.* 1036a1-6). He thus shows that he is interested in individuals but only inasmuch as they are members of a class.

<sup>20</sup> Greek text in Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*, ed. W. Jaeger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

<sup>21</sup> Frede, *Essays*, 63.

The question arising at this point is whether or not the Cappadocians were familiar with Aristotle's notion of individual. Stead opines that Christian authors (with the exception of Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* VII,16-18) did not know the doctrine of primary and secondary substances until the late 350s, "when it perhaps began to be noticed by Arian logicians."<sup>22</sup> He contends that if Christians used either phrase before the middle of the fourth century, they did so in a non-technical sense. Stead's view allows for a Cappadocian acquaintance with Aristotle's *Categories*. Moreover, I think that as long as the Cappadocian Fathers used the language of "individual" and "universal" – and let us not forget that the latter came to be equated with "species" by Aristotle himself – this can be seen as a certain familiarity on their part with the two concepts in Aristotle. It is hard to affirm with certainty whether the Cappadocians took these notions directly from Aristotle or from handbooks of logic or philosophy which were in circulation at that time.<sup>23</sup> Some scholars are even inclined to think that Gregory of Nyssa knew the *Categories* from Porphyry's *Isagoge*.<sup>24</sup>

In taking into account the two components of the Stoic category of quality, Hübner himself suggests a further nuance between the two Cappadocian brothers: he asserts that Basil's distinction between "common" and "particular" is influenced by the Stoics, whereas Gregory's is Aristotelian. Hübner holds that Basil's trinitarian concept of οὐσία is influenced by the Stoic notion of "commonly

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 159. Stead thus corrects a later estimate ("end of the fourth century") which he expressed in *Divine Substance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) 114 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The conclusion about an Aristotelian influence on the Cappadocians will probably baffle some Eastern Orthodox. Yet, even Florovsky noted that in eschatology too "it was Aristotle and not Plato who could help Christian philosophers." Aristotle's understanding of "the unity of human existence" was of great importance, according to this Russian Orthodox theologian (see Georges Florovsky, *Aspects of Church History*, ed. Richard S. Haugh [Vaduz: Buchervertriebanstalt, 1987] 75).

<sup>24</sup> See G. Christopher Stead, "Individual Personality in Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers" in *Arché e telos: l'antropologia di Origene e di Gregorio di Nissa*, eds. U. Bianchi and H. Crouzel (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1981) 182; idem, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity*, 82 ff.; see also "Die Schrift *Ex communibus notionibus* des Gregor von Nyssa," tr. and commentary by Herman Vogt, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 171 (1991) 204, n. 1. Cf. also David L. Balas, "Plenitudo humanitatis: The Unity of Human Nature in the Theology of Gregory of Nyssa" in *Disciplina nostra: Essays in Memory of Robert F. Evans*, ed. Donald F. Winslow (Cambridge, MA: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979) 129.

qualified” (κοινῶς ποιόν).<sup>25</sup> Moreover, by οὐσία Basil often means the “material substratum” (τὸ ὑλικὸν ὑποκείμενον – e.g., *CEun.* 2,4,11; 577C for the human οὐσία). The Stoic view is that οὐσία=ἄποιος ὕλη=πρῶτον ὑποκείμενον,<sup>26</sup> and “being” means “being material”; thus the same οὐσία lies at the foundation of both God and the cosmos. Basil exhibits a rather materialistic understanding of οὐσία, influenced by Stoicism. Yet, unlike the Stoics, he distinguishes between God’s οὐσία and the created οὐσία.<sup>27</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa’s description of οὐσία is Aristotelian, according to the same Hübner.<sup>28</sup> The difference of perception between the two brothers enforces Hübner’s conviction that *Ep.* 38 should be attributed to Gregory, since it displays an Aristotelian understanding of the οὐσία. Nevertheless, Hübner allows that Basil is not systematic, but that he also uses Aristotelian concepts and “Plotinian speculation” (sic) to deal with other issues.<sup>29</sup>

#### *Further Differences between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις*

Gregory starts *Ad Petrum* by saying that some of his contemporaries do not distinguish between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. Therefore, when referring to God, they speak either of one ὑπόστασις or of three οὐσίαι (*Ad Petrum* 1). In the last sections of *Ad Petrum* (6-8) Gregory wants to convince his brother Peter that even the Apostle Paul had in mind the distinction between the two terms when saying: “He [the Son] is the reflection of God’s glory and the imprint of his ὑπόστασις (χαρακτὴρ ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ)” (Heb 1:3).

Biblical and patristic scholars agree today that Heb 1:3 refers to the Son as the “imprint of God’s substance (or being),” and modern translations of the Bible reflect this consensus.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, it is accepted today that ὑπόστασις was synonymous with οὐσία in the time of St. Paul and even later. Gregory, however, does not accept

<sup>25</sup> Reinhard Hubner, “Gregory von Nyssa als Verfasser der sog. *Ep.* 38 des Basiliius,” 470, 480. Bernard Pottier agrees with Hubner in his book *Dieu et le Christ selon Grégoire de Nysse* (Namur, Belgium: Culture et Vérité, 1994) 85 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Hubner, *idem*, 480.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 480.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 469 f.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 482.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, the New Revised Standard Version, eds. Bruce Metzger and Roland Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 317 NT.

this synonymy, but alleges that by using ὑπόστασις the Apostle wanted to indicate in fact “the continuity and intimacy of the relationship between the Son and the Father” (*Ad Petrum* 7. 8-10). To support his thesis Gregory plays on the meanings of the word “imprint” (χαράκτῆρ). On a first level he equates “imprint” (χαράκτῆρ) with “figure” or “exterior form” (σχῆμα) and says that a body consists altogether in form (*Ad Petrum* 7. 27). Nevertheless, although the definition of the form (σχῆμα) is different from the definition of the body (σῶμα) and although by reason one can separate form from body, “nature does not admit of the separation, but one is always thought of in connection with the other” (7. 31-33). Consequently, if one sees the form of a body, one is bound to think of the body itself. And if one sees the imprint of the ὑπόστασις of the Father, one is bound to think of the ὑπόστασις of the Father. On a second level, Gregory uses the same argument in regard to “imprint” now equated with “image” (εἰκὼν) and draws heavily on the fact that the Son is the image of the Father (*Ad Petrum* 8).

Basil of Caesarea too not only insists on the distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις in Heb. 1:3, but he also alleges that the Nicene Fathers discriminated between the two terms. It is in this way that he interprets the anathema accompanying the Nicene creed: “If anyone says that the Son is of another substance or ὑπόστασις (ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἢ ὑποστάσεως), the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes him.”<sup>31</sup> In an article on the terms ὑπαρξίς and ὑπόστασις in the thought of the Cappadocians, Jean Pépin opines that the Cappadocians were actually anti-Nicene in their understanding of the meanings of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις.<sup>32</sup> In my view, even if the Cappadocians were anti-Nicene, they did not want to admit this, but tried to force the interpretation of the Nicene anathema, so as to accommodate it to their understanding of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. Yet, whatever Gregory’s and Basil’s arguments in favor of a distinction

<sup>31</sup> See *Ep* 125, 1 32-49. See also *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed Norman P Tanner, vol I (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990) 5.

<sup>32</sup> Jean Pépin, “Ὑπαρξίς καὶ ὑπόστασις en Cappadoce” in *Hyparxis e Hypostasis nel Neoplatonismo. Atti del I Colloquio Internazionale del Centro di Ricerca sul Neoplatonismo (Università degli Studi di Catania 1-3 ottobre 1992)*, eds F Romano and D P Taormina (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994) 76.

between the two terms long before their time, historical testimony stands against their thesis.<sup>33</sup>

### *Definitions of ὑπόστασις*

Having laid the foundation of the distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις in *Ad Petrum* 1-2, Gregory proceeds to give some definitions of the ὑπόστασις in sections 3-6. “That which is specifically referred to is indicated by the term person (ὑπόστασις)” (*Ad Petrum* 3. 1-2).<sup>34</sup> For instance, “Paul” is the name of a person (ὑπόστασις), because it indicates “the nature subsisting in the [particular] thing (πράγματι ὑφεστῶσαν τὴν φύσιν)” (*Ad Petrum* 3. 7-8). An ὑπόστασις is “the concourse of the peculiar characteristics of each [person] (τὴν συνδρομὴν τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον ιδιωμάτων)” (*Ad Petrum* 6. 4-6).<sup>35</sup> Ὑπόστασις, however, “is not the indefinite notion of substance, which by reason of the commonality of the term employed discloses no stability. It is the conception which, by means of the specific notes that it indicates, restricts and circumscribes in a particular thing what is common and uncircumscribed” (*Ad Petrum* 3. 8-12).<sup>36</sup>

Gregory then gives a concrete example of what he has said so far on a rather theoretical level: the case of Job. Thus, says Gregory, the story of Job in the Scripture starts in general terms; more precisely, we learn of a human. The account becomes then more specific – “a certain human” – in order to characterize Job by means of his peculiar notes (γνωρίσματα), indicating the place, the marks which reveal his character, and all such external adjuncts that differentiate him and set him apart from the common notion of human.

This description of the person (ὑπόστασις) whose name is Job suggests that this person is particularized or individualized by putting together some of his characteristic marks. In other words Job is

<sup>33</sup> For a presentation of this historical evidence, see my “*Prosopon and Hypostasis* in Basil of Caesarea’s *Against Eunomius* and the Epistles” (forthcoming in *Vigiliae Christianae*).

<sup>34</sup> τὸ ἰδίως λεγόμενον τῷ τῆς ὑποστάσεως δηλοῦσται ῥήματα.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 33, 16: μία φύσις ἐν τρισὶν ιδιότησιν.

<sup>36</sup> Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις, οὐχ ἡ ἀόριστος τῆς οὐσίας ἔννοια μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ σημαινόμενον στάσιν εὐρίσκουσα, ἀλλ’ ἡ τό κοινόν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ιδιωμάτων παριστάσα καὶ περιγράφουσα.

described as a unique bundle of properties. After giving the example of Job, Gregory states that one can apply the same reasoning to the divine dogmas in order to understand the three divine persons (*Ad Petrum* 3. 30-33).

*The Individual as a Bundle of Properties in Platonism*

The definition of a sensible particular as a bundle (ἄθροισμα) of properties can be traced as far back as Plato's *Theaetetus* 157b-c where he suggests this idea in passing. Lloyd says<sup>37</sup> that after Plato a similar use of ἄθροισμα is encountered in Antiochus of Ascalon (2nd-1st c. BC)<sup>38</sup> and Albinus (today identified as Alcinous).<sup>39</sup>

Yet, it was Plotinus who took Plato's suggestion a little further and Porphyry who presented it in a more accessible form. It is these last two views that I wish to present next.<sup>40</sup> As a Platonist himself, Plotinus also elaborates the theory of an individual as a collection of properties in regard to a sensible substance. He does not say anything in this sense about intelligibles or the divinity. Moreover, Plotinus excludes the souls of those sensible substances from the discussion, as in his view the soul is a resident alien in the sensible world. Mulrooney warns that Plotinus does not investigate a human being *qua* human, but only *qua* sensible substance.<sup>41</sup> Plotinus then proceeds to describe a sensible substance as "a conglomeration of qualities and matter" (συμφόρησις τις ποιότητων καὶ ὕλης, *Enn.* VI.3.8.20) and "this compound of many [which] is not a 'something' but a 'such'" (τοῦτο τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν, οὐ τί ἀλλὰ ποιόν, *Enn.* VI.3.15.27; cf. also Plato, *Timaeus* 49d-50b) and "whose apparent existence [is] a congress of perceptibles" (τὴν δοκοῦσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῆς σύνοδος τῶν πρὸς

<sup>37</sup> A. C. Lloyd, "Neo-Platonic Logic and Aristotelian Logic II," *Phronesis* I (1956) 158-159

<sup>38</sup> In Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 7 276-277 Greek text and E T in Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*, tr R. G. Bury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935) 146-147

<sup>39</sup> Alcinous, *The Handbook of Platonism* 156 2-10, translated with an introduction and commentary by John Dillon (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 7f Greek text in Alcinous, *Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, introduction, text established and commented upon by John Whittaker and translated by Pierre Louis (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990)

<sup>40</sup> For what follows, I rely in part on Sean Mulrooney's doctoral dissertation "Boethius on 'Person'" (University of Toronto, 1994), esp. 47-51

<sup>41</sup> Mulrooney, *idem*, 48f



αἰσθησιν, *Enn.* VI.3.10.16).<sup>42</sup> It should be noted here that, in using phrases such as these to refer to the “apparent existence” of sensible substances, Plotinus is consistent with his previous intention of leaving out of consideration the soul of these substances. Therefore, the question immediately arising in our minds is “What keeps these bundles of properties together, making them human individuals for example?” As Mulrooney notices, no principle of unity is apparent, since an individual sensible substance is grasped as such by the senses and not by reason.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless Mulrooney insists,<sup>44</sup> against Lloyd, that there is a principle of unity for an individual sensible substance, namely the soul, but this principle is just not a sensible one. *Enn.* VI.3 allows for this conclusion, but unfortunately Plotinus is not interested in further elaborating on an individual as a bundle of properties. Consequently, we should turn to his disciple Porphyry for some help.

Porphyry wrote the *Isagoge* (or Introduction) by request from Chrysaorius, a Roman Senator, who had come upon Aristotle’s *Categories* and could not make any progress. In this work Porphyry expands on Plotinus’ suggestion, describing an individual as a unique collection of properties which in themselves are not unique. We thus read:

Socrates, this white, and this approaching son of Sophroniscus, if Socrates be his only son, are called individual. Such things are called individuals because each thing is composed of a collection of properties which can never be the same for another; for the properties of Socrates could not be the same for any other particular man. The properties of man, however, I mean the man in common, will be the same for a great many, more strongly, for all particular men as men. (*Isagoge*, p. 7,20-26)<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For Greek text and E. T., see Plotinus, *Enneads*, 7 vols., tr. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966-1988).

<sup>43</sup> Mulrooney, *idem.*, 50.

<sup>44</sup> “In *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), A. C. Lloyd acknowledges that for Plotinus and the Neoplatonists ‘a sensible individual is a bundle of qualities without genuine substance. It excludes a core self of form and matter for Socrates or Dion which would have been a substrate for their accidents’ (46). But Lloyd fails to acknowledge that Socrates or Dion does have a core self; it is just not a sensible one” (Mulrooney, *idem.*, 50, n. 73).

<sup>45</sup> Porphyry the Phoenician, *Isagoge*, translation, introduction and notes by Edward W. Warren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975) 41. Greek text in

In this example, Porphyry allows for individual qualities ("this white"), individual relations ("this approaching son of Sophroniscus") and individual substances ("Socrates"). In other words, he allows for individual categories, both substances and accidents. However, the best example for Porphyry's purposes seems to be the individual substance known as Socrates. It is Socrates who *qua* animal differs from a horse because of a specific difference such as rationality (*Isag.* p. 8,16f) or *qua* individual human differs from other individuals humans because of another specific difference, the hooked quality of his nose (*Isag.* p. 8,15). The differences Porphyry mentions as distinguishing humans from other animals and from one another are both substantial and accidental. Thus, he says: "Rational, mortal, and being capable of knowledge belong to man *per se*, but hook-nosed or snub-nosed belong accidentally and not *per se*" (*Isag.* p. 9,11 ff). Regarded in themselves, these and other differences are not unique, since they can be retrieved in many individuals, but their coming together uniquely describe an individual in Porphyry's view.

This Porphyrian definition of an individual was perhaps the most elaborate there was in the fourth century before the Cappadocians. It is very likely that the Cappadocians knew it, since in Basil's *CEun* 2,4 and Gregory of Nyssa's *Ad Petrum* 3 we see the example of Socrates being replaced with those of Apostle Peter or Job respectively who are described as unique collections of properties. Even if, as Rist has convincingly shown,<sup>46</sup> Basil knew very little Plotinus, we probably have to accept that he read Porphyry's *Isagoge* or a handbook that reproduced Porphyry's arguments. And so did Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>47</sup> The *Isagoge* can be used as a beginner's guide to Aristotle's *Categories* and, given its introductory purpose, *Isagoge's*

---

*Porphyry Isagoge et In Aristotelis Categorias Comentarium*, ed Adolf Busse (Berlin Reimer, 1887)

<sup>46</sup> John M Rist, "Basil's 'Neoplatonism'. Its Background and Nature" in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: A Sixteenth-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, ed Paul J Fedwick, vol 1 (Toronto Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981) 137-220.

<sup>47</sup> In speaking of Gregory of Nyssa's Platonism in a recent article, Rist allows that "further investigation of the indirect effects of Porphyry might alter this picture in some details" (see his "Plotinus and Christian Philosophy" in *The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus*, ed. Lloyd P Gerson [Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1996] 401)

arguments are less sophisticated than the arguments Porphyry provides in his other Aristotelian commentaries. What is perhaps most important is that the particular doctrine of an individual as a collection of properties does not occur in such a clear formulation in any pagan author (still less in Christian authors!) prior to Porphyry. Therefore, the Cappadocians might have been fascinated by this definition and picked it up.

### *Divine Persons*

The actual discussion about the divine persons in *Ad Petrum* starts at 3. 34. It is this long and beautiful passage (3. 34-4. 93) that I shall examine next. Gregory says that what is uncreated and incomprehensible is unique and the same for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (3. 38-40), that is, the divine nature common to the three persons. He then proposes to investigate only those qualities (ἰδιόζοντα or γνώρισματα ὑποστάσεως) by which the notion (ἔννοια) of each person of the Trinity is conspicuously and sharply marked off from what is common. Thus, in accord with the *Nicaenum*, the first person is the “ungenerated light” (ἀγέννητος φῶς, *Ad Petrum* 4. 31), the Father, “who has the subsistence from no other cause” (ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ὑποστῆναι μόνος ἔχει, *Ad Petrum* 4. 34-35). The Son shines forth as the only-begotten (μόνος μονογενῶς, *Ad Petrum* 4. 31) from the unbegotten light who is the Father, whereas the Holy Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορεύεται) from the Father. From among the three persons, the Father is the only one subsisting from no cause (ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ὑποστῆναι, *Ad Petrum* 4. 36f). Each of the three marks (ungenerated, begotten and proceeding forth) best characterizes one divine person and only one.

Karl Holl notes that, unlike Basil, Gregory of Nyssa does not use the terms “fatherhood” (πατρότης) and “sonship” (υἱότης) to express the peculiar characteristics (ιδιότητες) of the first two divine persons.<sup>48</sup> Instead, Gregory prefers ἀγεννησία, γέννησις and ἐκπόρευσις for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit respectively.<sup>49</sup> Gregory also uses a biblical term such as μονογενής for the Son in order to emphasize that the Son is the only-begotten against the

<sup>48</sup> Karl Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904) 211.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos (ex communibus notionibus)* 25, 5-6.

Pneumatomachi. The latter ridiculed the orthodox by saying that the Son and the Spirit were brothers or that the Spirit was the grandson of the Father. Consequently, in respect to the peculiarities (ιδιότητες) of the divine persons, Gregory abandons philosophical speculation and adheres to biblical revelation.

If one adds to each divine person (ὑπόστασις) other characteristics, besides the ones that uniquely characterize each of them, one describes each divine person as a unique collection of properties. Moreover, the relation of these persons to the common nature is similar to the relation between the individual and the universal. Accordingly, the two elements – Aristotelian (or perhaps Stoic) and Neoplatonian – of the individual analyzed above are present in the description of the divine persons.

The question that arises now is, “What causes the Father, Son and Holy Spirit to be divine persons and not mere ‘collections of properties’?” The answer to this question is not easy. Yet, I think Gregory was aware of this difficult issue and tried to answer it.

Having said that the divine nature is common and that the three divine persons have individual characteristics, Gregory gives the impression of returning to consider the divine nature in more detail, but he abruptly changes the subject and speaks of the persons. The text reads:

[R]egarding attributes denoted by the terms infinite, incomprehensible, uncreated, uncircumscribed by space, and all others of the same order, there is no variation in the life-giving nature – I speak of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit – but a certain continuous and uninterrupted communion (τινα συνεχῇ καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον κοινωνίαν) is observed in them. (*Ad Petrum* 4. 45-50)

That Gregory intends to speak of a “communion” of persons here and not of a “community” of substance is indicated by the reference to the three persons. Moreover, after he has said that there is no difference in regard to the common attributes describing the nature, it does not make sense to add in the same sentence that there is “a *certain* communion” (emphasis added), because it would mean that actually there is a difference in the common nature. Consequently, the second part of the sentence should refer to the persons and their communion rather than to the nature.

Another argument in favor of Gregory’s discussing the communion of divine persons is to be found in the use of the term κοινωνία

itself. In this particular work, Gregory uses two terms to express the idea of something that is common: *κοινότης* and *κοινωνία*. Yet, whereas the former term is used in reference to substance or nature (see 2.7, 13; 3.9; 4.39,86; 5.48,62), the latter is used in reference to the divine persons (see 2. 15; 4. 33, 49, 84). Therefore, I propose to render *κοινότης* by “community,” and *κοινωνία* by “communion.” The passage just quoted above envisages the “communion of persons.”

Gregory then describes what would be called later the *perichoresis* existing among the divine persons. He says that, by contemplating the majesty of any one of the trinitarian persons, one arrives invariably at the other two persons, since “there is no interval (οὐδενὶ διαλείμματι) between Father and Son and Holy Spirit in which the thought will walk in a void” (4. 52-55). Although distinct, the divine persons are not separated from one another. Moreover, they imply one another: if one believes in any one of them, one has to accept and confess the other two also. Gregory wants to make his arguments sound as biblical as possible; therefore, he even quotes Rom 8:9 and Ps 119:131. Yet, perhaps the most important expression of Gregory’s teaching about the divine *perichoresis* and communion in *Ad Petrum* is to be found in the following:

[T]here is apprehended among these three a certain ineffable and inconceivable communion (*κοινωνία*) and at the same time distinction (*διάκρισις*), with neither the difference between their persons (*ὑποστάσεων*) disintegrating the continuity of their nature, nor this community of substance (*κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν κοινότητος*) confounding the individual character of their distinguishing notes.... [W]e devise a strange and paradoxical sort of united separation and separated union. (*Ad Petrum* 4. 83-91)

In this passage *κοινωνία* is clearly distinguished from *κοινότης*. It is exactly by this “communion” among the divine persons, I think, that Gregory manages to show that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are not mere individual “collections of properties,” but divine persons. In other words, it is the communion, relations and love among these persons that makes them persons.

#### *Father, Son and Holy Spirit As Relative Names*

The fact that the persons imply one another means that they are in

relation to one another. If one thinks of the Father, one implicitly thinks of this Father's Son and his Spirit; vice versa, if one thinks of the Son, one implicitly envisages the Father of this Son; similarly, in regard to the Spirit, "one who mentions the Spirit alone has embraced with it in this confession also him of whom the Spirit is" (*Ad Petrum* 4. 62 ff). Gregory of Nyssa does not elaborate further on what "relation" means in the case of divine persons. Nevertheless, all three Cappadocians conceive the divine persons as relational entities. Therefore, in order to have a more theoretical explanation of what they mean by "relation," I now turn to Gregory of Nazianzus who can provide some help.

In order to fight against the Eunomians and other Arians, the Cappadocians said that the reference to God could be made relatively.<sup>50</sup> Thus, names such as "father" or "son" cannot denote a substance, but must refer to another reality with which they are not identical. This idea allowed the Cappadocians to elaborate further the fundamental distinction in the Godhead between substance and persons. Gregory of Nazianzus writes: "'Father' is not a name either of a substance or of an energy.... But it is the name of a relation (ὄνομα σχέσεως), a name indicating the way in which the Father is in regard to the Son, and the Son in regard to the Father (τοῦ πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ὁ Πατήρ, ἢ ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα)."<sup>51</sup>

"Relation" or "relative" (πρὸς τί) is one of the ten categories listed by Aristotle in his *Categories*.<sup>52</sup> The examples Aristotle adduces for "relation" are "double," "half," "larger," but also "father-son" "masterslave" Stoicism has also four categories: "substance" (ὑποκείμενον, sometimes translated by "substratum"), "quality" (ποιόν), "disposition" (πῶς ἔχον) and "relative disposition" (πρὸς τί πῶς ἔχον). Examples of "relative dispositions" in Stoicism are "rightness" and "leftness," "fatherhood" and "sonship."<sup>53</sup> Yet, according to John Rist:

<sup>50</sup> Basil, *CEun* 2 9, 588B-589A (SC 305, ed B Sesboué with the collaboration of G -M de Durand and Louis Doutreleau [Paris Cerf, 1983]), Gregory of Nazianzus, Or 29 16, PG 36 93C-96B (*Discours 27-31* [*Discours theologiques*], ed Paul Gallay with the collaboration of Maurice Jourjon, SC 250 [Paris Cerf, 1978] 210)

<sup>51</sup> Or 29 16, PG 36 96A (SC 250, p 210)

<sup>52</sup> Aristotle, *Categories* 4, 1b26-2a1, ed J Barnes, vol 1, p 4

<sup>53</sup> Cf John Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1969)

[T]he Stoics were concerned to point out that relative dispositions are not simply relations (τὰ πρὸς τί). Relation is not a Stoic category, and many relatives in the Aristotelian sense of the term would not fall under the head of relative dispositions.... Relative dispositions are the relations of an individual thing to other individual things which are associated with it in the world, but on which its continuing existence as an entity does not depend.”<sup>54</sup>

Consequently, in the Stoic understanding, if a man’s children die, the man ceases to be a father (fatherhood being a relative disposition), but he does not cease to exist. Since Gregory of Nazianzus does not give further details specifying what he means by “relation,” and since the above Stoic example does not apply to divine fatherhood, I am inclined to believe that his concept of relation is a mixture of the Aristotelian category of “relation” and the Stoic category of “relative disposition,” despite Gregory’s Stoic language (πρὸς τί πως ἔχον) in the particular passage quoted above. In his introduction to Basil’s *CEun*, Bernard Sesboüé notes that, in using the categories, Basil employs either the Aristotelian or the Stoic categories, according to his needs.<sup>55</sup> This too was a current practice in the Cappadocians’ thought.

Father and Son, the names that best express the individual characteristics of the first two divine persons and the distinctions between them, are relative names; they indicate the relation in which each person is with the other. The problem of the Holy Spirit is more delicate, since it is not immediately evident why “spirit” is a relative name. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Gregory of Nazianzus does not take up discussing this issue in the *Theological Orations*. However, Gregory of Nyssa, based on Scripture, sketches an explanation for the Spirit, too. This attempt, mentioned at the beginning of this section, occurs in *Ad Petrum* 4. 62 ff.

### Conclusions

Having presented and analyzed Gregory of Nyssa’s *Ad Petrum fratrem de differentia usiae et hypostaseos*, I conclude that this treatise points to some factors that are essential for the understanding of

169.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Bernard Sesboüé, “Introduction” in Basil of Caesarea, *Contre Eunome*, ed. B. Sesboüé with the collaboration of G.-M. de Durand and Louis Doutreleau, SC 299 (Paris: Cerf, 1982) 78.

the concept of divine persons: 1) the relation of the divine persons to the divine *ousia* is similar to the relation between the individual and the universal; 2) a divine person is understood as a collection of properties, 3) the names of the divine persons are relational names, 4) the main differences among the divine persons are that the Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds forth from the Father, and 5) the divine persons are in a permanent and perfect communion with one another. Moreover, in contrast to a widespread and misinformed opinion of our century, the Cappadocians did not state a priority of the persons over the substance, but preferred to keep the two together when worshipping God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, as seen in Basil's *Ep.* 236, 6.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Global Vision of Proclaiming the Gospel

---

HIS BEATITUDE ANASTASIOS YANNOULATOS  
*ARCHBISHOP OF TIRANA AND ALL ALBANIA*

“May God be gracious to us and bless us and make his face to shine upon us” (Ps. 66/67:1). This verse within the Psalms is repeated by Orthodox Christians in the daily services of the Church. It summarizes our desire and our prayer. Nevertheless, this same Psalm has a second critical verse which usually remains unknown. Indeed, we absolutely need God to show pity towards us, to bless us and to have mercy upon us; we long for Him to reveal His face to us. But all these things do not stop with “us.” These blessings must not be confined to our own circle, as large as it may be. There exists a clear goal which must be fulfilled as a natural following and consequence of our having been blessed by God. And this something is that the way of salvation must be made known to the whole earth so that all peoples may share in the glorification of God. “That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving power among all nations. Let the peoples praise you, O God; let all the peoples praise you” (Ps. 66/67:2-3).

This hidden side of universality, which must accompany every demand for personal or collective blessings and salvation, is in a festive way illuminated and revealed in the vigils of Easter Sunday. It is also persistently repeated throughout Bright Week. In the second antiphon of the Paschal Liturgy, Psalm 66/67 in its entirety is interwoven with the prayer, “O Son of God, who are risen from the dead, save us.” It is within the light of the Resurrection especially, that the universal perspective and meaning of the Gospel of salvation is manifested.

This universal dimension is not something complementary; it is not an appendix to the Orthodox thought and conscience – something that, depending on our will, we take into consideration or not. This universal dimension forms (a) a most basic element of Orthodox teaching, and of Orthodox worship; and (b) a decisive factor of our ecclesiastical practice and life. These sides of our theme I shall try to develop.

THE GLOBAL VISION, A STEADY PERSPECTIVE OF THE GOSPEL,  
AND ITS CELEBRATION THROUGH ORTHODOX WORSHIP

*1. The Biblical Evidence*

From the first verse of the Old Testament, the global vision appears in biblical thought (“In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,” Gen. 1.1); it penetrates and seals it in the last chapters of the New Testament with the vision of the new heaven and the new earth. The Bible refers to the adventure of all humanity and its universal salvation. It is preoccupied with the entanglement of human freedom and human existence to the process of destruction and death of the entire world and transgression of it through the saving intervention of the God-man and His Second Coming. Steadily, the Bible maintains a universal perspective and dimension as its frame, even within its pages which extensively refer to particular issues, peoples or persons. Israel’s adventure extending through the ages, which is referred to in the books of the Old Testament foretelling the coming of the Messiah, leads to the salvation of all nations. Its story forms the way of realization for God’s plan concerning the whole world.

Especially in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and David’s Psalms, the ecumenical vision repeatedly occurs; e.g. “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof” (Ps. 23/24:1). “All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord; and all the families of the nations shall worship before him. For dominion belongs to the Lord, and He rules over the nations” (Ps. 21/22:27-28), “Praise the Lord, all nations! Extol Him, all peoples!” (Ps. 116/117:1).

From the beginning of the Gospel and onwards, a global meaning and message exists. Although the incarnation of the Word of God takes place in a specific place and time, and among a specific people, it embraces all of humanity. Without exception, Jesus Christ invites all people to His Kingdom, showing a special affection towards the

least, towards those that are suffering and being persecuted. And this great news and joy must be transmitted to every people and revive them. This is to be done without discrimination of race, language, and origin. Because the Word of God, through His Incarnation, assumes all of humanity, the depth of its essence, and not only something of its external shell.

By assuming human nature, the inaccessible God granted special value to the human body – this masterpiece of the creation – as well as to the whole creation, in which man participates organically. Matter does not form something that exists outside, parallel or independently of the Creator. Finally, the universality of the Gospel of Jesus Christ even transcends the meaning of the “all humanity”; it extends to the whole creation.

When Symeon embraced the eight-day old Jesus, he blessed God because his eyes saw the Savior that God had prepared “in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles...” (Lk. 2:31-32).

The teaching of Christ unfolded at a specific place and time, but it always had a universal and eschatological character. With complete clarity, the Lord declares that “this gospel of the kingdom will be proclaimed throughout the world as a testimony to all the nations; and then the end will come” (Mt. 24:14). While referring to the final judgement of humankind, He points to its universal frame: “When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne. Before him will be gathered all the nations” (Mt. 25:31-32).

Jesus Christ, the spiritual Sun, lights and revives the whole world: “He was the true light, which enlightens everyone who comes into the world” (Jn. 1:9). In many instances, the evangelist John proclaims that Jesus came “in order that the world might be saved through Him” (Jn. 3:17). Christ’s sacrifice on the cross, although it takes place at a specific place and time, was offered for the redemption and salvation of the whole human race. His Resurrection brings a definite liberation to the entire human race from the bonds of sin and death. The essential message of the Church is not only that Christ rose from the dead, but also that His victory has an overall importance for the whole of humanity, for human nature, which He assumed as a second Adam. Inasmuch as the disobedience, the sinning of the first Adam led to death all of humanity, in the same way the obedience through love

shown by Christ, the second Adam, up until the sacrifice of Himself on the cross, leads all of humanity to the resurrection. "Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep.... For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:20,22).

This light, which is emitted by the Resurrection, is not intended for some chosen people or nations. Nor is it confined only to them. This light must embrace everyone, without discrimination of nation, race, colour, language, and origin. He who has risen from the dead transforms all things, every form of life, relations and development. Through His Resurrection, He "raised humanity from the depths of Hades to the heaven." All human beings, all peoples have the right to participate in the victory, love, and joy of the Resurrection.

Through Christ's Resurrection "the whole visible and invisible world" is renewed and Christ receives "all authority in heaven and on earth." After the Resurrection, the horizon became the whole world. So, the disciples are given the order to turn towards "all nations" (Mt. 28:19), and to preach "to the whole creation" (Mk. 16:15).

The setting for the sending of the disciples is defined with absolute clarity just before the Ascension of the Lord. "... and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). The witness must be given in the specific places where the apostles were born and had lived until then, "and" to the end of the earth. In order to make this enormous jump from the local to the universal, the apostles needed to receive "power" (idem). The coming of the Holy Spirit, which continuously gathers the Church, strengthens the disciples, abolishes barriers that divide people, such as language and race, opens before the apostles the worldwide horizon for the transmission of the gospel of salvation "to the end of the earth." Each one of the apostles turns towards different and concrete directions. However, the apostolic vision remains firmly universal.

The writing of the Christian gospel and the first period of its spread into the world used the Greek language and culture. This is related with the fact that universality had been one of the main characteristics of this culture.

Quite often the letters of the apostle Paul underscored the ecumenical dimension and universality in relation to the mystery of the Church. God "has put all things under His (Christ's) feet and has

made Him the head over all things for the church, which is His body" (Eph. 1:22-23. Cf. Col. 2:10, "the head of all rule and authority", and Col. 1:18, "the head of the body, the church"). Christ dominates over all the universe, for "all things were created through Him and for Him..." (Col. 1:16). The words "each" and "all things" are repeated in the letters of Paul. "The grace" that was given to Paul is "to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable Christ, and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things through Jesus Christ" (Eph. 3:8-9). Thus, the work of the apostles in every time is the spreading of the "mystery," which consists of bringing salvation to all of humanity, within the Church, of which Christ is the head.

## 2. Ecclesiological perspective

Orthodox ecclesiology firmly moves towards this perspective of universality. Our Church, being "the Church of God," rooted in the life of the Holy Trinity, with its prayer and concern embraces all that He has created and for which He provides. Each local Church, being the gathering of all those who believe in Christ in a concrete place, witnesses and expresses the catholicity of the Church in that place and forms an eschatological "sign of the Kingdom of God" which dominates the universe and will be completed in the "eschaton."

According to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "The church is called *ekklesia*, because she calls all people and gathers them together." In the meaning of catholicity, St. Cyril includes the *ecumenical* as well as the *qualitative* dimensions. He writes, "The Church is called catholic (a) because she exists within the world, from one end of the earth to the other;" (b) "because she integrally and completely teaches all dogmas which must be made known to all people;" (c) "because she subjects every race of men to piety" independent of their social rank and education ("rulers and those being ruled, the scholars and the illiterate"); (d) "because she heals and cures every kind of sin...;" (e) and because she "possesses within her all that is called virtue, in deeds and words, and spiritual accomplishments."

All these sides enlighten particular views of the global vision concerning the proclaiming of the Gospel to the modern world. In our approaching the mystery of the Church as "communion," being guided by Trinitarian Theology, Christology, Pneumatology and Eschatology,

we always have before us the indisputable global vision. The Church was, is and will always be the body of Christ, who is "the fullness of him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23).

The global apostolic vision reaches its culmination in Paul's reference to the secret will of God, to "the mystery of his will" which is to be realized "as a plan for the fullness of time, to gather up all things in Him, things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph. 1:9-10). "All things" must be embraced and transformed by Christ. Nothing is to remain outside the radiance and influence of its global apostolic vision.

### *3. The Global Vision in Orthodox Worship*

All Orthodox worship steadily moves within this universal vision, which dominates Christian teaching. The rhythm of the daily and weekly Orthodox cycle of worship together with personal askesis vibrates with the certainty of the universality of salvation. Above all, this element is found vividly in the prayer delivered to us by the Lord. We beseech and reiterate daily: "Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." It is not simply that his will be done "on me" or "on us" but "on earth." Before Christians pray for daily bread, they must first focus upon the universal horizon. Immediate and personal concerns do not prevent the believers from seeing the global view, nor does the global view prevent them from dealing with daily realities.

In every Divine Liturgy, which forms the synopsis of the mystery of salvation, we begin our prayers with the petition "For peace in the whole world," and the Anaphora culminates with the offering of the precious Gifts "in all and for all." This sacrifice is offered "for the Ecumene, for the Catholic and Apostolic Church" (Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) which extends "to the ends of the earth" (Liturgy of St. Basil the Great). After holy communion, the priest offers incense, and expresses the Church's universal longing with the verse: "May you be raised up above the heavens, O God, and your glory above all the earth." The Divine Liturgy, while delivering us from the cares of our little egos, enlarges the horizons for us by helping us to live existentially the universality of the salvation in Christ. The liturgical revival, that has appeared in many Orthodox local Churches in this century, has contributed a great deal to regaining the conscience of

this global vision. But this will need to be made even more clear during our eucharistic gatherings and be experienced as well in our everyday life.

According to ancient tradition, the daily services are based especially on the Psalter, in which, as we have already referred to, the global vision is obvious. But also in the *Octoëchos* (*Paraklëtikë*), the basic hymnological text of our Church, the subject of the global vision of the salvation in Christ comes back in several troparia, for it is to be firmly fixed in the conscience of the believers. So it is in the troparia of the crucifixion of Wednesday and Friday, as well as in the apostolic troparia of Thursday, but particularly in for Easter, Saturday Vespers and Sunday Matins, (e.g. “Your resurrection, O Christ the Savior, has lighted up the universe” (Tone 2, Saturday Evening, *Apostichon*). “Come, all you nations, know the power of the awesome mystery. For Christ our Savior, the Word who was in the beginning, was crucified for us and was willingly buried, and was risen from the dead to save the universe” (Tone 3, Matins of Sunday).

All the great Orthodox feasts, celebrated throughout the year, intensely remind us of the ecumenicity and the universality of the Gospel. First, the biblical texts underline the truths we referred to above. The hymnology that comments on and develops the meaning of the great Orthodox festal cycles steadily points to the universal meaning of each feast. For example, in the feast of the Transfiguration, we sing characteristically: “Today on Tabor in the manifestation of Thy Light, O Word, Thou unaltered Light from the Light of the unbegotten Father, we have seen the Father as Light and the Spirit as Light, guiding with Light all of creation” (*Exapostilarion*).

The universal perspective is abundant in the troparia of the *Triodion*, and is particularly underlined in the *Pentëkostarion*. The global importance of the Cross and the Resurrection is interwoven with Orthodox hymnology. “Come, all ye faithful, let us worship Christ’s Holy Resurrection; for behold, through the Cross, joy has come to the whole world” (Hymn of Resurrection). The Paschal hymns steadfastly refer to the global vision of the Gospel. The Church, in ecstasy before the universal dimensions of the Resurrection, sings: “Today the whole creation, heaven and earth and under world are filled with joy. Let the whole universe celebrate the resurrection by which it was strengthened” (Easter Canon, Ode 3). The whole creation gets new light. “Through your resurrection, O Lord, the universe was illumi-



nated and Paradise was opened again; thus, the whole creation praising Thee, offers you daily hymns" (Tone 3, Bright Monday evening). The tradition, according to which the hymn "Christ is risen" and the Gospel at the Vespers of Agape are sung in different languages, proclaims the great truth, that the gospel of Christ is intended for all people everywhere and is to be preached in all languages. It is this that bridges disputes and contradictions, and brings brotherhood to nations, and peace, mutual respect and solidarity to the world community.

The ecumenicity of the Church also appears in the feast of Pentecost. The disciples receive the Holy Spirit in order to fulfil the commandment of Christ, that is to be witnesses of Him "to the end of the earth," "to attract the ecumene" (Dismissal hymn). The Holy Spirit will remain for ever He who is "ever present and fills all things." Nothing can remain outside His enlightening, purifying and sanctifying grace. "And through him the whole world is enlightened to worship the Holy Trinity" (*Exapostilarion*).

The Holy Spirit, who "gathers the whole institution of the Church," uninterruptedly grants all things, so that the mystery of salvation be preached in all the world. For that reason, the believers praise Him: "O, You, the Renovator of the universe, blessed are You" (Iambic Canon, ode 7). "Let us praise the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the universe" (Thursday of Pentecost, Vespers).

Finally, the feast of All Saints proclaims that those who receive the Holy Spirit and become sanctified belong to the ecumene. Their witness and martyrdom adorn the Church. "To You, O Lord, ... the universe offers the God-bearing martyrs as the first fruits of creation" (*Kontakion*).

The immediate conclusion from this short review is that the apostolic missionary perspective of the global vision predominates in Orthodox worship.

#### THE GLOBAL VISION IN ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION AND LIFE

But, while the global vision dominates in the preaching and the worship of the Orthodox Church, this vision does not have today a corresponding clarity and intense action in its everyday spirituality. If we want to be sincere in our self-criticism, we must accept that among the immediate ecclesiastical Orthodox interests, the national

issues of the different autocephalous Churches prevail, while the global vision of the proclamation of the Gospel still remains dim and weak. Indeed, the historical reasons which led us to this situation were quite important but we will not refer to them now. Nevertheless, today's reality imposes upon us to evaluate again what Orthodox theology and worship has already revealed to us.

### *1. Globalization – New Worldwide Problems*

Our generation experienced World War (1940-45), as well as the Cold War due to the competition of the two superpowers (1945-1990). With the collapse of the existing socialist regimes, the second war also came to an end and great expectations for a new period of peace in the world were created for humanity. Unfortunately, instead of the "New Order" that we were expecting, we find ourselves confronted with a "New Disorder," with many new problems which dominate humanity and create chaos. These are the new wars in several territories of our planet: the transfer of great masses of populations, the new pursuits of spreading atomic arms, and the newly established regimes that need guidance and assistance in their process of establishing a firm democratic system. In a parallel way, the gap between "North and South," between rich and poor countries continues to deepen. Within almost all countries social changes become more intense, with terrorism, the spread of drugs, and the damage of the environment. All these form new threats for humanity.

We continuously hear that we are in the process towards a world community. Science, technology, mass media, arts, commerce, and finance are moving within universal frames and are shaping a new, international culture. Moreover, a defining role is being played by the 2,000 multi-ethnic local and international news media organizations on the world stage. The influences among national traditions and local cultures, which, of course, were not absent in the past, are more intense in our days. New problems have also appeared presenting universal dimensions from the first moment of their creation, such as: the ecological one with the immediacy of its many critical sides for our planet; the issues arising from the developing bioethics and eugenics, the situations created out of the invasion of several products and applications of the electronic computers in our social and private life. These new issues tend to alter not only human relations

but the very essence of human life. At the same time, old problems, such as social exploitation and social injustice, are acquiring new forms and dimensions on multinational and intercultural levels.

The globalization of these issues demands that a new, universal, and global approach be undertaken by the national leaders as well as by "public opinion." But as a rule, the multidimensional size of the problems have not yet been realized by both parties and they remain absorbed by "their own" internal affairs. The great modern problems demand a new, holistic, universal approach. They form new challenges for theology and ecclesiastical conscience and action. They constitute the new, global, "multichorus" culture, within which we are called to proclaim the Christian message, a culture that must be oriented and transformed by the Gospel.

In front of these new world situations, we believers are not surprised. The teaching and worship of the Church have already opened our visual field and our heart's perception to the dimensions of the Ecumene. Especially now we have new possibilities, to face these global issues together with people from other cultures based on different religious beliefs. And these possibilities give us the opportunity for a new witnessing of the Gospel, in new situations, in new ways, penetrating into environments and influencing modes of thinking which have been closed to the Gospel until now. Thus, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, outside the classic "educational," preaching ways, may also be proclaimed as a proposal, as a display of its principles and of the "logic" of the Word of God. So, the new problems can be confronted through the personal witness of all those who have wholeheartedly received the Gospel and who live in Christ. But here on this scene we encounter the importance and the opportunity of the role of the laity and the need for creating new codes of communication with the worldwide environment. At the same time, the duty of the ecclesiastical leaders to think and act within a "catholic" and eschatological perspective becomes more pronounced.

## *2. Towards a New Code of Communication*

In the process of transmitting the Gospel to the modern world the relation and co-ordination between transmitter and receiver as well as the relation between message and code of communication should be carefully studied. Each culture has its own ways and "codes," that

are based upon and are mainly defined by the receivers, the situations of life, the structures of thinking, the new problems of every society, which in our case, is the new formation of world community. These codes of communication must not be faced as enigmas or threats, but as new language for transmission of the eternal message of the Gospel.

In order to confront this theme correctly, it will be needed for us to realize more intensely that the centre of our message is He "Who is and Who was and Who is to come, the Almighty" (Rev. 1:8). In many instances, Orthodox orientation concerning the transfer of the evangelical message looks at the past: to the Tradition, to the description of the marvellous things that God has completed for the sake of humankind. At the same time, however the Gospel unceasingly refers both to the present moment and to that which is to come, to the *eschata*. Without this eschatological perspective, the preaching of the Gospel loses its truth. The kingdom of God, which has already come, is coming, and is expected definitely to come, remains the center of the Christian message.

For a correct understanding of and approach to the modern receivers who will form the new code of communication, the role of the active lay members of the Church, is very essential and of first importance, because they are directly involved in modern science, finance, and social problems. It is a special blessing of God that lay people can be found leading a deep and genuine religious life in the frontiers of the modern world. Their experience, thoughts, methods, and intuitions form precious material for the creation of the new code of communication with the modern world. The same is valid also for persons of the arts, politics, journalism, and mass media. All these people, men and women, who live in the very heart of this search and form the new problems, are precious collaborators for the transmission of the Gospel. And they must be seriously invited to participate in this, living in a new way the secret of the "priesthood of the laity." Their contribution to the shaping of new codes of communication within the new world culture and the correct use of them will be decisive.

The Gospel of salvation, which is addressed to all peoples and transforms all things, cannot be proclaimed only by the clergy. All members of the Eucharistic community, those who through baptism and the Holy Eucharist partake of the Cross and the Resurrection of

Christ, are invited to and must participate in this transmission of the Gospel to the modern world. We find within the tradition of the Vigil of Easter an important symbol for the spread of the Christian message. First, the bishop or the priest sings "Come and receive the light from the unwaning light;" but immediately afterwards, all people take and transmit the Paschal light, men and women of all ages, of every educational or spiritual rank. In truth, modern people, who are often defined by absurdity, expect to hear and learn that the truth of the Resurrection can penetrate the darkness of their agonies and that it can give a meaning, hope, richness of love and power for life to the humanity.

This missionary activity is closely bound with the new problems. As in the past, during the period of development when the Gospel has to enter a new cultural reality and a local Church can create, this same Church makes a choice among different elements, some of which are adopted, others rejected, and still others transformed. Within our developing, contemporary culture, the Church will have to move towards the world in a similar way: sometimes in "communion," sometimes in confrontation, and at other times in giving the world a new orientation.

### *3. The Harmonization of the Local with the Universal Duty*

What has already been said is easily accepted by the Orthodox world today. As a rule, however, our interests are confined within the local, ethnic field. Thus, an astonishing depression emerges when we are called to pursue this global vision in new environments, transcending the classic frontiers of traditionally Orthodox countries and peoples. One of the more dangerous suspensions in the opening of the modern, ecumenical, apostolic responsibility of the Orthodox is usually created by the "wise" expression of classic popular wisdom, that counsels: "When your yard is thirsty, do not pour water outside it." Thus, all our strength is absorbed by our "courtyard" – which is defined, as a rule, by ethnic and local criteria. Only a few drops, and these rather due to evaporation, may water other "courtyards." This "logic," which in depth consists of an absurdity and a secret heresy, constitutes one of the weaknesses and sins of modern Orthodoxy. It appears on different levels: the parish, the diocese, the monastery and the autocephalous Church. "Our yard" cannot be other than "the

yard of Christ.” And this, according to what we had previously stated, is the whole world.

During the last four decades, serious attempts have been undertaken and significant progress has been accomplished for the growth of the awareness of the ecumenical dimension, and the missionary responsibility of the Orthodox Church. The title of the first missionary manifesto of the 1960s, “Indifference for mission means denial of Orthodoxy,” no longer sounds strange and heretical. The duty for an Orthodox world mission has, by now, been theologically justified. Nevertheless, that stone like “but,” considerably suspends the Orthodox missionary activity and acts as a brake upon it. Thus, action is absorbed by our own immediate, local needs. In many instances, we have tried to confront this argument, which as an invincible “virus” causes the body of the Church to be sick through the continuous infection of localism, leading to respiratory insufficiency and inertia.

The correct understanding and experience of our missionary duty in the local as well as in the worldwide framework, demand of today’s Orthodox a new style of life. Every form of polarization between locality and universality leads to a mistaken spirituality, which finally denies the Orthodox mind-set and ethos. This does not mean that all of us must hurry towards new missionary frontiers. But it does demand that more and more young people and adults make such resolutions. And mainly, what we ask is that the global vision of the preaching of the Gospel should inspire us towards the fulfilment of our missionary duty, in the place where the will of God has led us, and that we actively participate by thought, prayer, and practical contribution in activities which will make this global vision to be realized within our Churches.

Even in the monastic tradition, which vibrates by the cry “Come, Lord Jesus Christ,” the global vision cannot absent. In the absolute quietness of the ascetic life in the desert, one of the saints of our century, Saint Silouan, used to pray: “O Lord, make all the peoples of the earth to know Your love and the sweetness of the Holy Spirit, so that they forget the pains of the earth, abandon every evil thing, adhere to You with love and live peacefully doing Your will for Your glory.”

To the practical middle class way of thinking, which clings to the proverb “when your courtyard is thirsty...” we must pose the logic of the Gospel with its most decisive and heroic dynamism, as well as

the living tradition of the saints. In order to find yourself, you must open and offer yourself to the other. Because everything that remains closed to itself (a cell, man, parish, community, monastery, diocese, and local Church) comes to self-destruction. This has a universal application and meaning. It is especially confirmed within the life of the Church, the Body of Christ "the fullness of Him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23).

There is a key biblical text which defines the ecumenical character of the Orthodox witness and mission, and breaks every tendency of polarization between local and universal. This text records the last words of the Lord to His disciples, and is found in the Acts of the Apostles: "And you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

Every local Orthodox Church ought to have a special organized section for the co-operation, support and assistance of the weaker Orthodox Churches. The gifts possessed by each Church, ought to be utilized to help one another. In the last decades, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Patriarchate of Alexandria have included mission in their activities. Similarly in the Churches of Greece and of Finland, several considerable initiatives for external mission have developed. The Orthodox Christian Mission Center of America, which has lately developed an inter-Orthodox character, forms a special blessing in the realization of the vision and purpose that was communicated in the framework of the youth initiatives of *Syndesmos* and *Porefthendes* in the beginning of the 1960s. Something analogous must form a basic section of every Orthodox Church, for the help of the Orthodox Churches who are in greater need.

At first glance, this proposal appears to be quite modern, but it belongs to a very old patristic command. According to St. John Chrysostom: "The leader of the Church ought to care not only for the Church that has been entrusted to him by the Spirit, but also for the entire Church existing throughout the ecumene... If he must pray for the catholic Church which extends to the ends of Ecumene, he must all the more show care for the entire Church, concern for all Churches."<sup>1</sup>

#### *4. Essential Environments of Contemporary Orthodox Witness*

Within today's religious multiformity, the Orthodox Church is called to give, in a specific way, its apostolic witness in five basic

environments presenting particular situations. First, in the Muslim environment, where the four ancient Patriarchates live, and where the strong revival of Islam creates new vibrations. Second, in the former socialist environments, beforehand an organized atheistic one, where exciting new classifications are being realized. Third, in the secularized environment of the West, where the Orthodox for the most part are in small percentage in "Diaspora." Fourth, in the complex environments of the Third World of Africa and Asia, where considerable Orthodox openings have been created in the last decades. There exists a fifth environment which has a distinct peculiarity and is interrelated with the previous two. I mean the special inter-church environment where we give an Orthodox witness within the modern ecumenical movement – our theological, liturgical, and ecclesiastical contribution towards the evolution of the Christian world of our time. It is something that will have serious results on the whole Christian mission and its encounter with people belonging to other religions. In order to remain faithful to the ecumenical dimension of Orthodoxy and our apostolic/missionary responsibility, we Orthodox, with prophetic boldness and vigilance, with the ascetic bravery of the saints, ought to be united in giving our witness to all those fronts, according to the last command of our Lord, and especially according to his final words "and to the ends of the earth."

An now, please allow me a personal note. The experience of these last years in Albania has revealed to me the kind of surprises God reserves for us in our effort to live the global vision of the spreading of the Gospel. During the first phase of my missionary search and diakonia, the words "to the ends of the earth" were rather colored by geographical meanings – the depths of Africa or Asia. I had never thought that "the ends of the earth" could be so near geographically. That it could be in Albania, where for decades the breath of Hades reigned, where they had crucified and buried Christ again, and where an obstinate communist regime socially and spiritually brought the country to the ends of the earth. In this second half of the 20th century, the Albanian state proclaimed with statements from conferences and with articles in the country's Constitution that God died definitively. In Africa or Asia, at least people never stopped addressing God, in their own way, as a supreme reality.

Today, I think, Albania is a microcosm within the macrocosm of the modern ecumene, to which we made reference to. The majority



of the population, traditionally – before the Communist regime – belongs to Muslim families. This fact causes the situation to present similarities with what the ancient Orthodox Patriarchates face. The large majority of the people, including the new generation, are still imbued with the theories of Marxist atheism, which for almost fifty years dominated the country. This is an element that makes them rather close with the other former socialist countries. Through the recent democratic and financial changes, a speedy secularization is creating problems and situations similar to those that are faced by the Orthodox Churches living in western cultural areas. At the same time, the financial situation is so low that it is creating phenomena known mainly in the Third World.

Concerning the activities of different religious communities in Albania, I would say, as an indication only, that the Roman Catholic Church (representing about 10% of the population and less than half the number of Orthodox) is being helped by 200 foreign priests, monks, nuns, and hundreds of foreign lay persons; Protestants (which comprise less than 0.5% of the population) are helped by 450 foreign missionaries and more than 2,000 short-term missionaries during this summer; Muslims are helped by several hundred from outside Albania; while the Orthodox Church, representing the majority of Christians in Albania, is aided by six priests, three nuns, three laymen and three lay women, all foreigners. The grace of God has given other solutions, however. Sixty-five new Albanian clergy have been ordained, and Leagues of Orthodox Youth, Orthodox Women and Orthodox Intellectuals undertake missionary initiatives. So our Lord is granting us blessings in the ongoing restoration of the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania from the ruins.

### *Conclusion*

The global vision is the correct Orthodox framework for everything that we do or transmit on the local, parochial level. There exists no correct understanding of the living Orthodox tradition when this perspective of universality is missing. This is not a vision we observe as spectators, but an area of existence, of thought, of acting, within which we live. The faithful live with “a burning heart for the sake of the whole creation,”<sup>2</sup> according to the expression of Isaac the Syrian.

He who looks doxologically at the mystery of the Holy Trinity, the almighty God, the Creator and keeper of all things, has an interest for

“all” (*ta panta*). He who has become one body with Christ, tries to think and feel as Him, “who desires all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth” (1 Tim. 2:4). He who receives the Holy Spirit, becomes inspired from the universality of His action. We address ourselves to the All-holy Spirit in the beginning of each Orthodox Service and ask Him to come and to live with us. But this finally means that we are ready to be co-ordinated with Him. A person bearing the Spirit (*pneumatophoron*) thinks, feels and acts with a universal perspective. His reflection, his prayer, his interests and efforts acquire a worldwide horizon. The Holy Spirit, like the rush of a violent wind, carrying away the small air-tight-self, opens our horizons to the ecumene. The Holy Spirit is not offered for personal possession or enjoyment. “Spiritual life,” without prayer, witness and missionary diakonia is pure contradiction.

The Psalm with which we began may form a summary of our subject and a constant remembrance of it. We beseech with intensity in our daily prayers, that “God may be gracious to us and bless us and make His face to shine upon us.” However, a genuine Orthodox spiritual life is realized and completed within the wider global frame, which the Psalm defines: “that your way may be known upon earth, your saving power among all nations. Let the peoples praise you, O God; let all the peoples praise you.” I propose that we add these verses to our daily prayer, considering the new dimensions that were given to these verses by the Resurrection of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit to the Ecumene, as well as by the witness of twenty centuries of saints who have experienced the Gospel. “Let the peoples praise you, O God; let all the peoples praise you.”

<sup>1</sup> PG 50,602.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac the Syrian, *Sermon* 85.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

CTS  
Y 18 Regional  
Library

# THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

---

**Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew:** Pure Orthodoxy

**Archbishop Spyridon of America:** 1997 Commencement Address

**Metropolitan Panteleimon:** Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church and the  
Manner which It Is Declared: The Orthodox Church in Montenegro

**Bishop Vsevolod of Scopelos:** Reflections on Balamand

**Christos S. Voulgaris:** The Holy Trinity in Creation and Incarnation

**Konstantine Nikolakopoulos:** The Language of the New Testament  
as an Example for the Historical Unity of the Greek Language

**George D. Martzelos:** The Unity of Biblical and Dogmatic Theology

**Dorothea Wendebourg:** "Pseudomorphosis:" A Theological Judgement  
as an Axiom for Research in the History of Church and Theology

**Abe Attrep:** From the Old to the New: Some of St. Gregory of Nyssa's  
Teachings and The Modern Era

**Demetrios G. Tsamis:** The Life of St. Ilaria

**Proceedings:** International Conference on Mission and Evangelism

**Book Reviews**

**In Memoriam:** Dr. Demetrios Zacharopoulos

---

# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

---

Volume 42

Fall-Winter 1997

Numbers 3-4

Published by

---

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

---

Hellenic College

---

## THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

50 Goddard Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts, 02445 USA

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review (GOTR) is published quarterly by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, MA to promote theological study and scholarly discussion regarding the Orthodox Church, its history, theology, and liturgical practice with emphasis on the Greek Orthodox Tradition

The GOTR is printed and distributed by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press of Hellenic College, Inc., and is normally issued in March, June, September, and December. The GOTR publishes papers and reviews in the fields of Theology, Biblical and Patristic Studies, Church History, Byzantine History, and related classical, archaeological, and philosophical studies. Articles and books for review submitted should be addressed to the Editor.

Two copies of any article should be submitted for consideration. Articles should be in a form suitable for publication. The text should be double-spaced, as should the notes, which are to be placed at the end of the manuscript. When an article is accepted for publication, the author will be expected to provide a high-density 3.5 floppy disk with the revised form of the document.

Apple/Macintosh™ users should save the file as either a Microsoft Word™ file or WordPerfect™ file. IBM™ and compatible users should submit manuscripts as a Word for Windows™, WordPerfect for Windows™, Microsoft RTF or ASCII file. Manuscripts and disks will not be returned unless specifically requested. The GOTR will not consider materials that have been published (except for translations of significant studies from other languages) or that are being considered for publication elsewhere.

Authors are strongly advised to request the *GOTR Style Sheet* and conform their article format to the style sheet. A copy can be obtained from the Business Manager.

Ideas and opinions expressed in articles and reviews appearing in the GOTR are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the ideas and opinions of the Editor, the Advisory Editorial Committee, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Hellenic College, Inc., or the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

The GOTR offers the following subscriptions: Regular – \$25.00, Outside the USA – \$30.00. Requests for subscriptions, back issues, and advertising should be addressed to the Business Manager, GOTR, 50 Goddard Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts 02445.

Any available back issues, Vols. 1-41 (1954-1996) may be purchased at the following rates: individual issues \$5.00, double issues \$7.00, annual issues \$14.00. Out-of-print issues are available from Xerox University Microfilm, Serials Coordinator, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106.

© Copyright 1999, Holy Cross Orthodox Press

Printed in the United States of America

ISSN 0017-3894

---

# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

---

*Published with the blessings of*  
His Eminence Archbishop SPYRIDON  
*Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America*

*Editor*  
Protopresbyter George Dion Dragas, Ph.D.

*Advisory Editorial Board*  
*The President*  
Very Reverend Archimandrite Damaskinos Ganas  
*And the Faculty of*  
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology





## Contents

---

Editor's Note	
FR. GEORGE DION DRAGAS	191

### Addresses

Pure Orthodoxy: A Quest of the Times	
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW	195
1997 Commencement Address	
ARCHBISHOP SPYRIDON OF AMERICA	203

### Articles

#### *Canonical Issues*

Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church and the Manner in Which It Is Declared: The Orthodox Church in Montenegro	
PROF. PANTELEIMON (RODOPOULOS) METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION	213
Reflections on Balamand	
BISHOP VSEVOLOD OF SCOPELOS	221

#### *Scripture*

The Holy Trinity in Creation and Incarnation	
PROF. CHRISTOS S. VOULGARIS	245
The Language of the New Testament as an Example for the Historical Unity of the Greek Language	
DR. KONSTANTINE NIKOLAKOPOULOS	259

#### *Patristics: Cappadocian Fathers*

Introduction to the Liturgical Theology of St. Basil the Great	
PROF. GEORGE S. BEBIS	273
From the Old to the New: Some of St. Gregory of Nyssa's Teachings and The Modern Era	
PROF. ABE ATTREP	287

The anti-Apollinarist Christology of St. Gregory of Nyssa: A First Analysis FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS	299
<i>Systematic Theology</i>	
The Unity of Biblical and Dogmatic Theology PROF. GEORGE D. MARTZELOS	315
“Pseudomorphosis:” A Theological Judgement as an Axiom for Research in the History of Church and Theology PROF. DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG	321
A Roman Catholic Point of View about the Limits of the Church: The Article of Prof. Phidas and the Roman Catholic Point of View FR. CHARLES MOREROD, O.P.	343
<i>Church History</i>	
Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea and his “Life of Constantine”: A Heretic’s Legacy K. R. CONSTANTINE GUTZMAN	351
Problematic Sources: A Survey of Recent Scholarship Concerning Ambrose of Milan and the Defeat of Western Homoianism GEORGE DEMACOPOULOS	359
Immanence and Transcendence through Seven Councils DR. SOTERIOS A. MOUSALIMAS	375
<i>Translations</i>	
The Life of St. Ilaria PROF. DEMETRIOS G. TSAMIS	381
 <b>Mission Conference</b>	
Introduction to the Proceedings DR. ANTON C. VRAME	397
The Global Vision of Proclaiming the Gospel ARCHBISHOP ANASTASIOS (YANNOULATOS) OF ALBANIA	401
Receiving and Professing the Spirit of Adoption in Christ in the Contemporary Age FR. GEORGE LIACOPULOS	419

The Uniqueness of Jesus Christ and Other Religions DR. JAMES S. CUTSINGER	427
The Task of the Church to Evangelize the World FR. ALEXANDER VERONIS	435
Approaching the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Evangelism FR. ALKIVIADIS C. CALIVAS	445
The Nature of Evangelism FR. JOHN REEVES	469
Vision for Missionary Education at Orthodox Seminaries FR. STANLEY S. HARAKAS	477
Evangelizing Non-Christians FR. DANIEL BAAMBANG DWI BYANTORO	499
Traditional Methods for Mission and Evangelism FR. LUKE A. VERONIS	515
Evangelism and Culture FR. MICHAEL J. OLEKSA	531
Missionary Challenges in Post-communist Contexts FR. IOAN SAUCA	539
Bringing Back the Prodigal: Evangelism and Revival in North American Orthodoxy How Can it be Accomplished? FRANK SCHAEFFER	545

## Book Reviews

Stylianos G. Papadopoulos, <i>Πατρολογία, τόμος Β' – Patrology vol. II</i> (George S. Bebis)	563
Nicos Nissiotis, <i>Θρησκεία, Φιλοσοφία και Ἀθλητισμὸς σὲ Διάλογο, Ἀναμνηστικός – Religion, Philosophy and Sport in Dialogue, In Memoriam</i> (Fr. George Dion. Dragas)	565

Chrysostomos S. Constantinides (Metropolitan of Ephesus), <i>Ἡ Ἀναγνώριση τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἑτεροδόξων στὶς διαχρονικὲς σχέσεις Ὁρθοδοξίας καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ – The Recognition of the Sacraments of the heterodox in the diachronic relations of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism</i> (Fr. George Dion. Dragas)	569
Soterios Mpalatsoukas, <i>Οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ τὸ φυσικὸ περιβάλλον – The Saints and the natural environment</i> (Fr. George Dion. Dragas)	572
G. N. Philias, <i>Ὁ τρόπος ἀναγνώσεως τῶν εὐχῶν στὴ λατρεία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας – The manner of reading the prayers in the worship of the Orthodox Church</i> (Fr. George Dion. Dragas)	573
Evangelos Galanis (Metropolitan of Perga), <i>Ἐκ Φαναρίου Β', Αἰδίνητον Ὑφλημα – From the Phanar II, An Ever-rolling Debt</i> (Fr. George Dion. Dragas)	577

## Obituary

In Memoriam - Dr. Demetrios Zacharopoulos DR. GEORGE S. BEBIS	579
--	-----

<b>Contributors</b>	583
---------------------	-----

---

## Editor's Note

---

As a new Editor I owe a word of apology to the subscribers and contributors of the GOTR for the delays that have occurred in producing our Review in recent years. Unfortunately the illness and passing of the late colleague Fr. N. Michael Vaporis who had been Editor of this Review for a number of years, as well as the changes in administration that have recently occurred in our institution hampered production and caused the existing delays. My immediate predecessor Fr. Stanley Harakas inherited the problem which was passed on to me. This present double issue completes volume 42 of the year 1997. A single large volume is being prepared at the moment in lieu of the four usual issues, which should have been produced last year. We have planned to complete this 1998 volume by this April so that production of issues for the current year may commence at the beginning of the coming summer 1999 and continue thenceforth on a regular basis.

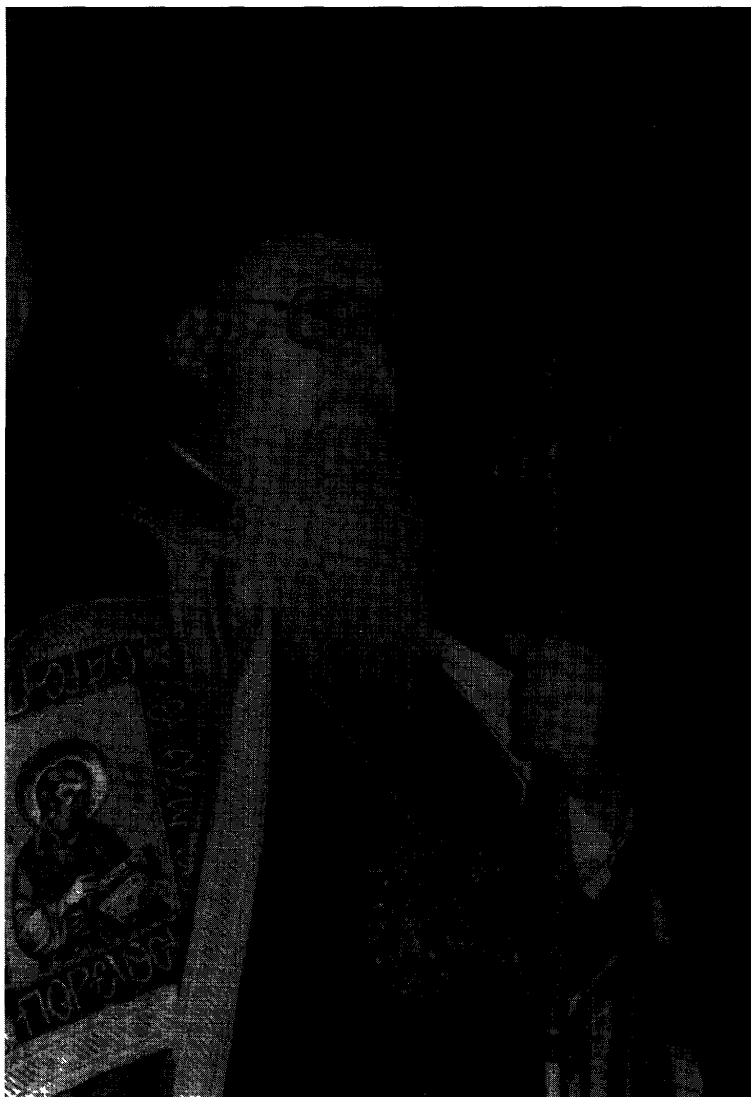
The present volume follows the general pattern and format of the previous volumes, the only difference being a topical classification which has been introduced in the table of contents for the purpose of providing more cohesion and focus. Thus, this issue includes two important 1997 Addresses which were delivered by His All-Holiness our Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and His Eminence our Archbishop Spyridon at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology on two most memorable occasions, as well as essays on Canon Law, Scripture, Patristics, Systematics and Church History. We have introduced a new section on translations which we intend to expand so as to include important texts from the Fathers of the Orthodox Church history not translated hitherto into English. Finally, there is a section on the proceedings of a Mission Conference which took place at our School in the summer of 1995, which has

been prepared with the assistance of Dr. Anton C. Vrame.

A warm vote of thanks is due to Fr. Stanley Harakas, the outgoing Editor of our Review, for his invaluable and professional work. Last but not least we want to thank His Eminence our Archbishop who has given his support and blessing for the continuation of this important educational tool of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

## ADDRESSES



His All Holiness Bartholomew  
Ecumenical Patriarch  
Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome





## ARTICLES

















PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON MISSION AND EVANGELISM  
AUGUST 6-11, 1995



---

## Introduction to the Proceedings

---

From August 6 - 11, 1995, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology co-sponsored with the Orthodox Christian Mission Center of St. Augustine, Florida an International Conference on Mission and Evangelism. The Conference brought together 107 hierarchs, clergy, theologians, missionaries, and mission-minded individuals from twelve countries to exchange ideas and concerns about the Orthodox theology and praxis of mission and evangelism. The Conference was grateful to have been able to cooperate with the World Council of Churches Unit II – Mission, Education, and Witness, which organized a panel on Gospel and Culture for the Conference. The WCC also invited a number of Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox theologians and missionaries to a “brainstorming” meeting in preparation for the WCC Conference on Mission and Evangelism that was held in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil in 1996. The involvement of the WCC added significantly to the global perspective of the Conference. The Conference participants enjoyed the hospitality of the Hellenic College and Holy Cross community, participating in daily worship, and the fellowship of campus and dormitory life. During the Conference, the participants had the opportunity to hear academic papers, participate in workshops, as well as visit historic Plymouth, Massachusetts, Plimoth Plantation, the living museum of the Plymouth Colony of 1620, and the Panagia Greek Orthodox Church of Cohasset, Massachusetts for evening services.

The program of speakers for the Conference was the following:

### *Sunday August 6*

Greetings – His Grace Bishop Methodios (Tournas) of Boston (now Metropolitan of Aneon)

Greetings – Rev. John Chakos, President, Orthodox Christian Mission Center

Keynote Address – “The Global Vision of Proclaiming the Gospel,” – His Beatitude Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) of Tirana and All Albania

*Monday August 7*

“Receiving and Professing the Spirit of Adoption in Christ in the Contemporary Age” – Rev. George Liacopulos

“The Uniqueness of Jesus Christ and Other Religions” – James S. Cutsinger

“The Task of the Church to Evangelize the World” – Rev. Alexander Veronis

Workshop – How to Begin and Finance a Mission Parish – Anne B. Thomas

Workshop – The Parish as a Locus for Evangelism – Rev. Constantine Nasr

“Approaching the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Evangelism” – Rev. Alkiviadis Calivas

*Tuesday August 8*

“The Nature of Evangelism” – Rev. John Reeves

“Vision for Mission Education at Orthodox Seminaries” – Rev. Stanley Harakas

“Evangelizing non-Christians” – Rev. Daniel Byantoro

“Methods and Training for Evangelism” – Rev. Luke Veronis

Workshop – How to Begin and Finance a Mission Parish – Anne B. Thomas

Workshop – The Parish as a Locus for Evangelism – Rev. Constantine Nasr

*Wednesday August 9*

“Evangelism and Culture” – Rev. Michael Oleksa

“Missionary Challenges in Post-Communist Contexts” – Rev. Ioan Sauca

“Except for these Chains: Evangelism, Dialogue, Tolerance” – Rev. Thomas Hopko

*Thursday August 10*

Plenary Session “Gospel in Culture” – Rev. Ioan Sauca, Rev. Nicholas Apostola, Rev. Thomas FitzGerald

“Bringing Back the Prodigal: Evangelism and Revival in North American Orthodoxy – How Can it be Accomplished?” – Frank Schaeffer

“Evangelizing Fallen Christians” – Rev. Peter Gillquist

*Friday August 11*

Participants in the WCC brainstorming meeting: Bp. Viken Aykazian; Bp. Jeremiah of Wroclaw and Szczecin; Bp. Ioann of Belgorod; Rev. Dr. K. M. George; Rev. D. Couchell (now Bishop of Xanthos); Rev. Dr. E. Clapsis; Rev. N. Apostola; Rev. D. Byantoro; Mr. M. Yurokov; Mr. A. Stephen Hayes; Rev. Dr. T. FitzGerald; Rev. Dr. I. Sauca.

The papers that were received and distributed at the Conference are presented in the following pages.

Anton C. Vrame  
Conference Coordinator















---

## Book Reviews

---

Stylianos G. Papadopoulos, *Πατρολογία, τόμος Β' (Patrology vol. II)*, (Athens, 1990) pages 757.

This massive volume by Dr. Stylianos Papadopoulos, Professor of Patrology at the School of Theology of the National and Cappodistrian University of Athens, shows the power of articulation, the broad knowledge, and the deep understanding of the Fathers of this distinguished Orthodox lay theologian and author. It proves my point that the study of the Fathers during the second half of this century, has to a large extent been taken over by Greek Orthodox theologians in Greece.

The memorable work on Patrology which began by the late, brilliant Professor of Patrology Dr. Panayotis Chrestou, of the School of Theology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece), has been continued through the production of such splendid Patristic works like this volume of Professor Papadopoulos. Professor Moutsoulas, Professor Zisis, Professor Tsamis, Professor Pseutongas, Professor Orphanos and others have shown that the Greek Orthodox scholars who study the Fathers have reached the excellence of European and American patrologists.

Thus, Professor Papadopoulos' second volume of *Patrology* belongs to this excellent series of academic products of Greek Orthodox scholarship. As he did in his first volume, so here Professor Papadopoulos has put aside the formal analysis of the Patristic material by initiating a rather original, more Orthodox approach. He first presents an analysis of the theological thought and contribution of each Father, and then he proceeds to the biographical information, to a detailed account of the writings of the Father under investigation and, finally, to an extensive and at times quite exhaustive bibliography. The theological analysis is painstaking and in depth and redresses the imbalance that has existed in previous patrologies.

As a first example of Dr. Papadopoulos' originality, we may turn to his account of St. Athanasius, where he engages right away in a profound discussion of this Father's famous dictum that "Christ became man so that we may become divine." Then, he goes on to discuss in an admirable way the Christological debate between St. Athanasius and Arius, as well as St. Athanasius' doctrine of the Holy Spirit. As a second example we may turn to his treatment of St. Basil the Great. Here he discusses the problems prevailing in that age, St. Basil's complete attachment to the evangelical truth and, especially, his understanding of the "theology of beauty," as he put it so succinctly. St. Basil's contribution to monastic life and spirituality, as well as his liturgical constructions and customs are also presented very successfully. Professor Papadopoulos' discussion of Gregory of Nyssa is most interesting and very significant, if one is reminded of the fact that many old and contemporary scholars have so often misunderstood Gregory of Nyssa on several of his points of doctrine.

Generally speaking Dr. Papadopoulos analyses in an objective and scholarly manner the "eclectic use" of Greek philosophy by the fathers of the Church, their choice of linguistic structures and their impressive theological terminology. It would take much space to describe in detail this enormous book of Professor Papadopoulos. At this point, however, it should be added that he includes in his patrology less known Fathers and/or ecclesiastical authors even to specialists, as for instance, Aetius the Sophist, or Titus of Bostra, etc, etc.

I only hope that this second volume—and, for that matter, even the first one—is not used as textbook for students of Theology in the manner that textbooks are used in Greece. The vast amount of information and the many biographical and bibliographical minutia make these works of Professor Papadopoulos invaluable reference books for professors and research students alike, but not textbooks for undergraduates.

In any case congratulations are due to Professor Papadopoulos for his astonishing and admirable contribution to the study of the Fathers of the Church which he has made with his Patrology. He has put us in his debt not only for his literary and scholarly achievements, but also for the fact that he approaches the Fathers of the Church with a pious soul full of humility and divine illumination.

George S. Bebis

Nicos Nissiotis, *Θρησκεία, Φιλοσοφία καὶ Ἀθλητισμὸς σὲ Διάλογο, Ἀναμνηστικός* (*Religion, Philosophy and Sport in Dialogue, In Memoriam*), (Athens, 1994) pages 414.

This weighty volume of contributions by distinguished scholars from all over the world is a most fitting memorial to the late Nicos Nissiotis (1924-1986), a most notable, competent and brilliant Greek Orthodox theologian/philosopher of the twentieth century who brought Greek theological thought to bear upon contemporary European thought in various fields and especially in the field of ecumenical theology. Graduate of Theology from Athens University with *summa cum laudae*, Nissiotis studied theology, psychology and philosophy in various European Universities—including Durham, Zürich, Basel and Louvain—under great professors as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Carl Jung, Carl Jaspers and others. He became Professor at the Universities of Geneva and Athens and visiting Professor in several Universities around the world. His career, academic, ecumenical and athletic, as well as his numerous publications, books and articles are described and fully listed in the first chapters of this volume. They indicate a tremendous activity of a person who is so fittingly described in the Preface—written by his wife—as a “rare man, the polite, smiling, gentle professor who loved even the worst student (provided he would try to learn), who listened with endless patience to anything strange and then tried through dialogue to make the others think, but also the athlete, who since his childhood considered sport as an integral part of life, the effort in competition as joy, and being with fellow athletes as happiness.” The book consists of three parts, which include essays on a) Theology and Philosophy, b) Olympism and Sport and c) Contemporary Ecumenical Theology and Olympism. A list of the contributors and their contributions—English translations wherever necessary have been put in brackets—will suffice to show the magnitude of this man, multifaceted career and work:

Part I includes the following essays: 1) His Holiness Bartholomaeos I, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, “Die Kirche als Herausforderung der Säkularisierung” (=The Church as a Challenge to Secularism); 2) Bishop Dr. Joachim Held, “Leiter der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland: Das Evangelium kommt nach Europa,” (=A Guide to the Evangelical Church in Germany); 3) Professor Dr. Med. Gaetano Benedetti (University of Basel), “Religiöse

Phänomene in psychoanalytischer, psychiatrischer und psychotherapeutischer Sicht," (=Religious Phenomena in psychoanalytic, psychiatric and psychotherapeutic perspective); 4) Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann (University of Basel), "Die einigende und diversifizierende Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes nach dem Neuen Testament," (=The unified and diversified operation of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament); 5) Professor Dr. Hans Küng (University of Tübingen), "Karl Barth und die katholische Theologie," (=Karl Barth and the Roman Catholic Theology); 6) Professor Dr. Jürgen Moltmann, (University of Tübingen), "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes und die Sendung der Kirche," (=The Lordship of God and the Commission of the Church); 7) Archbishop Anastasios of Albania, "Your will be done." - Mission in Christ's Way;" 8) Metropolitan Dr. Paulos Mar Gregorios (President of the World Council of Churches), "The Orthodox Church facing other religions and ideologies;" 9) Prof. Dr. Metropolitan Demetrios of Vresthena (Holy Cross School of Theology, Brookline Mass), "Isaiah 6, 1-9: Five aspects of prayer;" 10) Arier Brouwer (General Secretary of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York), "A memorial Essay in Honor of Prof. Dr. Nikos Nissiotis;" 11) Dr. Emilio Castro [(1985 - 1993), General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Geneva], "Vital contributions of Nikos Nissiotis to the Ecumenical Movement;" 12) Professor Dr. Milan Opocensky (Comenius Faculty of Protestant Theology, Prague), "Concerning a Theology of Resistance;" 13) Professor Dr. Wolfhart Pannenberg (University of München), "The Lutheran Church in an Ecumenical Age;" 14) Professor J. K. S. Reid (Edinburgh), "Oneness and Diversity;" 15) Professor Todor Sabev, [Deputy General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, (1979 - 1991) Geneva], "Catholicity and conciliarity with their implications for Unity today;" 16) Rev. Professor Dumitru Staniloae (Bucarest), "Some characteristic features of Orthodoxy;" 17) Professor Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh), "The Trinitarian Theology of Nicolas Nissiotis;" 18) Professor R. I. Zwi Werblowsky (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), "The mystical theology of the Eastern Church and of Judaism: some analogies;" 19) Professor Francois Bovon (Harvard University), "Apocalypse 1, 4-6. Predication;" 20) Professeur Ion Bria (University of Bucarest), "Le sens du renouveau dans l'Orthodoxie," (=The sense of renewal in the Orthodox Church); 21) Professor Pere Jean-Marie van Gangh (Catholic University of



Louvain-la-Neuve), “Le Règne de Dieu pour les pauvres,” (=The reign of God for the poor); 22) Professeur Jean-Louis Leuba (University of Neuchatel), “Autour de la théologie politique: quelques mises au point,” (=Concerning political theology: some clarifications); 23) Professeur Evangelos Moutsopoulos (Academy of Athens), “Le Merveilleux Artistique dans les mythes de Platon,” (=The amazing artistry in the myths of Plato); 24) Professeur Gabriel Widmer (University of Geneva), “La contribution de Nikos Nissiotis au Dialogue «Reforme - Orthodoxie»” (=The contribution of Nicos Nissiotis to the Dialogue between Reformation and Orthodoxy); 25) Professor Elias Voulgarakis (University of Athens), “Πρώτα ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὕστερα ὁ Θεός” (=Man first and God afterwards); 26) Professor Christos Yannaras (Panteios University of Athens), “Ἡ ὄντολογικὴ προϋπόθεση τοῦ ἀποφατισμοῦ” (=The ontological presupposition of Apophaticism); 27) Professor Michael Makrakis (University of Athens), “Οἱ δύο ὄψεις τῆς θρησκείας στὴν Φιλοσοφία τοῦ Κίρκεγκαρντ” (=The two sides of religion in the philosophy of Kierkegaard); 28) Professor Nikolaos Matsoukas (University of Thessaloniki), “Ἡ ὑπαρξιακὴ ἐνότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου στὴ βυζαντινὴ θεολογία καὶ φιλοσοφία” (=The existential unity of man in Byzantine theology and philosophy); 29) Professor Marios Begzos (University of Athens), “Ὁ Ν. Νησιώτης καὶ ἡ νεοελληνικὴ φιλοσοφία τῆς θρησκείας” (=Nikos Nissiotis and the Neohellenic Philosophy of Religion); 30) Dr Alexandros Papaderos (Director of the Orthodox Academy of Crete), “Κριτήρια γιὰ τὴν ἀναδιοργάνωση τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὸν Ν. Νησιώτη” (=Criteria for the reorganization of ecclesiastical education according to Nikos Nissiotis); 31) Antonios Papantoniou (Athens), “Ἡ ἔννοια τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως στὸν Μάρξ, Μία ἐκκοσμικευμένη θρησκευτικὴ κατηγορία” (=The sense of alienation in Marx: a secularized religious category); 32) Professor Markos Siotis (Academy of Athens), “Μυστήριον μέγα ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ” (=The Great Mystery of the Church of Christ).

Part II includes the following essays: 1) IOC-Mitglied, Willi Daume (Ex-President of the National Olympic Committee of Germany, Munich), “Olympische Erziehung” (=Olympic Upbringing); 2) Professor Dr. Norbert Muller (President of the National Olympic Academy of Germany, Mainz), “Die philosophischen und pädagogischen Dimensionen olympischer Erziehung auf der

Grundlage der Aussagen Pierre de Coubertins" (=The philosophical and pedagogical Dimensions of olympic upbringing on the basis of the statements of Peter de Coubertins); 3) Professor Dr. Hans Lenk (University of Karlsruhe); "The essence of Olympic Man towards a philosophical anthropology of Olympism," 4) Dr. Otto Szymiczek (for many years Dean of the International Olympic Academy in Ancient Olympia), "National symbols at the Olympic Games."

Finally, part III includes the following essays: 1) Professor Lukas Vischer (Evangelische Arbeitsstelle Oekumene Schweiz, Genf), "Grenzgänger zwischen Ost und West" (=Moving between East and West); 2) Archbishop Iakovos of North and South America (New York), "Be truthful in love;" 3) Dir. John B. Cobb Jr., and Exec. Dir. David Ray Griffin (Center for Process Studies, Cleremont, Cal.), "Nicolas Nissiotis and Process Theology;" 4) Paul A. Crow Jr. (President of the Council on Christian Unity of the Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis), "Orthodoxy, Friendship and Nikos;" 5) Professor John Deschner (Southern Methodist University, Dallas), "The Ecumenical Contribution of Nikos Nissiotis through the Commission of Faith and Order;" 6) Harold T. Frierhood (Past Chairman of the Education Council of the United States Olympic Committee, Colorado Springs), "Nikos Nissiotis: Educator, Olympic leader, friend;" 7) Rev. Prof. John Meyendorff (St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, New York), "Syndesmos;" 8) President Cesare Rubini (World Association Basketball Coaches, Rome), "Nikos;" 9) Professor Dr. John T. Powell, (University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada), "Professor N. Nissiotis, the Man of Ancient Olympia;" 10) Pastor Alain Blancy (for a time Professor at the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey, Lyon), "Une Lyre a six cordes" (=A Lyre with six cords); 11) Professeur Sisto Favre (President of the Cultural Sports Association, Rome), "Nicolaos Nissiotis;" 12) Professor Fernand Landry (University of Laval, Quebec), "Nikos, Le Grec" (=Nikos the Greek); 13) Maitre Luc Silance (Advocate of the Bar of Brussels), "Sport, Philosophie et Education" (=Sports, Philosophy and Education); 14) Mme Marie-Agnes Marchegay-Curot (University of Paris), "Interview;" and by way of Epilogue there is a collection of comments by various people under the title "We remember the Professor."

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

Chrysostomos S. Constantinides (Metropolitan of Ephesus), *Ἡ Ἀναγνώριση τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἑτεροδόξων στὶς διαχρονικὲς σχέσεις Ὁρθοδοξίας καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ* (*The Recognition of the Sacraments of the heterodox in the diachronic relations of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism*), Editions 'Epektasi', Katerini 1995, 272pp.

This is an extremely important book for the contemporary theological dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, not only because it deals in a thorough and dogmatic way with a topic which is of central concern in this dialogue, but also because it is written by one of the most distinguished Orthodox theologians of our times, Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Ephesus, Professor of Dogmatics at the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology in Turkey. The book, as the author explains in his Preface, originated in a lecture that was delivered at the Saint Nicholas Institute of Ecumenical Theology at Bari (Italy) a few years earlier on the topic, "Obstacles to mutual recognition of Sacraments between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy." There are two main concerns that persist throughout this study and determine its two-fold structure (its two parts), a) the points of convergence or divergence in the respective sacramental doctrines of the two Churches, and b) the understanding of the whole issue of the recognition of the sacraments of the heterodox in the light of the wider perception and articulation of the notions of ἀκρίβεια (exactness or strictness) and οἰκονομία (concession or leniency) in the doctrine and tradition of the Orthodox Church. The author acknowledges that the issue under investigation is a broad one and that no final solution is given to it in his book, which was mainly written to present the findings of his research, introducing and discussing the problem connected with this issue. He does, however, acknowledge as final in this respect the role of the Church in her pastoral competence and authority, whereby "appropriate and possible concession and condescension are definitely granted, after synodical and exact consultation, as far as this is permissible, and provided that nothing that belongs to the Orthodox Eastern Faith and to the reverend and divine Dogmas which have been explicitly recorded and recognized with the passage of time should be harmed" (From the *Responses* of the four Eastern Patriarchs to the Anglican Non-Jurors in 1718).

More specifically, the two parts of this study deal with the following topics: Part I is entitled "Points of sacramental convergence and divergence" and includes twelve chapters; 1) Dialogue and Sacraments, 2) The theoretical parameters of the discussion concerning recognition of Sacraments, 3) Uniatism and Roman Catholic Sacraments, 4) Sacramental convergence between East and West, 5) The theological definition of Sacrament, 6) The essence of Sacraments, 7) The invisible grace and the visibly perceptible element of the Sacrament, 8) The impact of the Sacraments on man, i.e. Pneumatology and Sacrament, 9) The number of the Sacraments, 10) The repeatable and unrepeatable aspects of the Sacraments, 11) The equal value of the Sacraments and 12) The more liberal attitude of the Latin West towards the existing obstacles to the recognition of Sacraments. Part II is entitled "*Akribeia*, *Oikonomia* and Recognition of Sacraments" and includes the following sixteen chapters, 13) *Akribeia* on matters of Faith, 14) *Akribeia* as far as it pertains to Sacraments, 15) The meaning of "by *oikonomia*" (κατ'οἰκονομίαν). Definitions of *oikonomia*, 16) The durability of *oikonomia* according to its definition and application, 17) *Oikonomia* as an ordinance which operates prospectively or retrospectively in the life of the Church, 18) *Oikonomia* as an expression of relaxation and conciliation for the Orthodox Church, 19) "To depart somewhat from proper reason" (Cyril of Alexandria), 20) *Akribeia* and *oikonomia*, two complementary structural principles in the life of the Church (I, Patristic Positions to the Quinisext Ecumenical Synod), 21) *Akribeia* and *oikonomia*, two complementary structural principles in the life of the Church (II, Patristic Positions from the Quinisext Ecumenical Synod and after), 22) *Akribeia* and *oikonomia*, two parallel complementary principles in the life of the Church (III, Ecclesiastical Positions in the early middle ages), 23) The dual consideration of the Sacraments outside Orthodoxy: viewed in themselves and in connection with cases of return to orthodoxy from heterodoxy, 24) The two basic axes in the attitude of East and West to the issue of recognition of Sacraments, 25) *Oikonomia*, life orientation and experience in the Orthodox Church on the issue of the recognition of Sacraments of heterodox, 26) Concluding clarifications concerning self-controlled application of *oikonomia* in the recognition of Sacraments.

It is not possible to attempt to summarize the main theses of these chapters in this brief review. We can, however, summarize the main

theses of the last chapter, which, obviously, is directly related to the main issue under consideration as indicative of the author's mind. The solution, he says, to the problem of the recognition of Roman Catholic Sacraments by Orthodox can be found in the application of the principle of *oikonomia*. On the other hand it is clear that this principle is highly sensitive and easily abused. Its application is not simply a canonical matter, because it has its own theological and ecclesiological dimension. The historical instances in which it was applied reveal the existence of both non-theological and purely theological factors. This means that today one needs to investigate both the sacramental and ecclesiological dimension of the whole issue, as well as the contemporary presuppositions and more effective forms of its application.

The present study has undertaken such an investigation and has come to the conclusion that *oikonomia* can indeed be used but on the basis of certain principles and presuppositions. These are, a) that the definition of the *akribeia* of the Orthodox Church's view on the Sacraments clearly precedes the determination of the form of the *oikonomia* so that the latter may be clearly perceived and pursued; b) that the *oikonomia* is understood to be a deviation from the *akribeia* which is only temporary and provisional and cannot last for ever; c) that *oikonomia* is a measure to which the Church resorts unwillingly and "out of necessity," namely, the restoration or preservation of the unity of the Church which is her principal concern; d) that the real basis of the application of the principle of *oikonomia* is the law of love which introduces condescension to a level or degree that reconciliation is procured, as well as exodus from cul-de-sacs—on the understanding, of course, that the law of love is in operation not only in those who are on the giving but also in those who are on the receiving end; e) that the application of *oikonomia* should not exceed the measure which secures the unity, peace and integrity of the Church, as Canon 68 of the Synod of Carthage clearly specifies in connection with the reception of Donatists into the Catholic Church; f) and finally, that the application of the principle of *oikonomia* is neither unreasonable nor unlimited, for it does not overrun the principle of *akribeia* which is primary and regular, but simply overcomes whatever impasse prevents the advancement of the Church's well-being. As such this principle is not imposed but is freely and unanimously accepted in the Church, by both the clergy and the laity.

These clarifications are sealed, as it were, in the Epilogue by means of references to 18<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiastical statements on the application of the principle of *oikonomia* (Dositheos of Jerusalem, Cyril IV of Constantinople, the Four Eastern Patriarchs to the English Non-Jurors) and especially by the following quotation from the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Rudder* (Πηδάλιον) of St. Nicodemos the Hagiorite: “two kinds of administration and correction are maintained in the Church of Christ, the one is called *akribeia* and the other *oikonomia* and condescension; it is by these two means that the ministers or stewards (*oikonomoi*) of the Spirit govern the salvation of the souls, using sometimes the one and sometimes the other.” This most clear and most useful book also includes a select bibliography of 25 pages and two detailed indices to subjects and names. It can be obtained from major bookshops in Athens and from the Patriarchal Center in Chambesy, Switzerland.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

Soterios Mpalatsoukas, *Οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ τὸ φυσικὸ περιβάλλον*, (*The Saints and the natural environment*), Editions Mygdonia, Thessaloniki 1996, 222pp.

This fascinating and highly instructive book is a successful doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Pastoral and Social Theology of the Faculty of Theology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Based on the premise that the ecological problem stems from a spiritual and moral crisis in man, which is due to the defection and alienation of man from God his Creator, the author searches the hagiological texts of the lives of the ascetic saints to discover the right relationship of man to his environment. This insightful study of the ecological problem from a theological viewpoint consists of three main Chapters: a) “Man’s relation to nature,” which also includes man’s pre-lapsarian and post-lapsarian condition; b) “The ascetical perception of the world,” which deals with asceticism and the environment, the places of asceticism—the desert, the mountain, the cave, the tomb, the pillar, the tree, the marsh-meadow or swamp and especially the monastery—as concrete manifestations of the perspective and aim of asceticism, the presence of God, and the ascetic’s reconciliation with the world; and c) “The Ecological crisis and how to confront it,” which comprises a discussion of the ecological crisis

and its consequences as such and of eudemonism/prosperity as its basic parameter, and also an evaluation of the data of the lives of the saints which leads to suggestions towards an application of the insights of the saints and an implementation of the amicable relation of the saints with the natural world and more specifically with the animal and vegetable organisms in the contemporary setting.

There are many and profound insights in this book about man and creation which arise from many profound and extraordinary texts which are cited from the lives of the ascetic saints. Some of these are related to man as king and priest of creation, the ascetical practices of fasting and abstinence, poverty, repentance, prayer, vigil and worship, as means of restoring man's true relation to the material world and man's true place within the margins set by his Creator, etc. The central thought that sums up the attitude of the ascetic saints to nature which is offered as the solution to the ecological problem, is conveyed by the notion of the eucharistic use of the world. This notion specifies the main perspective of the Church and thus the Church with her saints becomes the solution to the present crisis. The author suggests this in his reference to the new impetus recently given to dealing with environmental issues by the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the establishment of a day of prayer for the environment and annual environmental conferences. The book ends with a useful summary in English, which unfortunately contains many spelling errors, and a very useful 20 page bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

G. N. Philiass, *Ὁ τρόπος ἀναγνώσεως τῶν εὐχῶν στὴ λατρεία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (*The manner of reading the prayers in the worship of the Orthodox Church*), Editions "Gregores", Athens 1997, 390pp.

It is well known that certain prayers in the Divine Liturgy of the Orthodox Church and in the celebration of the Sacraments are read by the celebrant priests "mystically," i.e. inaudibly or in a low voice, while diaconal litanies are intoned or hymns are sung. It is also known that in more recent times the demand has arisen that such prayers should be read aloud so as to be clearly heard by the people who

participate in these liturgies. This book refers in its introduction to the history of such demands during this century and to the negative official response that has been given by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece since 1956 in order to highlight the divergence of opinion that has persisted to this day concerning this issue and to justify the need for a professional approach which he attempts to provide through the painstaking historical-liturgical research of this volume.

The author sets out to examine the evidence of existing prominent manuscripts of Orthodox Prayer Books (*Euchologia*) from the 8<sup>th</sup> century—starting with the *Euchologion* of the codex Barberini gr. 336—to the 14<sup>th</sup> century—the time of Symeon of Thessalonica (†1429) and Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos of Constantinople (†c. 1377/78)—which is the critical period for Orthodox liturgical studies. They are all listed on pages 16 through 26 and are classified under the names of places and libraries where they can be found, namely: (1) Athens: a) the Byzantine Museum and b) the National Library; (2) Athos: the Sacred Monasteries of a) Vatopedion, b) Dionysiou, c) Karakalou, d) Koutloumousiou, e) Konstamonitou, f) Megiste Laura, g) Pantelemonos and h) Philotheou; (3) Grottaferrata; (4) Lenigrand: Public Library; (5) Messina (South Italy): University Library; (6) Meteora: Sacred Monastery of Metamorphosis (Transfiguration); (7) Moscow: National Library; (8) Paris: a) National Library and b) Supplément grec; (9) Patmos: Sacred Monastery of St. John the Theologian; (10) Rome: a) Codices Barberini Graeci, b) Codices Borgiani Graeci, c) Codices Chisiani Graeci, d) Codices Ottoboniani, e) Codices Palatini, f) Codices Reginenses/Pii II, g) Codices Vaticani Graeci, and (11) Sinai: Sacred Monastery of Saint Catherine's. This is a massive and amazing undertaking and the way it has been arranged and presented in the book is quite admirable.

In his examination of this massive evidence the author focuses on the rubrics which precede or follow these prayers as well as on all other relevant marginal indications of the manner of reading them. A three-fold classification of the evidence is adopted which corresponds to the three main chapters of the author's research as displayed in this book, a) prayers which are said aloud (ch.2), b) prayers which are said "mystically," i.e. inaudibly or in a low voice (ch.3), and c) prayers which remain unspecified as to the manner in which they are read (ch.4). Since the evidence is varied, the author has to synthesize on the basis of certain plausible criteria. Thus, he produces his syn-



thesis in a final chapter which is entitled "Research Deductions concerning each Sacrament, Acolouthy and Occasional Prayer" (ch.5). Here he displays synthetically the results of his research on all the prayers contained in the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, the Presanctified Gifts, St. James the Borthor of God, St. Mark and St. Peter, in the Acolouthies of the Sacraments of Baptism, Marriage, Second Marriage, Holy Oil (*Euchelaion*), Ordination of Deacon, Ordination of Presbyter, Ordination of Bishop, Ordination of Deaconess, Ordination of Subdeacon and Confession, and also in the Acolouthies of the Great Sanctification of the Waters at Epiphany, the Kneelings on Pentocost, the Funeral of a lay-person, or a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Monk, or an Infant, the Monastic order of Mikroschema, the Monastic order of Megaloschema, the Apokoukoulosis (Unhooding), the Vespers, the Mid-night Prayer, the Orthros, the Hours, 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 3-6<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, the Hours of Great Friday, the Services for special occasions, the granting of Forgiveness outside the Sacrament of Confession and, finally, each special occasion.

Particularly interesting is chapter 1 which follows immediately after the introduction and provides a brief overview of the early practice of the Church during the first 8 centuries on the basis of secondary sources and explains the transition from the audible to the inaudible delivery of the prayers in the Church's liturgical practice. Here the author surveys: 1) the precedents of the Hebrew worship which indicate that liturgical prayers were read aloud except on certain rare occasions when they were related to the fear of God and were said "mystically;" 2) the New Testament witness, which, meager though it is, bears witness to the reading aloud of both prayers and generally sacred texts, according to Hebrew and Greek precedents; 3) the post-Apostolic period to the time of Hippolytus, which finds Clement of Rome's *Letter to the Corinthians*, the *Didache of the Twelve Apostles*, Justin Martyr's *Apology I* and *Dialogue with Trypho*, the *Apocryphal Acts of John* (c.A.D. 150-180), and Irenaeus (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> c.) bearing witness to the audible delivery of the prayers; 4) the period from Hippolytus (†235) to the Synod of Laodicea (A.D. 363), which includes Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* and the *Anaphora of Addai and Mari* where some prayers are said mystically and others aloud, the *Pseudoclementia*, Origen, Dionysius and Athanasius of Alexandria where no clear indications are given as to the manner of the delivery of liturgical prayers, and Canon 19 of Laodicea (A.D. 363)

which clearly differentiates between audible and inaudible prayers in the liturgy of the faithful; 5) the witnesses to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which include Basil the Great (†379), Etheria's *Hodoiporikon* or *Peregrinatio* (c. A.D. 385), Gregory Nazianzen (†390), Gregory of Nyssa (†394), the *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.), the *Fifth Mystagogical Catechism* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (†386) the *De Sacramentis* of St. Ambrose of Milan (†397), the *Strasbourg Greek papyrus fragment* 254 of the Anaphora of St. Mark, St. John Chrysostom (†407), St. Jerome (†420), the 6<sup>th</sup> *Mystagogical Catechism* of Theodore of Mopsuestia (†428), St. Augustine (†430), the Armenian historian Faustus (†425), the *Life* of St. Melane the Younger (†439), St. Cyril of Alexandria (†444) and the *Testament of our Lord* (second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.), which rather indicate an audible deliverance of the prayers; 6) the factors which procured the differentiation of the tradition of audible delivery of liturgical prayers between audible and inaudible during the fifth century, namely, the decline of the early *disciplina arcani*, the rise of the sense of the "fear of God" in the Liturgy and generally the growth of sacramental mysticism; and 7) the period from Justinian's reaction to the first 8<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of the *Euchologion*, which includes the evidence of the *Liturgical Homilies* of the Nestorian theologian Narsai (†502 or 503) to the appearance of "mystical" (=inaudible) liturgical prayers, Justinian's reaction to this through his 137<sup>th</sup> Novela (*Neara*) of 26 March 565, the witness of the *Leimonarion* (*Pratum Spirituale*) of John Moschos Eukratas (†619 or 620) to the introduction of "mystical" readings by divine, as it were, revelation, the Dêr Balizeh Papyrus (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.), the Papyrus No 465 of John Rylands Library at Manchester (6<sup>th</sup> c.), the Syriac Cod. British Museum Add. 14669 (6<sup>th</sup> c.) and the 75<sup>th</sup> Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople. The final outcome of this interesting survey is that as the *disciplina arcani* gradually disappeared by the 5<sup>th</sup> century, so the mystical reading of the prayers together with the introduction of the veil and/or the iconostasis by the 6<sup>th</sup> century were introduced, in spite of Justinian's effort to the contrary, in order to guard the sacred and mystical character of the Divine Liturgy and of other liturgical acts.

What then are the final conclusions of this fascinating and most detailed research? The author has summarized them succinctly and clearly in his *Epilegomena*. The first conclusion of his entire research is that, relatively speaking, very few prayers (especially those used in

the Divine Liturgy) have rubrics which specify that they should be read aloud. This means a) that in the vast majority of the handwritten Prayer Books, reading the prayers aloud is the exception and not the rule, and b) that the acclamations that follow these prayers in these same Prayer Books are preceded by rubrics which explicitly specify their audible delivery. Secondly, the author notes that the rubrics concerning the mystical (inaudible) reading of the prayers are far more numerous than those few which specify the opposite and that these have not only a personal but also a consecratory content. Thirdly, the author advances a number of hypotheses concerning those prayers which have no rubrics at all but their concluding acclamations vary. He thinks that such prayers with audible concluding acclamations were probably read in a low voice so as to be heard by the deacons who intercepted their diaconal petitions. Fourthly, the author acknowledges the insurmountable difficulty that he has in specifying rules that may apply to the reading of prayers which have no rubrics in the Prayer books. Finally, the author concludes that it is the ruling Church that has the right to specify today, following and clarifying her ancient practice, what should apply in every unclear case so that no harm should be made to the liturgical practice. Professor Philias' study is one of the most interesting, promising and useful liturgical studies on a subject that has been controversial for a relatively long time.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

Evangelos Galanis (Metropolitan of Perga), *Ἐκ Φαναρίου Β', Ἀειδίνητον Ὁφλημα* (*From the Phanar II, An Ever-rolling Debt*), Editions 'Akritas', Athens 1997, 277pp.

This second volume of the distinguished Metropolitan of Perga *From the Phanar*—the first one was published in 1968—demonstrates, or rather confirms, once more the rich heritage and the superior and unbending spirit of the Phanariots, those incredibly able Greek Orthodox Romaioi of Constantinople who have stood like towers above the raving waves of political change which have swept the Royal City of Byzantium, that great center of the Christian civilization that has perennial value and significance for the world of Christianity in general and of Orthodoxy in particular. This book is a true Byzantine treasury bringing together a variety of literary treasures, reminis-

cences, contemplations, poems, descriptions of places and themes from contemporary Byzantium, as one can still see it and experience it in present day Istanbul, all of which demonstrate the inner beauty, spiritual strength and undiminished purity of the Greek Orthodox spirit which has been graced by the Most Holy Paraclete. It is not a book that can be read only once and put aside. It is rather like an exquisite meadow, a well tended garden, a well stocked antiquarian shop with invaluable rare items and manuscripts, a Byzantine mosaic displaying a tremendous variety of eye-pleasing themes, better still, a fully painted Byzantine Church with innumerable holy icons that glitter in the light of oil-burning golden chandeliers and countless burning candles of pure wax, to which you want to return again and again. From the opening letter of His All-Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, loaded with an unusual lyricism, and the extended preface of the scholar colleague Demetres Manos, filled with a spirit of intimacy and warmth, to the elegant and fitting Epilogue of the distinguished Greek literary critic Paulos Palaiologos, the entire volume with its rich variety of contents, resembles a Byzantine Symphony, a Song for the Race of the Greek Orthodox Romans (τραγούδι τοῦ γένους), as the author describes it in his "Few Words" at the beginning. There are seven Units to the book which contain literary pieces of superb lyricism and are embellished with exquisite gravures and drawings. They shine like a seven-fold candelabra, shedding a light which transcends space and time, endures in thick darkness, sustains an existence which is incorruptible, immortal, eternal. The book is sub-titled ἀειδίητρον, i.e. an ever-rolling payment of debt, presumably a debt to Byzantium, especially to the Great Church on the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its *metoikesia* to the Phanar, as indicated in the first gravure. Once again the Metropolitan of Perga has reminded us all of our debt to Byzantium and to the Great Church of Christ. The book can be obtained from the central bookshops in Athens, or from the author himself at the Phanar.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas



---

## Contributors

---

HIS ALL HOLINESS PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW is Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch.

HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP SPYRIDON is Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

HIS EMINENCE METROPOLITAN PANTELEIMON (RODOPOULOS) is Metropolitan of Tyrolöë and Serention and Professor of Canon Law at the Faculty of Theology of the Aristotle University, Thessalonike, Greece.

HIS GRACE BISHOP VSEVOLOD OF SCOPELOS is a Bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA (Ecumenical Patriarchate).

ABE ATTREP is Professor of History, at the Department of History, Louisiana Tech. University, Ruston, Louisiana.

DR. GEORGE BEBIS is Professor of Patrology at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

GEORGE DEMACOPOULOS is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Religious Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

FR. GEORGE D. DRAGAS is Professor of Dogmatic-Patristic Theology at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and new Editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1998-99).

MARIA GEORGIADES is a student in Theology at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

K. R. CONSTANTINE GUTZMAN is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Virginia.

DR. GEORGE MARTZELOS is Professor of Theology and Dean of the Department of Theology of Aristotle University, Thessalonica, Greece.

FR. CHARLES MOREROD OP is Professor of Thomist theology at the Pontificia Università S. Tommaso in Rome.

DR. KONSTANTINE NIKOLAKOPOULOS is member of the Institute for Orthodox Theology of the University of Munich, Germany.

FR. GEORGE PAPADEMETRIOU is Associate Professor of Systematic Theology at Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

PROF. DEMETRIOS G. TSAMIS is Professor of Patrology at the Department of Theology Aristotle University of Thessalonike, Greece.

DR. CHRISTOS S. VOULGARIS is Professor of New Testament and Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the National and Cappodistrian University of Athens, Greece.

DR. DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG is Professor of Systematic Theology at the Evangelical-Theological Faculty of the Eberhard-Karls University of Tübingen, Germany.

#### MISSION CONFERENCE

HIS BEATITUDE ARCHBISHOP ANASTASIOS (Yannoulatos) is Archbishop of Tirana and All Albania.

FR. DANIEL BAMBANG DWI BYANTORO is an Orthodox missionary priest in Indonesia.

FR. ALKIVIADIS C. CALIVAS is Professor of Liturgics at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

JAMES S. CUTSINGER is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of South Carolina.

FR. STANLEY S. HARAKAS is Archbishop Iakovos Emeritus Professor of Orthodox Theology of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

FR. GEORGE LIACOPULOS is Pastor of St. George Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

FR. MICHAEL J. OLEKSA is Dean of St. Herman's Seminary (Orthodox Church of America), Kodiak, Alaska.

DR. SOTERIOS MOUSALIMAS is a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, New College, Edinburgh University, Scotland.

FR. JOHN REEVES is Pastor of St. George Orthodox Church (OCA), Pharr, Texas.

FR. IOAN SAUCA is Executive Secretary for Orthodox Studies and Relationships in Mission of Unit II of the World Council of Churches.

FRANK SCHAEFFER is the Editor of *The Christian Activist* and author of *Dancing Alone: The Quest for Orthodox Faith in an Age of False Religion*.

FR. ALEXANDER VERONIS is Pastor of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

FR. LUKE A. VERONIS is an Orthodox missionary priest, serving the Church in Albania.

DR. ANTON C. VRAME is the Business Manager of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* and was the Conference Coordinator of the 1995 International Conference on Mission and Evangelism.





0017-3894(199723/24)42:3/4

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

elides several of the more important elements of the original. She transforms fasting into "a good and positive attitude" (p. 30), and retranslates humility as "being sufficiently relaxed about oneself" (p. 74). She also fails to arrogate sufficiently the special relationship between a novice and his spiritual father. Moreover, she arbitrarily connects St. Benedictine's Rule with Native American spirituality (pp. x, 63) and Zen Buddhism (p. 21). She quotes from her sources inconsistently and often leaves the reader scrambling for the original text. A different type of commentary has recently been written by Terrence Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996). Kardong's text includes a critical edition and translation of the original, and it more faithfully maintains the original spirit of St. Benedict's Rule.

George E. Demacopoulos

*The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes.* Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 5, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996) pages 560. SEK: 330.00.

Jan Olof Rosenqvist's book is a welcome critical edition and translation of the life and miracles of St. Eugenios of Trebizond. The editor and translator of *The Life of Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985), Rosenqvist continues here to demonstrate his philological prowess.

His work focuses on the latter part of a fourteenth-century manuscript (#154) from the monastery of St. Dionysios, Mt. Athos. This dossier is a compilation of four separate texts written by three different authors. Each of the texts discusses St. Eugenios, a martyr in the age of Diocletian. The first text (BHG #609), the encomium, is a fourteenth-century revision of older *passiones* written by Constantine Loukites. The second text (BHG #610) is a collection of ten independent miracle stories collected in the eleventh century by John Xiphilinos (later John VIII (1064-1075) of Constantinople). The third text (BHG #611), written by John Lazaropoulos, bishop of Trebizond (1364-1367), provides the rationale for the establishment of a second feast honoring St. Eugenios (his birthday). The fourth text (BHG

#612, 613), also written by Lazaropoulos, describes thirty-three additional wonders performed by the saint, including the miraculous defeat of Melik, a Muslim Prince. Rosenqvist provides a thorough introduction to each text, its author and its historical setting with only rare editorial slips (e.g. there are two misspellings on p. 37 (eighth instead of eight), and there is a superfluous article on p. 63).

Scholars interested in context and history will find Rosenqvist's work interesting. He postulates that the Dionysios dossier is a replica of one assembled by Lazaropoulos, himself. His introduction and commentary reflect a historical critical methodology. He argues that the revisions in the texts reflect the political and religious situation in Trebizond in the early fourteenth century. In fact, he maintains that the cult St. Eugenios and the monastery which housed his relics were exploited for political advantage by Alexios III (emperor of Trebizond) and his assistant, John Lazaropoulos.

General readers of Orthodox hagiography receive in translation the life and miracles of a fascinating yet relatively unfamiliar martyr.

George Demacopoulos

*Visions and Longings: Medieval Women Mystics*, introduction and selection by Monica Furlong (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages viii+248. \$20.00.

*Secrets of God. Writings of Hildegard of Bingen*, selected and translated by Sabina Flanagan (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages xii+187. \$14.00.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, a remarkable development occurred in Western Christianity: spiritual women began to emerge from the silence of previous centuries, and through their activity and direction reenlivened and substantially changed the spiritual life and landscape of the Roman Catholic Church. Speaking with an astonishing intelligence and profundity, their voices still resonate today, despite the very different and, especially to modern sensibilities, sometimes quite bizarre experiences and context of their lives. Two new books offer translations of the writings of spiritual women from between the 12th and the 14th centuries. The first, *Visions and Longings*, is an anthology of the writings of eleven of these women, whereas the second, *Secrets of God*, focuses solely on the works of Hildegard of Bingen, and offers selections from a variety of her im-

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **The Holy Trinity in Creation and Incarnation\***

---

PROF. CHRISTOS S. VOULGARIS

Among the other “new teachings” which brought “some strange things to the ears” of the people of the Greco-Roman world<sup>1</sup> Christianity brought also the teachings about the creation of the world. This was one of the biggest innovations in the world of Philosophy, since the idea that the world was created out of nothing was completely foreign to Greek thought and Greco-Roman religion. To the Greeks the world was eternal and unchangable in its essential structure and form; it simply existed and no one cared to ask how, whence and why. All, intellectuals and non-intellectuals, accepted it as a fact and made no effort to study or transcend it, even with their imagination, in order to see what lies behind it. Of course, they observed the motion, the changes and the constant flow of the elements. But that was it; they simply accepted its permanence and eternity.

Side by side with this idea, Greek philosophy, religion and science posed a radical dualism of body and mind or spirit, which placed its mark upon every aspect of the culture. The distinction between a sensible and an intelligible world, drawn by Plato and later emphasized by Aristotle and the Stoics, stressed also the difference between act and thought, event and idea, material and spiritual, visible and invisible, temporal and eternal. As a result of this, God was cast out of the worldly empirical reality.

It was at this point that biblical revelation confronted and challenged Greek thought which, it is true, did not resist effectively. As a matter of fact, even today philosophy is unable to confront the biblical doctrine of the creation of the world by God. Philosophy moves

within an anthropo-centric context of reflection, while the Bible moves within a Theo-centric context. To the anthropo-logical mind revelation poses the Theo-logical mind, since Scripture begins with the story of creation with the words: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."<sup>2</sup> Looked at from the Bible, the world is no longer regarded as self-evident existence; instead, it absolutely depends upon God's will and energy. And this means it was created *post nihilum*.

Of great importance for our discussion here is that, according to the revealed truth, God's creative activity follows his fatherhood so that his knowledge as Creator stems from his knowledge as the Father of his own Son, not the other way around. And it is this reality that the Church formulated into dogma at Nicea (325) stating that it believed "in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all visible and invisible things." Founded on its own experience and faith, recorded especially in the New Testament, this conviction of the Church confronted the risk of emanating from both, Hellenism and Judaism, which equally stressed and absolutized God's transcendence to a degree that even Judaism was guilty of a dualistic outlook with reference to God's relation to the world. With Judaism the Church believed in God's creative power. Nevertheless, this doctrine is onesided, stressing the absolute difference between created and uncreated, human and divine, world and God, and it runs the risk of being identified with the dualistic structure of Greek thought. This explains why it was adopted by the Gnostics of the second century and by Arianism in the fourth century, which denied the divinity of Jesus Christ and emphasized that there was a time when the Son of God was not (ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν).<sup>3</sup> As such the Son was not born of God's essence, but was made later by his will and energy like all other creatures. Needless to say that this idea had catalytic consequences for the doctrine of salvation. That is, if there was no essential bond between the Father and the Son. i.e. if Jesus Christ was not God too, he could in no way be the Savior of mankind. On the contrary, the Church, preaching the reality of the salvation in Christ relied entirely upon the revealed essential relation between him and God his Father, upon which she also formulated her doctrine about God's creative activity.

Indeed, the unity in substance between the Father and the Son, not broken by the incarnation, since at it the Son simply received to him-

self also the human nature, is not only the starting point for the knowledge of God's fatherhood, but of his creative quality as well. Only the Son, being of the same essence with the Father, can reveal him fully and accurately as he is in himself and in his relation to the world. In other words, the Son reveals the Triune God in Himself and in the Economy. It was in accordance with this reality that St. Athanasius stated that "it would be more godly and true to signify God from the Son and call him Father, than to name God from his works alone and call him Unoriginate" (Ἀγένητον).<sup>4</sup> The Son's timeless birth from the essence of God not only precedes the Father's creative activity in time, in absolute difference from his substance, but it also enlightens it. Indeed, if priority is given to God's knowledge from his works, in the context of his relationship between Creator and creature or Unoriginate (Ἀγένητον) and originate (γενητόν), we are forced to restrict ourselves to general and vague expressions about him in terms of the absolute difference existing between uncreated and created, because in this case we have no knowledge of God as he is in himself. That is to say, the knowledge of God from his works is not totally excluded, because "ever since the creation of the world his visible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in things that have been made."<sup>5</sup> But the difference between this kind of knowledge and the other one is that the latter, i.e. through the Son, provides accuracy to God's knowledge of his mode of existence in himself and in his relation to the world and thus places the knowledge from his works in its proper context. So, in the one case we have a knowledge of God from within, i.e. from the Son who, born of God's substance and being of the same being with the Father, knows and reveals him as he is in his essential being, and in the other case we have a knowledge of God from outside, i.e. from what is externally related to him.

Therefore the doctrine about God as Creator is governed by the doctrine about the essential relation between the Father and the Son and their common activity. The Church's formulation of it was fundamentally based upon the Prologue to St. John's Gospel and Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians and Hebrews. According to them, God creates everything through his Son and Word who "being eternally with God and being himself God," i.e. of the Father's essence, brings into being everything that exists outside of his being. Or to put it into simple terms, it is through his Son that God is the Creator of



everything. This implies that if we try to get a knowledge of God from his works alone, we ignore the existence and the work of the Son and so side with philosophy. Crystal-clear is what St. Athanasius says again at this point: "He who calls God Father, signifies him from the Son, being well aware that, since there is a Son, it is of necessity through the Son that all things that have come into being were created. When they call him Unoriginate, they name him only from his works, and so they do not know the Son any more than the Greeks. But he who calls him Father, names him from his Word and, knowing the Word, acknowledges him to be the Maker of all, and understands that through him all things have come into being."<sup>6</sup> The absolute essential unity between the Father and the Son signifies that everything that the Father does, he does it in and through the Son, his Logos, and everything that the Son does is identical with what the Father does. The unity between the two, rooted in their nature, is also a unity of will and activity. Therefore creation is the work of the common activity of the Father and the Son, since the Father is never without his Son and Logos, and the Logos is never without God the Father.<sup>7</sup> it is because of this that God is never revealed as Creator-God, but only as Father, and Christ is never revealed as Christ, but only as the Son of God, his Logos. And it is this unity in substance, will and energy which prevents the Son from being God's creature. And it is this unity also that makes the Son co-creator with the Father. Being "the image of the invisible God," the Son is "the firstborn-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities; all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. He is the head of the body, the Church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be pre-eminent. For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell."<sup>8</sup>

Fatherhood, then, being God's unique and absolute personal quality or mode of existence, signifying his very being, indicates that God is not the cause of creation in the same way as he is the cause of his Son. Creaturehood is not equal to fatherhood. On the contrary, he is Creator because he is Father, and he cannot be Creator unless he is the Father of his eternal Son. In other words, he acts externally to his essence because he gave birth to his Son internally to his essence, or simply, he acts because he has a Son. Begetting is primary to God

and creating is secondary. And while begetting is internal to God, creating is not, because he has always been Father, but he has not always been Creator. That is to say, creation does not coincide with God's very existence, but has a beginning, and as such is not eternal, as Greek philosophy maintained, but it is bound to time. It was brought into existence out of nothing (*ex nihilo*), freely and externally to his essence, by his will, having therefore an absolute beginning and end, because it is different from God's essence which alone is eternal. And like God, the Son has no beginning and no end, because he is begotten within God's essence as God from God.

There is a radical difference in nature, then, between the Son and creation, and it is this difference which prevents human beings from falling into idolatry. This is what marks Christian (biblical) revelation off from pagan reflection, or theological reasoning from philosophical contemplation. The world is not eternal, but is bound to time, rooted in God's love for it. And although God had always the power to create, he did not use it simultaneously with his existence. Rather, it was brought into being when God decided to do so. In this sense creation is like the incarnation because although God had always the power to end his Son into the created world, he did so only when he saw it fitting for the benefit of mankind and the world. This being the case then, creation and incarnation are absolutely connected with the "when."

The above apply equally to the Holy Spirit in his relation to the Father. The Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father, simultaneously with the begetting of the Son and therefore, there is not a "single moment" in the Father's existence when the Spirit was not. The first person of the Trinity is as much the Father of the second person as he is the processor of the third person. Thus, the Son and the Spirit are both of the essence of the Father, and this means that there is no notion of subordination in God, but only a specific order signifying the mutual relationships of the three divine persons. What the Father is, this is also the Son and the Spirit in the Godhead. What marks them off from each other is each person's peculiarly personal attribute, i.e. the fatherhood of the first person, the sonship of the second, and the procession of the third. This order cannot be violated or altered, because any change necessitates the change of the attributes or roles. In other words, the Son can never be mentioned first, because he can never be Father, and so on. What must be stressed, however, is that

the Son's and the Spirit's being of and with the Father is beyond beginning and time, since there is no "before" or "after" in the Godhead. The first person exists simultaneously with the other two, even though he is the cause and source of their life and existence, so that when we think of the Father we also think of the Son and the Holy Spirit. And it is as such that the Spirit is creative.

Indeed, sharing fully in the *communicatio idiomatum* and, therefore, in the creativity of the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit is as much Creator as the other two persons. Where one person of the Trinity is, there also are the other two. And when one person acts, the other two persons also act with him, though each one in his own peculiar way. Thus, creation is the work of their collaboration. This is so because the will is common to all three persons, and it is this that creates. This means that the Father cannot be Creator unless the Son and the Spirit are also Creators. According to St. Basil, the Father is "the primordial cause of everything that has been made," the Son is "the operative cause," and the Holy Spirit is "the perfecting cause."<sup>9</sup> The undivided Trinity is the sole ultimate principle or cause of all things, and its activity appears as the double Economy of the Son and the Holy Spirit, in that the Son makes the Father's desire become real, while the Spirit achieves it in goodness and beauty, or the Son by calling creation to come to the Father, and the Spirit by leading it to him and so communicating perfection to it. In other words, the Father wishes, the Son reveals, and the Holy Spirit gives form to it. Therefore, we can say that creation is the work of the love of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, i.e. of the undivided activity of the Triune God, from Whom and through Whom and in Whom are all things,<sup>10</sup> or to put it in the words of St. Athanasius, "the Father created all things through the Word and the Spirit,"<sup>11</sup> and of St. Irenaeus, *Per Verbum et Spiritum suum omnia faciens et disponens et gubernans et omnibus esse praestans*.<sup>12</sup> No divine person creates alone, because divine energy cannot be divided and cannot be exclusively appropriated by any one of the three persons alone, and because divine essence cannot be divided or exclusively appropriated by any one person alone. Whatever is done by the Trinity is done by all three persons together, though what is done is not three different things but one. In the Trinity we observe the opposite of what happens in humanity where the energy of each individual person is distinguished from that of the other persons. Gregory of Nyssa's statement is very

characteristic about it: "Thus, since among men the action of each in the same pursuits is distinguished, they are properly called many, since each of them is separated from the others within his own context, according to the special characteristic of his operation. But in the case of the divine nature we do not similarly learn that the Father does anything by Himself in which the Son does not work conjointly, or again that the Son has any special operation apart from the Holy Spirit, but every operation which extends from God to the Creation, and is named according to the variable conceptions of it, has its origin from the Father, and proceeds through the Son, and is perfected in the Holy Spirit."<sup>13</sup> This is why creation is ascribed in Scripture indifferently either to the Father,<sup>14</sup> or to the Son,<sup>15</sup> or to the Holy Spirit.<sup>16</sup>

Along the same lines we can also understand the incarnation of the eternal Son into creation. Both, creation and incarnation make up the divine Economy whose end is man's perfection and "theosis." And like creation, the incarnation too, begins with God, the Triune God, as its cause. If the incarnation had taken place regardless of the Father's will, then Christ and his work on earth would be completely meaningless for man. But such an idea is foreign to the Church's faith since the heart of the Gospel consists of God's love for man revealed in history in various ways and by various agents in the past and last of all, at the end of time, in his eternal Son<sup>17</sup> who became man in a real and not in an abstract sense.<sup>18</sup> Through the incarnation of the Son the entire Godhead, became subject to history, "for us and for our salvation," as the Council of Nicaea declared.

Rooted in the Godhead creation and incarnation are connected, as both stem from God's love for man before and after the fall, and both have a common goal, man's "theosis" and glory.<sup>19</sup> As such the incarnation is disconnected from the fall and placed in God's original plan of creation. The idea that the incarnation of the Son was a mere remedy for man's failure to achieve his final goal underestimates its significance and dimensions for the whole creation. In the same way it is monstrous to accept the Thomistic notion that the Son of God would not have become man had man not fallen,<sup>20</sup> because in this sense we would have to accept that God was tempted and blackmailed by Satan. If the incarnation is entirely connected with the fall, God's creative activity is deprived of any reason and purpose. In this case the incarnation would become a corrective movement imposed on

God by the activity of a creature, Satan, and by man's disobedience. But it is impossible to admit that God was taken by surprise and that the incarnation of his Son was his "second thought" in the course of his plan for creation.

The first to deal with this issue was St. Maximus the Confessor (580-662) who, however, absolutized the idea that the incarnation belonged to God's original plan concerning creation,<sup>21</sup> and that it was planned regardless of man's sin and fall. St. Maximus was followed by Duns Scotus and his followers in their debate with Thomas Aquinas and his followers. However, Scripture makes it plain that God was not taken by surprise by man's fall and that he did not start thinking how to restore him after it. This absolutely diminishes the conception of God's absolute knowledge. As his will to create the world and man is connected with his essence, so also his plan to save them was "a mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things."<sup>22</sup> Likewise Christ's redemptive work "was destined before the foundation of the world but was made manifest at the end of the times."<sup>23</sup> There are no "first" and "second" thoughts in God, no successive plans and decisions, either with reference to creation or with reference to incarnation and redemption. Both plans, the creational and the incarnational, are original. God knew before man's creation that he would fall, hence it is only natural that he put forward immediately after his fall his plan to restore him, or better, to re-create him. Therefore, Christ's incarnation served the original purpose of creation by recapitulating it in the communion of the Holy Trinity, as Paul declared<sup>24</sup> and Irenaeus developed further. And though the incarnation belongs to God's original plan, together with creation, it nevertheless refers particularly to man's fall and his re-creation through the Son: "For if the flesh were not in a position to be saved, the Word of God would not have become flesh. And if the blood of the righteous were not to be required after, the Lord certainly would not have had blood."<sup>25</sup> Likewise St. Ambrose asks, *Quae est cause incarnationis, nisi ut caro, quae peccaverat redimeretur?*<sup>26</sup> Similar thoughts are found in Chrysostom<sup>27</sup> and in Athanasius.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, the incarnation of the divine Logos belongs to the very same existence and life of God, although the Logos was not eternally incarnate, as the Father was not eternally Creator. Creation and incarnation are related to space and time, because they are both historical events. At his incarnation the Son, who was by nature eternally of the

same uncreated nature with the Father and the Spirit, also received to himself the created human nature and became fully man in body and soul. In other words, in the one historical person of Jesus Christ we have at once the presence of Godhead and manhood<sup>29</sup> which means that through the incarnation the Godhead entered into history and appropriated manhood. This circumincession (*perichoresis*) of the two natures in the one person of Christ is clearly expressed in Christ's own statement: "I am from above... I am not of this world"<sup>30</sup> and the similar: "I and the Father are one."<sup>31</sup> At the same time, such statements indicate that the historical person of Jesus Christ is distinguished from the Father during his incarnation as it was before it. As the "head" of all creation, in whom and through whom and for whom all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible,<sup>32</sup> he is the only one who can act for all as redeemer and Savior. Upon receiving the created human nature, he received to himself the whole creation and was united with it so that in this capacity "he gave himself as a ransom for all"<sup>33</sup> and "for many"<sup>34</sup> and so he became "the head of the body, the church" and thus "reconciled to himself all things."<sup>35</sup> It is because the Son is the "head" of all creation that he can act on behalf of all and instead of all. In Christ who is "the head over all things for the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all," Church and creation are utterly united in the sense that the dimensions of the Church extend to all creation. In other words, it is the Church which is God's "new creation" destined to include in itself the entire created order. It is in the Church that the Son revealed "the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things; that through the Church the manifold wisdom of God might be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places... according to the eternal purpose which he has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord."<sup>36</sup>

Thus Christ's redemptive work was fully vicarious and universal in its range. Both aspects are effective through the union of his divine person as Creator and Lord with creaturely nature. And the bond of unity that exists between man and creation, due to their creatureliness, extends the effects of Christ's incarnation and redemption to the whole creation. Now recapitulation became possible<sup>37</sup> and so Christ became the leader of the new humanity through which the re-creation of the old, fallen creation is worked out. "Subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it,"<sup>38</sup> i.e. man,

fallen creation depends for its re-creation on him also.<sup>39</sup> As Irenaeus commented, when the Evangelists preach the birth of Christ from Mary they mean the union of the Logos of God with his creature.<sup>40</sup>

Like creation, incarnation too, is the work of the Holy Trinity. This truth is stressed throughout the New Testament as the Church's experience and faith, like, for example, in the story of the annunciation,<sup>41</sup> or the story of Jesus' birth,<sup>42</sup> of his baptism,<sup>43</sup> or his preaching in the Synagogue of Nazareth (*Lk.* 4,17-21), of his command to his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit (*Mt.* 28,19), ect., while a number of Trinitarian formulae are scattered here and there witnessing to the Church's revelatory experience and faith.<sup>44</sup> This evidence stresses that the message of the Gospel which was handed down by the apostles, is one in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit belong together to the fundamental experience and faith of the Church as it is rooted in the person of Christ and his redemptive work. The same trinitarian experience and faith is subsequently recorded in numerous early Church documents.<sup>45</sup> All these and all similar statements stem from a "*regula fidei*;" which goes back to the revelatory events as such and the experience of the first ecclesial community and tell that the one being of God cannot be properly understood apart from a doctrine of the Trinity at work in the incarnation. Its doctrinal formulation at a later time made explicit what was already implicit in the New Testament as the fundamental deposit of the experience and faith of the apostolic community and Church. Along these lines the use of the term *homoousios* expressed and clarified the essential relation of the Son and the Spirit to the Father upon which the message of the Gospel rested. In other words, the term *homoousios* stressed that the incarnational and saving revelation of the Godhead as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is traced back to what the Godhead is in Himself in His eternal existence. This truth made evident that the Godhood of the incarnate Son entailed the Godhood of the Holy Spirit and explains why the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father rests upon the consubstantiality of the Son to the Father. Therefore, the validity and saving effectiveness of the Gospel rest not only upon the oneness in essence between the incarnate Son and the Father, but upon the oneness in essence of the Spirit, the Son and the Father, because God is given to the world through the Son in the Holy Spirit. As St. Athanasius explained, "the Holy and blessed Trinity is invisible and one in himself. When men-

tion is made of the Father, there is included also his Word and the Spirit who is in the Son. If the Son is named, the Father is in the Son, and the Spirit is not outside the Word. For there is from the Father one grace which is fulfilled through the Son in the Holy Spirit; and there is one divine nature and one God 'who is over all and through all and in all.'"<sup>46</sup> Since there is one essence and one energy of the Holy Trinity, the activities of the Son and the Spirit are not regarded of a lesser degree than that of the Father, because they are all activities in the one God and from the one God. The doctrine about each particular person, i.e. Theo-logy, Christo-logy and Pneumato-logy, though not entirely legitimate, stems from and rests upon the doctrine of the one Triune God. For when we think about the incarnation of the Son, we automatically think of the Father whose Son is the Son and whose Spirit is the Holy Spirit who made the incarnation possible.<sup>47</sup> Similarly when we think of the activity of the Holy Spirit, we at once bear in mind the Father who sends him and the Son through whom he comes to us.

Summing up we may say that the Church's doctrine about God is spherical, in order to render the whole truth about him. Monisms distort the reality about him and are contrary to revealed truth which forms the content of faith. Accordingly, Theo-logia, i.e. the "word" about God, must of necessity be Trinitarian, expressing that fact that the Father-God of creation is the same with the Son-God of redemption and the Spirit-God of personal salvation.

In this respect the oneness in essence between the three divine persons entails their common activity outside their essence. The result of this activity is described as *Economy*. Thus, creation, incarnation, and redemption are the work of a common activity, each person contributing a particular role. It is the Triune God's eternal love and care for man, made in His image, that brought creation into being and incarnation and redemption into effect. In the creation story of Genesis (1-3) it is clear that the world is "anthropocentric", created by God in order to form the appropriate environment within which man, created last and the sole creature in God's image and likeness, was to progress from the state of blessedness to that of perfection and *theosis*. Creation as a whole forms a unity due to its creaturely essence, in spite the fact that to each creature "God gives a body, as he has chosen, and to each kind of seed, its own body. For not all flesh is alike, but there is one kind for men, another for ani-



mals, another for birds, and another for fish. There are celestial bodies and there are terrestrial bodies.”<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, there exists a radical difference between man and the rest of creation, because man alone (male and female) is created in God’s image and likeness.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, it is because of this that man was given by God “to have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.”<sup>50</sup> The whole creation is placed at man’s disposal “to till it and keep it.”<sup>51</sup> However, having sinned and fallen under the power of Satan, man subjected both himself, and the whole creation to decay and futility.<sup>52</sup> In other words, it is man alone who is responsible for the conditions of “bondage and decay” which prevailed in creation after the fall, conditions foreign to God’s original plan and will. Therefore, creation will be redeemed and set free from this state only when men become again “children of God,”<sup>53</sup> “for all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God,” because they have received “the spirit of sonship in whom we call the Father ‘Abba.’ It is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ.”<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, man’s dominion over creation, before and after the fall, determines the way by which fallen creation as a whole could be re-created. This way consists in God’s activity on the human level where he confronts Satan, “the ruler of this world”<sup>55</sup> and casts him out.<sup>56</sup> In other words, it is in the form of man<sup>57</sup> that the Son of God became incarnate and began the work of re-creation. The Son’s presence in humanity resulted in the creation of the Church as a historical entity consisting of all those who accept Jesus Christ as the incarnate eternal Son of God: “The Word became flesh and dwelt among us... and from his fulness have we all received,”<sup>58</sup> because with his incarnation to “all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave the right to become children of God.”<sup>59</sup> Hence, the incarnation of the Son is an ecclesial event experienced by all those who “have beheld his glory, as a glory of the only Son from the Father.”<sup>60</sup> Those who believe in him as the only Son from the Father are united with him through his human nature into one body, “his body, which is the Church,”<sup>61</sup> and so they become the leaven which works out the redemption of the whole creation.

\*A lecture delivered at the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline MA in November 1997

<sup>1</sup> Acts 17,19-20

<sup>2</sup> Gen 1,1

<sup>3</sup> Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, 11

<sup>4</sup> *Contra Arianos*, I, 34

<sup>5</sup> Rom 1,20

<sup>6</sup> *Contra Arianos*, I, 3

<sup>7</sup> John 1,1

<sup>8</sup> John 5,17-19 Heb 1,2-3a Col 1,15-19

<sup>9</sup> Cf *De Spiritu Sancto*, VI, 38 “ ἐννοήσον μοι τὴν προκαταρκτικὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, τὸν Πατέρα τὴν δημιουργικὴν, τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν τελειωτικὴν, τὸ Πνεῦμα ὥστε βουλήματι μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπαρχειν, ἐνεργεῖα δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγεσθαι, παρουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος τελειοῦσθαι Ἀρχὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων μία, δι’ Υἱοῦ δημιουργοῦσα καὶ τελειοῦσα ἐν Πνεύματι. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ τα πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνεργῶν (Α Κορ 12, 6), ἀτελῆ ἔχει τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν οὔτε ὁ Υἱὸς ἑλλιπῆ τὴν δημιουργίαν, μὴ τελειομένην διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Τρία τοίνυν νοεῖς, τὸν προστάσσοντα Κυρίον, τὸν δημιουργοῦντα Λόγον, τὸ στερεοῦν τὸ Πνεῦμα.” Cf also Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat XXXVIII*, 9 Gregory of Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres dii*, PG 45,125 Hippolytus, *Contra Noet*, VIII, 2, 6, 167

<sup>10</sup> 2Cor 8,6 Rom 11,36

<sup>11</sup> *Ad Serap* 3,5

<sup>12</sup> *Adv Haer* X, 22,1

<sup>13</sup> *Quod non sint tres dii* PG 45,125

<sup>14</sup> Cf Lk 10,21 Acts 4,24 1Cor 8,6

<sup>15</sup> Cf John 1,2-3 1Cor 8,6 Heb 1,2, 10-12 3,3-4

<sup>16</sup> Job 33,4 Ps 32,6

<sup>17</sup> Heb 1 1-2

<sup>18</sup> Cf Heb 2,14,17 10,5-10 Ps 39, 7-9a

<sup>19</sup> Rom 8 30

<sup>20</sup> Cf Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologica IIIa qu I ‘si homo non peccasset, Deus incarnatus non fuisset*

<sup>21</sup> Cf *Questiones ad Thalassium*, PG 90,317,621,642 *Ambiguorum Liber*, PG 91,1097, 1305f, 1308

<sup>22</sup> Eph 3,9

<sup>23</sup> 1Pet 1,20 Cf Eph 1,4 Rev 13,8 Col 1,26 Jude 25

<sup>24</sup> Eph 1,3-14 Col 1,12-20

<sup>25</sup> *Si enim haberet caro salvari nequaquam Verbum Dei caro factum esset Et si non haberet sanguis justorum inquiri nequaquam sanguinem habuisset Dominus Adv Haer V, XIV,1*

<sup>26</sup> *De Incarn* 6,56

<sup>27</sup> *In Gen Hom* 3,4

<sup>28</sup> *De incarn* 4 *Contra Arianos* II, 54 etc

<sup>29</sup> 2Cor 5,19

<sup>30</sup> John 8,23

<sup>31</sup> John 10,30

<sup>32</sup> Col 1,15-16

<sup>33</sup> *1Tim.* 2,6

<sup>34</sup> *Mk.* 10,45

<sup>35</sup> *Col.* 1, 18-20

<sup>36</sup> *Eph.* 3,9-11. *Col.* 1,26-27. 2,2b-10

<sup>37</sup> *Eph.* 1,10

<sup>38</sup> *Rom.* 8,20

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *1Cor.* 15,22;47;48. *Rom.* 5,12-21. *2Cor.* 5,17. *Gal.* 6,15. *Eph.* 2,15. 4,24. *Heb.* 8,8-12. ect.

<sup>40</sup> *Adv. Haer.* IV,23,11

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Didache* (7,1), *Ignatius* (*Ad Magn.* 13,1), *Polycarp* (*Martyr.* 14,3), *Justin* (*Apol.* I,6,13,61,65.), *Irenaeus* (*adv. Haer.* I,2ff), and many others.

<sup>42</sup> *Lk.* 1,26-38

<sup>43</sup> *Mt.* 1,18-25. *Lk.* 2,1-7

<sup>44</sup> *Mt.* 3,13-17. *Mk.* 1,9-11. *Lk.* 3,21-22. Cf. *John* 1,29-34

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Acts* 2,32f. *1Cor.* 12,4-6. *2Cor.* 13,14. *1Pet.* 1,2. *2Thes.* 2,13f. *Eph.* 2,18. 4,4-6 etc.

<sup>46</sup> *Lk.* 1,26ff

<sup>47</sup> *Eph.* 4,6. *Ad Serap.* I,14

<sup>48</sup> *1Cor.* 15,38-40

<sup>49</sup> *Gen.* 1,26-27

<sup>50</sup> *Gen.* 1,28

<sup>51</sup> *Gen.* 2,15

<sup>52</sup> *Rom.* 8,19ff

<sup>53</sup> *Rom.* 8,19;21

<sup>54</sup> *Rom.* 8,14-17. Cf. *Gal.* 4,4-7

<sup>55</sup> *John* 12,31. Cf. also 16,11. 14,30. *Matth.* 9,34. 12,24. *Mk.* 3,22. *Lk.* 11,15. *Gal.* 1,4. *Eph.* 2,2 etc.,

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *1John* 4,4

<sup>57</sup> *Phil.* 2,7-8. *Heb.* 2,14;17 ect.,

<sup>58</sup> *John* 1,14;16

<sup>59</sup> *John* 1,12

<sup>60</sup> *John* 1,14. Cf. *1John* 1,1-3

<sup>61</sup> *Col.* 1,24. Cf. also 1,18. *Eph.* 1,23. 5,23 ect., *Rom* 6,1ff

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## **The Language of the New Testament as an Example for the Historical Unity of the Greek Language**

---

DR. KONSTANTINE NIKOLAKOPOULOS

The way in which Jesus Christ expressed his salutary teaching during his earthly sojourn in the 1st century A.D. was predominantly verbal communication. He spoke the Aramaic language<sup>1</sup> of that time in the Palestinian environment with his disciples, his friends, and his adversaries. It was, then, in the language of that time that he taught, prophesied, admonished, censured and provided guidance. Nevertheless he left no written work for the subsequent generations. This vacuum was filled by the writers of the New Testament, namely some of the disciples of Christ, who were also the first faithful members of the Christian Church. Through this grand work, it became possible for the divine words of the Son of God to have reached throughout the centuries to our days. Jesus taught during the concrete years of his life on earth and because of the written texts of the New Testament, his message has continued to be applicable and vivid throughout the whole process of time until today.

The majority of scholars hold that in all probability Jesus and his first apostles spoke Aramaic and not Greek.<sup>2</sup> That certainly does not mean that the Greek language was not spoken in Palestine during the time of the Lord. In Jerusalem there were at least five synagogues in operation for Hellenistic Jews, who utilized both Aramaic and Greek equally, as it has been determined from numerous excavations. In fact the gospel was preached in Aramaic and it was in this language that the first sayings of Christ were written, as were the first narrations about his personality.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, an undisputed and remarkable fact, that the writers of the Christian message have made known Jesus' life, doctrine, and work by using the Greek language,

which, in spite of Roman rule, dominated in all the known Mediterranean world of that time.

Through the Greek language of Hellenistic times<sup>4</sup> the authors of the New Testament have a common expression themselves – although each writer has his own particular style.<sup>5</sup> This language emits the historical and philological data of Hellenism and is an indication and evidence of the language spoken in the geographic area of Palestine. It must be also emphasized that in order to approach a concrete text from the New Testament and to understand the expressions and ideas of its writers, one must study first the literary level of that time – mainly from the beginnings of the Hellenistic era (4th century B.C.) up to the change of chronology after Christ, when the Greek language unquestionably shows a notable *historical unity* (*geschichtliche Einheit*).<sup>6</sup>

It is therefore necessary to emphasize some basic elements concerning the Greek language of early Christian times and to point out the extent of its relation with the ancient or, as it is usually called, classical Greek language. After that, and on account of the permanent importance of the linguistic idiom of these divine texts, it is considered enlightening to underscore some remarks with reference not only to the general language structure of the New Testament, but also to the peculiar characteristics of its 27 books. This study will conclude with some brief remarks about the language of the New Testament and the modern Greek language.

The Greek language, in which the books of the New Testament have been written, is known as Hellenistic Greek and represents the everyday language which was spoken in the entire area defined as Hellenistic. It was exactly this element of universality within the known world at that time which also gave it a specific epithet “Koine” (ἡ κοινή, common). As it is accepted by all scholars, the “Koine” of the Hellenistic time is a natural development of the Attic dialect,<sup>7</sup> which constituted the classical form of the Greek language in conjunction with the Ionian dialect<sup>8</sup> from Asia Minor. It is an undisputed fact that we have to deal with a development in which a purely Greek type of language was formed through the simplification of the classic form with reference to grammar and syntax.<sup>9</sup>

One could briefly describe the inauguration of the “Koine” language within the Hellenistic world as follows: The union of the Greek city states by Alexander the Great, and the extension of the Greek

civilization and the Greek language, facilitated communication between the cities. The Attic language was encouraged and supported by the Macedonian kings. In such a way, it became the common language of all Greeks and afterwards of many other people, who, in their own conversations, chose some easier forms and types of Attic dialect. Consequently, a simplified dialect (or form) of Attic was established and because of its wide use in the whole Hellenistic world it was called "Koine;" the language was also called "Alexandrian" or "Hellenistic" because of Alexandria in Egypt, where it was developed.

The "Koine" language of the New Testament, which was widely spread, constituted no extreme philological form of the generally used language; in other words, it was the simple, daily, not only spoken but also written language of the people. Until the previous century many scholars believed that the language of the New Testament was something special, perhaps something supernatural and completely removed from the normal language of that time. Through the discovery of various papyri however, which contained simple popular texts, written by relatively uneducated men with many orthographic mistakes, it became clear that the Evangelists wrote the books of the New Testament in exactly the same language. As an illustration of this fact the following text, a letter of a worker by name Hilarion sent to his home will, be presented;<sup>10</sup> this text was found in papyrus near Alexandria with the date 17 June of the year 1 B.C.:

Ἡλαρίων α' Ἀλιπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ πλεῖστα χαιρεῖν καὶ Βεροῦτι τῇ κυρίᾳ μου καὶ Ἀπολλωνάριν· γίνωσκε, ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεᾷ ὄμεν· μὴ ἀγωνιάς, ἐάν ὅλως εἰσπορεύονται, ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεᾷ μένω· ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε, ἐπιμελήθη τῷ παιδίῳ καί, εὐθύς ὀψώνιον λάβωμεν, ἀποστελῶ σε ἄνω. ἐάν πολλαπολλῶν τέκης, ἐάν ἦν ἄρσενον, ἄφες, ἐάν ἦν θήλεα, ἔκβαλε. εἴρηκας δέ Ἀφροδισιᾶτι, ὅτι μὴ με ἐπιλάθης· πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπιλαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀγωνιάσης·  
(ἐτους) κθ' Καίσαρος Παῦνι κγ'.

This text causes no particular linguistic difficulties even for one versed in modern Greek. The idiom of its language diverges greatly from the ancient classical language and it moves precisely within the linguistic level of the New Testament. Here the "Koine" seems to be a completely simplified popular dialect.

It is characteristically significant that the "Koine" language had amalgamated the vital verbal factors of the masses, that is to say, the

dialects of the province, as well as the elements of the life in the market, the street, the camps and the theatres, from the public lectures of wandering teachers and also from literature.<sup>11</sup> In other words, it was the popular and current language of that time, but without a differentiation from the written literary language.

As it is generally known, the “Koine” was not acceptable to the “heathens,” who considered them to be “educated,” and who were preeminently opposed to Christianity. A typical example is Celsus,<sup>12</sup> who condemned this language and its messages, because it was used, as he maintained, by uneducated fishermen like the apostles. It is worth looking at Acts 4:13, where Peter and John are called “ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται” (uneducated and plain men). It is certainly not necessary to indicate that a profound historical and philological examination of the linguistic idiom of the New Testament, as it is applied in modern science, shows that these philological monuments have been written by educated writers. This fact can be proved through the Greek language, which each of them uses according to his own capacity and without major mistakes in the language structure of their works.

The text of the New Testament, as it is used in the Church<sup>13</sup> today, or as we study it from its various contemporary publications, is the same with that original text, which proceeded from the hands of the Evangelists. But it is not exactly the same with reference to form and detail. Its unadulterated preservation in the heart of the Church has caused long-standing struggles and it has had a long history.

The original authentic texts of the New Testament, written by the hand of the holy writers according to their own experiences, i.e. narrations containing the so-called “Logia – Q,” or older partial notes written in Aramaic,<sup>14</sup> have not been preserved to the present day. In all probability, they had been written on a thin and fragile papyrus, which was normal at that time. Thus, the text we have today has been developed from many later manuscripts written by some faithful copyists, who either wrote these texts for liturgical purposes, or wanted to make the new faith known in other distant places, or merely desired to preserve the holy text. The first copies of the New Testament were prepared separately for each book. The older fragments of papyrus we possess belong to the Gospel of John, and they are dated in the first half of the 2nd century A.D.<sup>15</sup> They are not far removed from the original text of the apostle John, who may still have been alive when



these partial copies were being written. In general, about 2,500 Greek manuscripts have been preserved, and texts are similar to each other except for a few points.

In order to provide a more complete picture of the New Testament's language, one must also accentuate some other elements, which undoubtedly played a fundamental role in the final formation of each book. Among the most remarkable sources of influence on the New Testament's writers were two great philological streams of that time: the *Greek* and the *Semitic*<sup>16</sup> tradition, which help us to understand the various forms of the Greek language.

Nobody can deny that "Koine" Greek is the basis of each author's language, but it is also indisputable in newer scientific research that some passages of the synoptic Gospels, as well as the works of John and James have a purely Aramaic origin.<sup>17</sup> If these passages had not been written primarily in Aramaic, and had not been later translated into Greek, we would have to concede that for them we would have to be content with an Aramaised Greek language. The semitisms of the New Testament do not only concern grammar and vocabulary, but also the syntactical structure of the sentences. With this, it is important to mention the known phenomenon of semitic parallelism,<sup>18</sup> which is obvious in the texts of the New Testament (especially those written by Paul) and gives natural evidence about the real extent of semitic influence on the writings of the New Testament.

Another aspect of semitisms in New Testament Greek is the presence of many Hebrew elements found in these texts, not only isolated words, but also syntactical forms, which reveal expression of Hebrew thought, and have left their indelible mark in the writings of the New Testament. This point is related especially to the influence of Greek Old Testament (LXX - Septuagint) language on New Testament language. In other words, the influence of semitisms, which through the language of the Septuagint appear indirectly in the New Testament, cannot be neglected in the study of this language. The Hebrew tradition is also very important, because it has caused a drastic change in the meaning of many words at salient points.

The contact of New Testament language with other languages does not stop there. Also notable is the influence of Latin, which had a prominent place within the Roman empire. Many Latinisms<sup>19</sup> in the New Testament, which consist of "borrowed words," make evident not only the influence of Latin on "Koine," but also the philological

level of the Greek language within the Mediterranean area, which was in close contact with the Roman world.

Finally some “borrowed words” from other languages must be mentioned. They originate mainly from the Egyptian and Persian language,<sup>20</sup> but are few. Therefore, they are less important with regard to linguistic influence on “Koine” Greek.

Above all, external influences on the New Testament language have played a serious part in the formation of the texts and they must always be taken into consideration in relation to the “Koine.” Certainly, the literary effects varied from author to author according to the geographical place and the philological streams which influenced them. For example the Letter to the Hebrews is written in the most cultivated form of Greek. In this Epistle there is not only correct Greek language, but in some passages also a very fine rhythmic text. It is the most excellent linguistic idiom with about 1,000 words, and it is really difficult to put faith in the fact that this Epistle is written by a Hebrew writer or that it was predestined for a Hebrew public.

The works of Luke (Gospel and Acts), who represents the Greek philological tradition – even if some Semitic influences<sup>21</sup> appear in some passages of his writings – present the best Greek amongst all historical books of the New Testament. The Hellenised language structure, is indeed an undisputable element of Luke’s language which evinces an Attic influence. Luke, the Hellenist doctor, persistently replaces in the third Gospel the Latin words of the two other synoptic Gospels (Matthew and Mark) with Greek words. So he writes for example: ἐκατόνταρχος, ... ἀρχῆς (Lk 7:2p 23:47p Act 22:25) instead of κεντουρίων, φόρος (Lk 20:22; 23:2) in place of κῆνσος, σκεῦος (Lk 8:16) in place of μόδιος etc. In his second work, the Acts, which consists of 2,050 words, he uses the pure Greek dialect of that time.

Mark uses the simplest language compared to the other Gospels and manifests in his Gospel (which consists of 1,350 words) predominantly Latin and secondarily Old Testament influences. Considering that he does not take an interest in maintaining the grammatical rules of the “Koine,” he uses a lot of Aramaic and Hebrew words and expressions, such as: “ἁββα” (Mk 14:36), “Γολγοθᾶς” (Mk 15,22), “κορβανᾶς/κορβᾶν” (Mk 7:11), “ῥαββουνί” (Mk 10:51), “ταλιθα κουμ” (Mk 5:41) etc. In general, Mark presents a simple language with clumsy expressions, which are

usually corrected by the two other synoptic Evangelists, who draw from many Markan elements as sources.<sup>22</sup> Although the second Gospel has several “Aramaisms” and “Hebraisms” in it and is influenced by the semitised Greek language of the Old Testament, its style is not exactly Semitic, but simply colorless and careless Greek.

Matthew also uses a simple language which, however, has at many points an Aramaic basis. Some scholars had particularly maintained many years ago that the whole Gospel is a translation (perhaps by Matthew himself) from a preexisting Aramaic (or Hebrew) original.<sup>23</sup> Today, modern scholars speak about a readjustment of one Aramaic text, which indubitably existed earlier.<sup>24</sup> In many passages, Matthew’s language is more elegant than Mark’s. His Gospel, consisting of 1,700 words, is written in a specially worshipful and didactic language, and his style is comparatively serious.

On the other hand, the Apostle Paul made excellent use of both Greek and Hebrew, and exhibits a diverse language in his Epistles. There are some passages where his linguistic competence is evident because of his precise language, which has a rhetorical style and classical expressions; on the other hand there are passages, where he is not interested in the final syntactical expression, since he uses repetitions, inconsistent figures and unconnected expressions. Paul’s language touches neither the language of the Apocalypse nor the vulgar “Koine.” It is set apart from the rabbinic style and becomes an exclusively personal language with a strictly personal style. Those linguistic peculiarities, found in almost all Paul’s Epistles, are very distinctive. In summary, the Apostle to the Nations proves his linguistic ability, which is animated by his personal theological thought and wisdom.

The language of the Catholic Epistles, i.e. the Epistle of James, the two Epistles of Peter, the three Epistles of John and that of Jude, is simple with rhythmic elements. It approaches the language of the Epistle to Hebrews and it has a wonderful literary character. At the same time the rhetorical elements are not absent, and disclose the elementary Hellenistic education of the writers.

Finally, in his Gospels, John presents a correct Greek language with many “Aramaisms.” It is precisely this last element of the Johannine style which has led some scholars to express fearlessly the bold contention, that the fourth Gospel with its 1,000 words has been written primarily in Aramaic and afterwards was translated into Greek.<sup>25</sup> The Apocalypse of John is written in a simple language with

a richer vocabulary than the Gospel but, perhaps because of the literary genre of the prophetic revelation, it contains many grammatical and syntactical irregularities. It is the most simple and carefree language in the New Testament, and it could be designated as an inferior form of the "Koine" with a provincial color. In other words, the writer is using an unrefined language. It is obvious that he has less interest in correct linguistic formulation than in the messages of this book and their easy transmission to the reader. For this reason, the disorderly language is enriched with excellent multifarious pictures which, through their significant and sensitive influence, contribute to the more effective transmission of the revealing prophecy of this book.

It is not advisable to research in more detail the New Testament language of each writer separately. Thus, the fact must be emphasized again that the language of all 27 books of the New Testament does not constitute a phenomenon of supernatural dimensions descended from heaven. The word of God has been written in the natural language of the Hellenistic empire, the Greek "Koine," which was spoken by almost all nations of the the known world. This pure Greek "Koine" was not exactly the Attic language, i.e. classical Greek, but constituted a later simplified form of this last classical language.

About this point, there has been much misinterpretation caused principally by some scholars, who, on account of the re-appearance of the elevated classical language of the Fathers of the Church after the 5th century A.D., qualify the "Koine" as a degenerated type of Greek language, which was introduced unnaturally into the uneducated masses of the Hellenistic period. The same scholars perceived this contrast between classical and "Koine" Greek diachronically as a dissonance between the Katharevousa (Καθαρεύουσα) and the Demotic (Δημοτική) language of modern Greece. This aspect is not precise, however, because the "Koine" is nothing other than the self-evident, natural internal development of the Attic dialect, and not another autonomous language.

In order to better realize the language level of the New Testament, and to set the "Koine" in its own context of time and quality, one must compare this form of Greek first with the ancient (classical) and second with modern, Greek. This proposed effort does not entail any separation between the literary form and the language spoken by the people. The above parallel with classical Greek demonstrates its relationship with the "Koine" of the New Testament. The Attic dia-

lect constitutes the origin of the “Koine,” but these two cannot be identified. The historic events of the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the subsequent consequences, put their stamp on the final formation of the Greek “Koine” in the whole region around the Mediterranean sea.

The uninterrupted continuity of the Greek language in the Hellenistic period also becomes evident through the statistical elements below, which prove the genuine Greek derivation of the New Testament texts.

It is important to point out, that from the sum total of the New Testament words:

- \* about 3,000 words originate from the vocabulary of the ancient Greek language;

- \* about 1,800 are words from Greek roots made by the New Testament writers themselves, and

- \* there are still about 45 words borrowed from other languages.

Beyond the historical continuity and unity with the ancient Greek language, one must search for the linguistic development after Hellenistic times. What happened from that period onward? An uninterrupted continuity in the historical development of the Greek language could not be doubted. This indisputable unity of the Greek literacy idiom throughout the centuries becomes clear through the “echo” of the New Testament books to the modern Greek people, as well. How much of the New Testament language is comprehensible in our day? Certainly, much more than Aristotle’s, Lysias’ or Hesiod’s language, and very much more than Homer’s.

It can be ascertained from all of approximately 4,900 words found in the New Testament that:

- \* about 2,280 words are used by modern Greeks with the same meaning;

- \* about 2,200 words are understood partly with the primary meaning and partly with a similar sense;

- \* only about 400 words do not accommodate with the modern Greek vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

With respect to these statistical elements concerning the New Testament language, one could infer, that only ten percent of all the words are totally foreign to modern literacy understanding. This phenomenon is explained by the following:

a) Either some of the words originate from other (foreign) languages;

b) or they signify different senses concerned exclusively with conventions of life, which do not exist any more;

c) or during Jesus' time, they were not in use and were utilized only by learned writers, like Luke or Paul.

Modern Greek can be characterized, conclusively, as a natural continuation of the "Koine," taking into account the development of the Greek linguistic idiom in the current of more than three thousand years. If we are going to divide the whole Greek language into ancient and modern, we must put the incision between the Attic dialect and the "Koine,"<sup>27</sup> because this last form belongs to a later period of historical development. The "Koine" was developed during the Hellenistic period and before the 5th century A.D., when most important changes and modifications took place, whereas later changes are less significant.

Certainly on account of violent changes in Modern Greek in recent decades, the above conclusion is perhaps inconceivable for some people. The abolition of ancient or classical Greek from the gymnasium curriculum (secondary education) of young generations of Greeks, has made the gap and the distance from the genuine linguistic and cultural roots much bigger. This fact must seriously occupy the responsibilities of all the pertinent fields.

Anyway, it is unquestionable that from the entire vocabulary of the New Testament there are but a few words which are impossible to be used in the daily Greek today which is amazing, especially as twenty centuries have already elapsed. About this fact, the great linguist of the beginning of our century, Georgios Hatzidakis noted that "such a phenomenon has happened nowhere else."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aramaic was not an independent language, but a dialect which belonged to the wide family of semitic languages. See *Lexikon der Bibel*, ed. by Christian Geritzen (Elftville am Rhein, 1990), p. 38 "Die Sprache der Aramaer bildet einen der 5 semitischen Hauptdialekte." See also W. Arnold - O. Jastrow, "Was blieb von der Sprache Christi? Das Neuwestaramaische erforscht," *Forschung Mitteilungen der DFG*, Nr. 3-4/92, pp. 28-30 "Aramaisch gehört zum semitischen Sprachzweig und ist am nächsten mit dem Hebräischen und weiter entfernt mit dem Arabischen verwandt. Das Aramaische ist jedoch keine individuelle Sprache, sondern eine Familie nahverwandter Sprachen, die sich über einen Zeitraum von 3 000 Jahren auf dem Boden des Vorderen Orients entwickelt haben."

<sup>2</sup> It is not the aim of this essay to deal in detail with the originality of the language

spoken by Jesus Christ On this issue see the following works Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache Das galilaische Aramaische in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt* (Freiburg i B and Leipzig 1896), G Dalman, *Jesus Jeschua Die drei Sprachen Jesu*, (Leipzig, 1922), Evangelos Antoniadis, Το πρόβλημα της γλώσσας του Ἰησοῦ, Athens, 1933 Further cf A Wilder, *The language of the Gospel*, New York - Evanston, 1964, M Black, *Die Muttersprache Jesu Das Aramaische der Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte* (1982), G Schwarz, *Und Jesus sprach Untersuchungen zur aramaischen Urgestalt der Worte Jesu* (21987)

<sup>3</sup> Cf P Vassiliadis Ερμηνεία των Ευαγγελίων (Thessaloniki, 1990), pp 219-220 who speaks about a concrete number of “μεμονωμένων λογίων τα οποία αρχικά κυκλοφορούσαν προφορικά (η ακόμη και είχαν καταγραφεί) στην αραμαϊκή και αν αυτό αληθεύει, είναι πολύ πιθανό να αποδοθούν και στον ίδιο τον Ιστορικό Ιησού

<sup>4</sup> Quoted here is an index connected with the general study of the New Testament language W Bauer, *Griechisch Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1917), Fr Blass - A Debrunner - Fr Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1919), R Browning, Ἡ Ἑλληνική γλώσσα Μεσαιωνική και Νέα (Athens, 1985), G N Hatzidakis, Σύντομος Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας (Athens, 1915), A Deissmann *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), S G Kapsomenos, “Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch,” in *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress München 1958*, pp 1-39, L Lenz - K Roeske, H Ruhbach, *ΕΚΛΟΓΑΙ Einführung in das neutestamentliche Griechisch*, 2 vol., (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974), R Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (Zürich, 1982) J H Moulton, *Einleitung in die Sprache des NT* (Heidelberg, 1911), J H Moulton W F Howard, *A Grammar of NT Greek*, II vol., (Edinburgh, 1919 1929), E Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, vol II, (Darmstadt, 1958), especially pp 480-510, H Pernot, *Études sur la langue des évangiles* (Paris, 1927), L Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik Das Griechisch des neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (Tübingen, 1925), Fr Rehkopf, *Griechisches Lernvokabular zum Neuen Testament Wortschatz grammatische Paradigmen und Stammformen* (Göttingen, 1987), A T Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek NT in the light of historical Research* (New York, 1914), G Rottger, *KOINH KOINE Einführung in die griechische Sprache* (Bamberg, 1986), G Steyer, *Satzlehre des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Berlin, 1968), D Tabachovitz, *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament* (Lund, 1956), A Thumb, “Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des biblischen Griechisch,” *Theologische Rundschau* 5 (1902), I Tsatsomirois, *Ιστορία γενεσεως της Ἑλληνικης γλωσσας Απο τον ελλοπα-θηρευνη μεχρι την εποχη του Διως Η αποκρυπτογραφηση των σημασιων των 24 γραμματων του Αλφαβητου* (Athens, 1991), A Wilder, *The language of the Gospel* (New York-Evanston, 1964), G B Winer (ed.), *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (Göttingen, 1896)

<sup>5</sup> Cf on this point, E Norden *Die antike Kunstprosa*, vol II (Darmstadt, 1958), pp 485 f and Kon Nikolakopoulos, Ἡ γλωσσική δομή τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, in Συμπόσιον Πνευματικόν ἐπὶ χρυσῷ Ἰωβηλαίῳ Ἱερουσῆς τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Πατρῶν Νικοδήμου (Athens, 1989), pp 578-586

<sup>6</sup> For some interesting elements about the Greek “Koine” of that time see N Louvaris, “Ἡ γλώσσα τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης,” *Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶς* 4 (1924) 304 f., O

Hoffmann - A Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, I bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit* (Berlin, <sup>4</sup>1968), L Filis, *Η γλώσσα της Καινής Διαθήκης* (Athens, 1989), pp 29-59

<sup>7</sup> Cf S Agouridis, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην* (Athens, 1971), p 25, J Karavidopoulos, *Εἰσαγωγή στὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην* (Thessaloniki, 1983), p 92

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the ancient Greek dialects, see the notable works C D Buck, *Introduction to the study of the Greek dialects* (Boston, 1910, <sup>2</sup>1928), G Anagnostopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῶν ἑλληνικῶν διαλεκτῶν Ἀ' Ἱστορία τῶν ἀρχαίων διαλέκτων* (Athens, 1924)

<sup>9</sup> Cf G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις* (Thessaloniki, <sup>3</sup>1980), pp 46-56, Fr Blass - A Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, <sup>5</sup>1921), pp 3-4, S Agouridis, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην* (Athens, 1971), p 25

<sup>10</sup> This text and also others of its kind are published in the notable book of G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις* (Thessaloniki, 31980), p 60

<sup>11</sup> G Heinrich, *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften* (Leipzig, 1908), p 101 Cf also L Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (Uppsala, 1967)

<sup>12</sup> Cf the very interesting extract of the work of Origen, *Against Celsus* I, 62, PG 11,773/778 ff

<sup>13</sup> About the Orthodox liturgical text of the New Testament, see the interesting remarks in the following J Karavidopoulos, *Τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κείμενον τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης στη σύγχρονῃ ἐρευνᾷ*, in Τιμητικὸ ἀφιέρωμα στὸν ὁμοτιμὸ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνο Δ Καλοκύρη (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp 289-327, *ibid* , *Τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ὁμοιομορφίας τοῦ λειτουργικοῦ κειμένου τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης*, in ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ Ἀφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Βασιλείου Στογιαννοῦ (Thessaloniki, 1988), pp 135-155, *ibid* , "Εὐαγγελισταριον" - "Εὐαγγελιάριον" - "Εὐαγγέλιον" Διευκρινίσεις στὴν ἐπικρατοῦσα Ὁρολογία, in Archeveche de Suisse (ed) , Ἀναφορὰ εἰς μνήμην Μητροπολίτου Σαρδεῶν Μαξίμου 1914-1986, vol 3, (Geneva, 1989), pp 108-117 444-445, *ibid* , "Einige kurzere Lesearten des kirchlichen NT-Textes," *Orthodoxes Forum* 4 (1990) 5-7

<sup>14</sup> Cf P Vassiliadis, *Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Εὐαγγελίων* (Thessaloniki, 1990), p 146

<sup>15</sup> The exact designation of this fragment, dated between the years 120-125 A D , is P52 and contains the passage John 18,31-33 and 18,37-38 It can be found in the library John Ryland of Manchester in England Cf also J Karavidopoulos, *Εἰσαγωγή στὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην*, pp 26 and a short description of the manuscripts see in Appendix Nr I from K Nestle - B Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, <sup>26</sup>1979) About this question see another conception by C P Thiede, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift? Das Markus-Fragment und die Anfänge der schriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments* (<sup>3</sup>1992)

<sup>16</sup> The family of the Semitic languages includes different languages and dialects, as for example the Aramaic, the Hebrew, the ancient Assyriobabylonian, the Phoenician, the Arabic etc Far more interesting to mention here is the work of J Rets, *Diatheſis in the Semitic languages A comparative morphological study* (Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics, 14), Leiden, 1989

<sup>17</sup> K Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen, 1962), vol 1, part



At, pp 12 ff, N -W Lund, *Chiasmus in the New Testament* (North Carolina, 1942), p 24, M Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (31967) Finally see the list with some categories of Semitisms in G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις*, pp 88-90

<sup>18</sup> About this interesting point see J Weiss, *Beitrage zur paulinischen Rhetorik* (Gottingen, 1897), p 6 ff, Fr Torm, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* (Gottingen, 1930), p 104

<sup>19</sup> Remarkable are the following Latinisms κουστωδια (Custodia), λεγεων (Legio), σπεκουλατωρ (Speculator), μοδιος (Modius), λεντιον (Linteum), κῆνσος (Census) For more examples see G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις*, pp 90-92

<sup>20</sup> Ibid p 92

<sup>21</sup> Cf C F Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the fourth Gospel* (Oxford, 1922), p 15 "The character of N T Hebraisms derived from the Greek of the LXX "We observe that they are characteristically Lucan, and in some cases exclusively so"

<sup>22</sup> About the sources of the synoptic Gospels, see the detailed dissertation of P Vassiliadis, *Ἡ περὶ τῆς Πηγῆς τῶν Λογιῶν Θεωρία Κριτικὴ Θεωρησις τῶν συγχρόνων φιλολογικῶν καὶ Θεολογικῶν προβλημάτων τῆς Πηγῆς τῶν Λογιῶν* (Thessaloniki, 1977)

<sup>23</sup> In this context see the following testimonies of the ancient Church fathers Eusebius, *Church History* III, 39, 16, BEP 19, 281, 23-24 Ieronymus, *Contra Pelagianos* III, 2 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechisms* XIV, 15, BEP 39, 177, 32-35

<sup>24</sup> On this point see Fr Delitzsch, *The Hebrew New Testament* (Leipzig, 1883), C A Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1 Part (Halle, 1836)

<sup>25</sup> Cf C F Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the fourth Gospel* (Oxford, 1922), who tries to strengthen his opinion based on various hypothesis

<sup>26</sup> Cf G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις*, pp 94 (referred to G N Hatzidakis, *Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* See also N Louvaris - L Radermacher, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἐν τῇ συναφείᾳ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν δημῶδη* (Thessaloniki, 1920), C E Procope, *An outline of the history of the Greek Language, with particular Emphasis on the Koine and the subsequent Period* (Academia Scientiarum Ucrainica Americana, 1936), S G Kapsomenos, "Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch," in *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress Munchen 1958*, pp 1-39

<sup>27</sup> G Galitis, *Ἑρμηνευτικά τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης*, p 93

<sup>28</sup> G N Hatzidakis, *Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* (Athens, 1915, 21967), p 108

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Life of St. Ilaria\*

---

PROF. DEMETRIOS G. TSAMIS

### ILARIA<sup>1</sup>

The life of the blessed Ilaria, daughter of the God-loving king Zeno,<sup>2</sup> was written by the holy Abba Pambo,<sup>3</sup> priest of Scetis.<sup>4</sup> Ilaria died peacefully on January 16th. Amen.

Our God, the Creator, gave light to the eyes of our soul and body. For our physical eyes He gave us the sun to shine by day and the moon to rule by night. These were not enough, however, so He decorated the firmament with evening and morning stars in order to show the hours of the night.

Similarly, He gave us the Holy and light-giving Scripture, the Old and New Testament, for the eyes of our soul. He was not satisfied with only these, but granted us writers and preachers as guides. He gave them to us with wisdom because the words of the ancient poets were not able to help the idolatrous philosophers<sup>5</sup> who were searching for "new" words, as the Athenians when they were talking with Paul.<sup>6</sup>

Is it, thus, possible not to be on fire from a spiritual longing for the medicine which gives comfort to the soul?

In the years of the God-loving king Zeno, a great peace reigned in the Church.<sup>7</sup> He brought peace after the storm which came about by the Tome, an edition from the predecessors of Leo<sup>8</sup> and Valentine.<sup>9</sup> When Zeno was on the throne, he annulled any disrespectful ordinances, and then great peace and calm reigned.

The king did not have a son,<sup>10</sup> but only two daughters<sup>11</sup> whom he nurtured with good sense. First, he had them educated, as is neces-

\* TRanslated from D. G. Tsamis, *Meterikon*, vol. 4, Edition of the Sacred Monastery of "Panagia of Evros," (Alexandroupolis, 1993), pp. 367-395.

sary for those in the upper class, and in addition, they learned the greater part of the Psalter.<sup>12</sup> The oldest daughter was named Ilaria and the youngest Theopisti. Ilaria desired very much to live a life of a celibate virgin and of monastic denial. She was afraid to enter the convents of Constantinople because they would not perhaps accept her because of her parents. She was worried about what she should do in order to enter the holy gathering of virgins.

One Sunday the king, together with the queen and their two daughters attended the Divine Liturgy. The blessed Ilaria raised her eyes to Heaven and prayed: "My Almighty God, if You want, guide me to what I desire. Make me hear from the sacred readings something that will match my goal."<sup>13</sup> As soon as she entered the Church, she first heard from the epistle reading: "It was faith that made Moses, when he had grown up, refuse to be called the son of the king's daughter. He preferred to suffer with God's people rather than enjoy sin for a little while. He reckoned that to suffer scorn for the Christ was worth far more than all the treasures of Egypt, for he kept his eyes on the future reward."<sup>14</sup> And from the Catholic epistle: "For the rich of this world are like the grass and their glory like the blossom of grass."<sup>15</sup> Again from Acts: "I never asked for silver, gold, or luxurious clothing. You yourselves know that I worked with my own hands here for my own needs and for those of my followers."<sup>16</sup> From the Psalms: "The words of the Lord are more desirous than gold and expensive rocks. They are sweeter than honey and beeswax."<sup>17</sup> From the Gospel: "If one does not deny whatever he has and follows Me, He cannot be my disciple."<sup>18</sup> From the sermon of the bishop: "Why, o man, do you care for what you have left behind? Remember that these worldly desires pass away."<sup>19</sup> The riches shall stay here, but the sins before us will go to the throne of God's judgment," and other similar passages.

The girl heard these words and confessed, "Truly God has shown me my way."<sup>20</sup> When Church finished she began to think and to plan how she was going to leave far away. God showed her what she had to do. At midnight of the same day, she got up, she wore the uniform and belt of an officer and one gold sword, walked towards the sea-shore and no one recognized her. She found a boat preparing to weigh anchor in Caesarea<sup>21</sup> of Palestine. She was holding a document which looked like royal decree. She said to the captain, "I want you to take me to Alexandria."<sup>22</sup> It concerns a royal decree which I cannot reveal."

The captain said to her, "My lord, we're not going there, but since it is for a royal decree, I am not to oppose you." They took her into the boat and went to Alexandria.

The daughter was then around eighteen years old and her heart was speaking thus to her. When they reached Alexandria, she proceeded with the ardor of her soul. She entered the Church of St. Peter,<sup>23</sup> the Archbishop's Church, and prayed, "Holy Peter, Archbishop, ask God to direct my life according to His will."

The next morning she saw a crowd in white and proceeding towards the central church; it was the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist.<sup>24</sup> The reverent daughter carefully went with them. Having gone up the stairs of St. Mark, she cried loudly, "Lord, if You want to guide me to the footpath of truth, let me hear word from the sacred readings which concern me, just as I heard them in Constantinople."

She entered the Church and heard from the epistle: "God makes all things work for the good of those who love Him, He called them according to His will, He knew them from before and He predestined them."<sup>25</sup> From the Catholic epistles, "Do not love the world, neither all the things of the world."<sup>26</sup> Again from Acts, "An angel of the Lord appeared to Peter and said to him, 'Put on your belt, your sandals and garment, and follow me.'"<sup>27</sup> From Psalms, "To him the Lord will give the law, in order to be guided on the road he chose."<sup>28</sup> From the Gospel, "send my messenger before you, in order to prepare your way."<sup>29</sup> And at the end of the homily of the Archbishop after the gospel reading, "Do not be sorry that you rejected riches. 'Whoever leaves home, husband and children, will receive one hundred times more and will inherit eternal life.'"<sup>30</sup>

Blessed Ilaria heard these words. She felt great comfort and prayed to St. Mark, "Become my helper and guide, I am a stranger and I do not know anyone in this city." The service ended, she approached a deacon, a man of God, named Theodore, and told him, "Brother deacon, I want you to come with me to Scetis<sup>31</sup> and I shall pay you. I want to go there and pray, but I do not know the road. For this reason, and only for this, did I come to Byzantium."

The deacon answered her, "My Lord, now for quite a time, I wanted to go there, but laziness and my work prevented me until now. It was truly God's will that you came, so that I would be worthy to go with you. Only, today is Sunday. Come, that we may eat together and with God's help, we shall leave in the morning."

The holy daughter told him, "Good. You have spoken well. Take this gold coin, a denarius.<sup>32</sup> But whatever is needed, and whatever is left over we shall spend it on the way."

The deacon fulfilled her wish and took the money. They ate that day together. The next day she rented beasts of burden, they rode them, went to the Church of St. Mena<sup>33</sup> and afterward to Scetis. They asked to learn where the Church was, and they continued on their way. When the priest Abba Pambo heard that a pious man from Alexandria and a deacon had arrived and wanted to see him, he welcomed them and prayed with them, as was the monks' custom. They sat down, and he told them comforting words for their souls.

The blessed Ilaria said to Abba Pambo, "Father, I want you to make me a monastic and allow me to stay with you."

The holy man said, "My child, you cannot live with us, since you grew up in comfort. If you want to become a monastic,<sup>34</sup> go to the monastery of Enatou. There, you will find comfort, because many monks dwell there who are very rich and they have made themselves very much at ease. We, however, are around forty miles away from Egypt and do not meet many people. Only two or three will want to visit us for the love of God. We do not have any comfort whatsoever, and even our clothes seem to us to be a luxury. You grew up in richer things. You will not be able to endure such hardships."

The holy daughter replied, "Father, I came here with all my heart. If you send me away, you will give account to God for my soul."

The holy old man marveled at her answer, and gave her and the deacon lodging in order to stay. After five days the deacon went to the priest Abba Pambo and told him, "Have compassion on me, Abba, I want to return to my city."

The blessed Ilaria told him, "Father, take all that I have brought and share them with the brothers. They are poor and have needs."

However, he said to her, "My child, we do not need such things. Whatever we make with our hands is sufficient. If, however, you want with all your soul to deny the world, give whatever you have to the deacon, so that he may give them to the Archbishop in order to help the poor." Ilaria gave the deacon who was leaving whatever she had, namely her gold sword and gold belt.

Ilaria approached the priest Abba Pambo and told him, "Holy father, I wanted to wear the monastic schema." He gave her the attire of a woolen shirt.<sup>35</sup> Ilaria moved away, took off the clothes which she

was wearing, put on the schema, and went to Pambo who put on her his belt with his holy hands not realizing she was a woman. He gave her a cell next to his, to the south of the Church, and together with the philosopher Abba Martyrios, he would visit her twice daily. Abba Martyrios would translate Abba Pambo's words into Greek. In this way the young daughter learned the Egyptian tongue.

After three years had passed, the Lord revealed to Abba Pambo that she was a woman, but not, however, that she was the daughter of the king. When he was informed of her gender, he told her, "Do not let anyone know what you are, because it does not go with our lives here that a woman live among us; perhaps something evil shall occur from our mistake." Nine years passed and they saw that the young daughter was not growing a beard; they would call her the eunuch<sup>36</sup> Ilaria, since there were many eunuchs who accepted the monastic schema. Her breasts were not like other women; she had melted<sup>37</sup> from much asceticism. Nor did she have the womanly weakness because that is how the Almighty God wanted it.

For nine years she applied herself to the mortification of the body through intense asceticism, while her parents believed that she was dead. Then an evil spirit possessed her younger sister in Constantinople, and they took her to the great ascetics of the Byzantine monasteries in order to pray for her, but the Lord did not cure her through their intercessions. The higher functionaries of the palace advised the king, "May you live many years, king. If you want to listen to our advice, send your daughter to the ascetics of Scetis. Their ascetic struggles are great, and this is why we believe the Lord will cure her through their prayers."

The king heard their advice and was enthusiastic about it because he was in despair over this situation with his daughter. He sent two eunuchs with her, two women attendants, and two servants in order to take care of her. He wrote to the field marshal<sup>38</sup> and to the sovereign of Alexandria to escort her to the Mount of Nitria. He wrote also to the ascetics of Scetis. He asked for pen and paper and wrote with his own hand, in case any haughty word be written which would be unworthy of his kingly high office. This was his humble epistle:

"The most humble king Zeno, who unworthily has the honor of this kingdom given to him by God, writes to the pious, beloved brothers who pray for the whole world, and greets them.

"First of all, holy brothers, I venerate you in Christ, and, if I am

worthy, I also venerate your holy hands. Furthermore, I inform what God has done to me for my sins. I have two daughters and these are my only consolation. The oldest one left us and I do not know what happened to her, whether she has drowned in the sea, or was kidnapped by barbarians, or was torn to pieces by wild animals, or, finally, if she died, or even how, God knows. With my daughter's death, great sorrow has befallen my house because I have not been able to find her body and bury it.

"I was consoled a little about my daughter, saying to myself, 'Let God's will be done.'<sup>39</sup> However, one other calamity befell me, greater than my first. My little daughter for whom I held great hopes saying, 'Lord, protect her and may she live in my presence,' was seized by an evil spirit. Day and night we watched over her and I can say that the death of the first became preferable to the life of my second daughter. The higher palace functionaries advised me to send her to your holiness. I steadfastly believe that God will not deny you whatever you ask of Him. My brothers, if you supplicate God, He will heal my daughter through your prayers. Venerable Fathers, I greet you."

The princess arrived in Alexandria. The field marshal and the sovereign went together to Scetis and when they met the holy Abba Pambo, they handed to him the letter of the king. The Abba asked all the brothers to pray for her saying, "Let us supplicate the Lord to heal the king's daughter<sup>40</sup> because he is in all respects pious."

As they began to pray, the evil spirit attacked her, threw her down to the ground in convulsion. The field marshal and the sovereign were amazed how the demon had entered her, though the girl was among so many holy men. The blessed Ilaria saw her sister and recognized her, although she did not recognize Ilaria who was a monastic. How could she recognize her, now that her flesh had withered from asceticism, the beauty of her body and her appearance had altered and left only skin and bones?<sup>41</sup> And furthermore, she was wearing men's clothes.<sup>42</sup>

Ilaria encountered her sister, whose heart tightened and convulsed. She fell down and cried so much that the soil was drenched with her tears. She said, "Lord, have pity upon this young girl."

The monks saw her thus, and wondered at her distress. They could not understand her and said, "She is filled with pity for her."

When the daughter calmed down somewhat from the attack of the demon, the holy Abba Pambo called an elderly ascetic and told him, "Take this girl to your cell and pray that the Lord cure her."



The ascetic answered, "I have not reached such a height of perfection that I am able to take a woman to my cell. Only whoever has attained dispassion are able to do so."

The philosopher Abba Martyrios said, "Give her to Ilarion the eunuch because he can especially take a woman to his cell." They handed the girl over to her sister's competence who took her to her cell.

When she would get up to pray, Theopisti prayed with her, too. When she would see her, her heart would melt and would fall to the ground crying until the soil would be soaked with her tears. When she would get up, she would hug her all night. After seven days the Lord healed her. Ilaria led her to the middle of the gathering and said to the brothers, "Through your holy prayers, the Lord has healed the king's daughter."

After the field marshal and sovereign received Communion on Sunday, they returned to their country. All the brethren of Scetis, using the king's daughter as a scribe, wrote a letter to her father with these words:

"We, the most humble ascetics of the Mount of Scetis, write to the conqueror, august, strong, and glorious king Zeno. Before anything else, we bow before your glorious greatness. May God glorify your kingship and empower your realm, as He preserved intact those of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Jonah. May God direct the affairs of your kingdom without disturbance and irregularity. We bow to you in the Lord. May you remember us and all the Church."

Thus, they went to Constantinople and there was great joy over the healing of the king's daughter. The king held a large celebration for all the sick that he found in the city, the lame, and all with bodily infirmities. The king served them with rolled up sleeves, and gave aromatic wine<sup>43</sup> and three gold coins to each one with his own hands. The next day there was a celebration for all the court's functionaries, for the king was extremely glad for the healing of his daughter.

He asked his daughter, "What is the matter, my daughter?"

She answered, "An ascetic named Ilarion took me under his care. He would pray for me. The Lord healed me through his prayers. He loved me very much. He would kiss me often and sometimes would sleep with me in the same bed at night."

When the king heard these things, he was offended. He said, "I never heard of a monk wanting to kiss a woman or to sleep in the same bed with her. They always say that they avoid the female gen-

der; for this reason do they go to the desert. They do not even tolerate talking with women.” This thought bothered him. Thus, he wrote a second letter to Scetis with the following contents:

“The august conqueror Zeno is writing to the holy and pious Fathers who inhabit Scetis. I thank you for your prayers. I want you, therefore, to receive my request and send me brother Ilarion. One polite courtier is sick and his illness is so serious that he is unable to travel by sea. I have heard of the holiness of brother Ilarion, and I believe that if he comes here to us, all of us will profit from his prayers.”

When they read the king’s letter, Pambo called the blessed Ilaria and told her, “Get ready, brother, because the king has asked for you.”

Ilaria was very much saddened, but the brothers comforted her, “Get up and go, brother. The Lord will be with you and will bring you back peacefully.” They sent with her two elderly brothers and in this way, they reached Constantinople.

The king was informed of their coming. He was very happy and invited them to meet him, receiving them with great joy and honor. He went to meet them at the third gate of the palace, hugged them and brought them silver chairs to sit in. They sat down and talked together about the Holy Bible. He listened to them with gladness and asked them, “Pray for me, that the Lord keep in the faith of my Fathers.”

Then he got up, took the blessed Ilaria aside and told her, “Father Ilarion, I have need of your prayers. I want to ask you something, only do not get offended. My daughter told me that you kissed her often and would sleep all night in the same bed. Tell me the truth. Did you do it out of pity for her? I want to know the truth, so that I will not be scandalized. Please, do not be offended by my words.”

The holy daughter thought, “Should I keep this a secret, but the other monks will suffer from my mistake because they will think impure things about the saints...” That is why she told him, “Bring here the four Gospels and swear neither to reveal this fact, nor to prevent me from returning to my monastery.” The king swore and she told him, “I am your daughter Ilaria.”

When the king heard this, he was thunderstruck and he could not talk for some time. When he recovered, he approached his daughter and hugged her, just as Joseph fell in the lap of his father Jacob,<sup>44</sup> and kissed her crying. As soon as the mother and sister heard the

news, they came running, shouting loudly. Women by nature are easily excited. The king restrained them saying, "I gave my word and I cannot take it back."

The mother told them, "Let us keep her close to us and crown her with the crown of the kingdom."

The king, however, answered, "No, lest the Lord become full of wrath and deprive us of both our daughters. Let us glorify God that we found our daughter alive."

As he had sworn, the king kept the secret from the monks who had come with her. He kept the monks for three months with him, so that he could see his daughter. He asked her how she had left the house. She told him that she wore the uniform of a field marshal, arrived at Alexandria, and then went to Scetis with the deacon.

Later she said good-bye to them and they left for Scetis.

The king gave three thousand ears of corn and six hundred kilos of oil<sup>45</sup> for the needs of Scetis as an offering for his daughter. This subsidy is afforded to the Church of Scetis to this day.

Ilaria returned to Scetis. She lived another ten years and at the end became seriously ill. She endured her illness bravely. She invited the holy Abba Pambo and had him take an oath saying, "When my life is finished, since you and God know the whole story of my life, not let them take off my schema, but let them bury me with this."<sup>46</sup> As soon as she said this, she gave up her spirit.

The holy Abba Pambo was careful to do everything as she had requested. When they buried her, he returned, sat down and said to the brothers, "Truly, one delicate vessel has embarrassed a multitude of monks who live today in Scetis. Who acquired such endurance as this one woman who lived among so many men? Who despised bodily comforts as she did? Who denied the vainglory of the world as she?"

The brothers heard her life, were amazed, and glorified God, that although she lived twenty years among five hundred monks, nobody recognized that she was a woman, except the holy priest Abba Pambo. God made her worthy to end her life on the feastday of the holy Mother of God, in other words, the 21st of the Egyptian month of Tobe<sup>47</sup> (in other words January 16th).

The father was informed of her death and was saddened as a human being. Then he comforted her mother saying, "If the 'one who has descendants in Zion'<sup>48</sup> is considered blessed with the one who has relatives in the heavenly Jerusalem, then both of us are blessed

who have our child in the heavenly Jerusalem. Maybe she can intercede for us before Christ, to forgive our sins and lawlessness.”

The holy Abba Pambo wrote these words and put them in the Church of Scetis, believing that it will help and comfort all who hear them in order to glorify God the Father, with His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and His Holy Spirit unto the ages of ages. Amen.<sup>49</sup>

Translated by Maria Georgiades

<sup>1</sup> E Amélineau [“Histoire des deux filles de l’empereur Zénon,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* 10 (1888)181-206] was the first to occupy himself with the apocryphal recounting of Ilaria, which has many similarities with the story of Apolinaria (*Meterikon* 2, p 162-7) E Amélineau saw this as a representative literary type of Egyptian monasticism Also, O von Lemm [“Die Geschichte von der Prinzessin Bentes und die Geschichte von Kaiser Zeno und seinen zwei Töchtern,” *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de L’Académie impériale des Sciences de St Peterburg* 9(1888)599-603] linked this story with a similar ancient Egyptian one Relative to the problems which arise from this story, see also P Peeters “Le Maryrologe de Rabban Sliba,” *AB* 27 (1908) 169 A J Wensinck, *Legends of Eastern Saints* ,II, *The Legends of Hilaria*, Leiden 1913 J M Sauget, “Ilaria,” *BS* 5, 708-11, where there is also a relevant bibliography, and O F A Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo 1989, p 74-6

<sup>2</sup> Emperor Zeno(474-5 and 476-491) For him see *Prosopography* 2, p 1200-1220

<sup>3</sup> If another Abba Pambo is not meant, then there is an anachronism The renowned Abba Pambo lived one century before Zeno (he was born around 304A D and died 374) For him see G Ev White, *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis*, vol 2, New York 1932, p 52F Chitty, *Desert*, p 29, 31, 46f ,69, etc Pambo was the spiritual father of the four “Makroi brothers” and the priest of Scetis Certain maxims are preserved under his name (PG 65, 368B-372B) For more information, see also *Meterikon* 1, p 380, n 5 and 7 and p 408

<sup>4</sup> Scetis, the cradle of hermit monasticism, was founded in an inaccessible desert by Macarius the Egyptian around the year 300 and had the greatest prosperity during the last two decades of the 4th century Scetis is 40 miles South of Nitria It was easier to move to Scetis from the city Terenouthis, which was to the left bank of Kanorikos’ mouth of the Nile and was about 20 miles away Scetis was repeatedly destroyed by several invasions, as for example in 357 by the Saracens, in 407-408 and in 578 by the Berberic race of the Mazikes or Mazakes who was dwelling in the Mavritania Kaisarinsia inland, that is in the western Algeri and on the 24th parallel of Mavritania’s Tigitani, that is present day Morocco (see Ptolemy, *Geograph* IV, 1,5 and 2-3, Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* 1, 7, PG 86, 244B, John Moschos, *Meadow* 112, PG 87, 2976C) Especially after the entire catastrophe of 407-408, the hermits fled to other monastic centers In order to protect the hermits, many buildings were built with a grant by the emperor Zeno which in the 11th century were fortified with strong walls See White, *op cit* , vols 1-3, New York 1926-33, A De Cosson, *Mareotis*, London 1935, E R Hardy, *Christian Egypt*, p 12-13, 33-39, 46, 56-74, 103, 168, etc , P Grossman, *Mittelalterliche*

*Langhaus Kuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten*, Glückstadt 1982, 112f., 122., 206f., 213f. And Leroy, *Les peintures des couvents du Quadi Natroun*, Cairo 1982.

<sup>5</sup> The apologist and philosopher martyr Justin, within the teaching about the “germinative principle,” believed that the Holy Scriptures are not the only fountain of truth. The mind of man can discern a part of truth and procure the existence of elements of the truth in the works of the ancient Greek poets through the energies of the sly demons who tried to create confusion in man “by making them think that they were guiding them in matters concerning Christ, just as they did through the words of the poets when in fact they were creating monstrosities,” *1st Apology* 54, 1 PG 6, 408C. For more see Tsamis, *Introduction*, p. 277.

<sup>6</sup> See above 17, 21.

<sup>7</sup> This is not correct. On the contrary, as a result of the Church politics of Zeno and his monophysitic tendencies, there was great commotion. When in fact in 482 the “Henotikon” was issued, through which he was endeavoring with vagueness, hints and omissions to unite the Orthodox who accepted the teachings of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod and the Monophysites, disagreement increased, ethnic Monophysite Churches began to form and a schism between the East and the West (Acacian Schism) was created which lasted for 35 years (484-519). For this, see S. Salaville, “L’ Affaire de l’ Hénétique de Zénon,” p. 380-397; W.T. Townsend, “The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church,” *Journal of Religion* 16 (1936)78-86.

<sup>8</sup> Leon I, emperor (457-474). See. *Prosopography* 2, p. 663-664.

<sup>9</sup> Valentine III, emperor of the West (423-433). See *Prosopography* 2, p. 1138-1139. In the Coptic text, the name Avrilianos is mentioned, but Valentine is in fact implied.

<sup>10</sup> That Zeno did not have a son is not historically correct. From his first spouse Arcadia he begat his first son whom he named Zeno (see *Prosopography* 2, p. 130 and 1198). From his second spouse Ariadne, daughter of the King Leo I (457-74), he begat the later emperor Leo II (474), who died seven years old, after he was proclaimed co-emperor of Zeno (see *Prosopography* 2, p. 140-1 and 664-5).

<sup>11</sup> Not one historical source mentions that Zeno had two daughters.

<sup>12</sup> See above *Theoktisti Constantinoupolitissa II*, note 13.

<sup>13</sup> For a similar use of the Holy Scripture see “Theodora Alexandrini” 3, *Meterikon* 3, p. 324 and Prescher, *Three Coptic Legends. Hilaria, Archellites, The Seven Sleepers*. P. 71, Le Caire 1947.

<sup>14</sup> *Heb.* 11:24-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Jam.* 1:10-11.

<sup>16</sup> *Acts* 20:33-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ps.* 18:11.

<sup>18</sup> *Lk.* 14:26-7.

<sup>19</sup> *1 Jn.* 2:17.

<sup>20</sup> See *Ps.* 5:9; 24:4 85:11; 138:3; 142:8, etc.

<sup>21</sup> This is not the Caesarea of Philippi, nor Caesarea Panea, which Jesus visited (*Matt.* 16:13; *Mk.* 8:27), but Caesarea of Parolo. It was between Joppa and Caipha and had a secure port, where Herod had built and named the city Caesarea in honor of Augustus (234 A.D.). Mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles (*Acts* 8:40, 9:30, 10:1 and 24, 11:11, 12:19, 18:22, 21:8 and 16, 23:23 and 33, 25:1, 4, 6 and 13) and it was well-known in the Christian era as an episcopal see. For this city see J. Ringel, *Césarée*

de Palestine, Paris 1975, L. Revine, *Roman Caesarea*, Jerusalem 1975 and K. Hollum, and King Herod's Dream *Caesarea by the Sea*, New York-London 1988

<sup>22</sup> Alexandria was founded in 331 B C by Alexander the Great and was the third largest city after Rome and Constantinople

<sup>23</sup> It was at the western part of Alexandria. For the temple of this city see Papadopoulos, *Alexandria*, p. 486f

<sup>24</sup> The church of the Evangelist Mark was in the eastern part of Alexandria, in the quarter of Voukolio and was built by the bishop Achilla of Alexandria. See Papadopoulos, *Alexandria*, p. 489. The memory of the evangelist Mark is commemorated on April 25th (See *Constantinopolitan Synaxarion*, col. 627-30)

<sup>25</sup> *Rom* 8 28-9

<sup>26</sup> *I Jn* 2 15

<sup>27</sup> *Acts* 12 7-8

<sup>28</sup> *Ps* 24 12

<sup>29</sup> *Mal* 3 1, *Mk* 1 2 and *Lk* 7 27

<sup>30</sup> *Matt* 19 29

<sup>31</sup> See n. 4 above

<sup>32</sup> *O olokotinos* [denarius], *tó olokotinos* or *tó olokotinon* or currency or *soldion* (*solidus*) was the Byzantine gold coin. Twelve *folis* (Byzantine money of 18 grams, 5/10 of gold coins) constituted one *ceratium*, two *ceratia* one *milhiarensis* and twelve *milhiarensis* of the *denarius*. See C. Morisson and others, *L'or monnayé I Purification et alterations de Rome a Byzance*, Paris 1985 and generally for the byzantine money see W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vols. 2, London 1908, C. Morisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliotheque Nationale* (491-1204), vols. 2, Paris 1970, A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vols. 3, Washington, D. C., 1966-73. For similar passages see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford U. P. 1976, p. 949, A. J. Festugière-L. Rydn, *Leontios de Néapolis, Vie de Symeon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1974, pp. 551-2 and *Ek tou viou tou agiou Pachomiou* 21-2, [*Sancti Pachomi, Vitae Graecae* (SH 19)], ed. F. Halkin, Bruxelles 1932, pp. 147-9

<sup>33</sup> At the place where the relics of the Martyr Mena were buried in the area of Lake Mariotides in Egypt, there was a rich spring which had been considered as medical and miracle-working. Since many pilgrims would come there, at the end of the fifth to the beginning of the sixth century, a large basilica was built there near the first church. The reputation of this wonderworking place of pilgrimage spread to all of the Mediterranean. See in relation R. Miedema, *De heilige Menas*, Rotterdam 1913 and P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina. A guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center*, Cairo 1986 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Cairo). For the praiseworthy works which are mentioned about Saint Mena see BHG 1250-69m, vol. 2, pp. 11-4. His memory is kept on November 11 (see *Constantinopolitan Synaxarion*, col. 211f)

<sup>34</sup> The monastery of Enatou was situated nine miles west of Alexandria and had become a center of polemics against the decision of the Chalcedon Synod (451). See P. van Cauwenbergh, *Etude sur les moines d'Égypte*, Louvain Alexandria 1914, pp. 64-72, Chitty, *Desert*, pp. 74, 80 (n. 111-2), 92, 259, 166, (n. 95), 178 (n. 39) and Papadopoulos, p. 457

<sup>35</sup> *To kámason* or *kama(ι)sion* (Latin *camasus*) is the well-known tunic (short or long, with short or long sleeves), the primary garment of Byzantine men and women

See Orentios II, *Gerontikon tou Sinā*, p. 340. To “kamision” of clerics was named “sticharion.” For the different types of this kind of garment see L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, Baltimore 1938, pp. 55-75; G. Fabre, “Recherches sur l’origine des ornements vestimentaires du Bas. Empire” *Karthago* 16 (1937) 107-128; Koukoule, *Vios*, vol. 6 pp. 285-6.

<sup>36</sup> Many women who were ascetics in the desert disguised as men were thought of as eunuchs. See for example, “Anastasia,” *Mēterikon* 1, pp. 46-51; “Apolinaria,” *Mēterikon* 2, pp. 162-7; “Theodora Alexandrini,” *Mēterikon* 3, pp. 321-353 and above “Vasilina,” n. 7.

<sup>37</sup> See similarly “Anastasia 3,” *Mēterikon* 1, p. 48: “... like on two dry leaves...”

<sup>38</sup> For the high office of commander (“magister militum”) before the 6th century see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1967, p. 385-392.

<sup>39</sup> See *Matt.* 6: 10 and 26:42; *Lk.* 22: 42, *Acts* 21: 14 and others.

<sup>40</sup> In the writings of the saints, healings of kings’ daughters were possessed by a demon are frequently mentioned (Mark Anthony, Constantine, Arcadius, Anthimus, ect.). See, for ex., “Apolinaria,” *Mēterikon* 2, pp. 162-7 and Drescher, *ibid.* pp. 124-5.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. “Athanasia 7,” *Mēterikon* 1, pp. 38-40: “... how could he who had been so beautiful become withered and look like an Ethiopian (woman)?” “Theodora Alexandrini 6,” *Mēterikon* 3., p. 330: “But how could he recognize her as his wife ... now that she had withered as a result of the unmeasurable suffering and the hard toil?” “Domnina 2,” *Mēterikon* 1, p. 120: “Her skin was very thin and her muscles were also thin around the bones, while soft fat and flesh were consumed by suffering.” “Apolinaria 2,” *Mēterikon* 2, p. 164: “Anna Lefkatis 2,” *Mēterikon* 2, pp. 158-60: “... This way her body withered in a way that all her bodily details could be seen; her flesh from much hardening [katta keison] and almost deadened and the composition and the joining that they had precisely exhibited and only the skin had remained.”

<sup>42</sup> See above “Vasilina,” n. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Concerning wine in Byzantium, production, consumption and types of, see Koukoule, *Vios*, vol. II, 1, pp. 193-5 and vol. V, pp. 122-9; C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World*, London 1957; H. Eideneir, “Zu ‘Krasin’,” *Ellinika* 23 (1970) 118-122. See also *Gerontikon tou Sina*, p. 338-9, n. 1.

<sup>44</sup> See *Gen.* 46:29.

<sup>45</sup> Concerning this subsidy see “History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 1, p. 449 and “Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite (Rédaction Copte),” *Patrologia Orientalis* 11, p. 636, ed. R. Basset. See also White, *ibid.* p. 226F., 268 and Meinardus, *ibid.* p. 76. The “artave” [ear] was an Egyptian measurement of space which varied between 24 to 42 hoinix (approx. 55 litres). See *Ek tou viou tou agiou Pachomiou*, *ibid.* pp. 148-9, n. 34, *I kat’ Aigipton ton Monachon Istoria* (SH 34), p. 114: “... artaves enduring one whole year as 40 of the modius [a type of measurement for liquids] of what is said amongst us;” Epiphanius of Salamis, *Peri metron kai stathmon* 21, PG 43, 272B and *Apophthepmata Patrum*. PG 65, 128A.

<sup>46</sup> The patrician Anastasia says the same to Abba Daniel a little before dying. Anastasia like Ilaria had disguised herself as a man and was an ascetic in Scetis as a man. See “Anastasia 2” *Mēterikon* I, p. 48: “For the Lord do not strip me off from what I wear... and nobody else should learn anything about me, but us and only us.”

<sup>47</sup> The month (Egyptian), *Tybi* (Arabic), *Tubí* (Greek) is the fifth month of the Egyptian calender and is equivalent to the time of December 27 to January 25. See Clement of

Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1, 21, PG 8, 888A, Epiphanius of Salamis, *Against Heresies* 51, 24, PG 41, 932B, *Martyrologion tou Sina*, p 233, n 68 and De L. O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* London-New York 1937, p 34F The 21st of this month is equivalent to Jan 16th of the Roman calender See O'Leary, *ibid* P 152 and Sauget, *ibid* p 710

<sup>48</sup> Is 31 9

<sup>49</sup> The Coptic text (BHO 379, pp 87-8) was published by Drescher, *ibid* , p 1-13 Variations of this text in other languages (Arabic, Syrian, Ethiopian, ect ) were published by A J Wensinck, *Legends of Eastern Saints II The Legend of Hilaria*, Leyden 1913 Wensinck (*ibid* p XXXf ) admits that the Coptic life of Ilaria is older and must have been written in the beginning of the 7th century



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## THE NATURE OF EVANGELISM

---

FR. JOHN REEVES

“And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen” (Mt. 28:18-20).

Words so familiar as these, the Great Commission of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ, are apt to be taken ever so lightly, for granted, familiarity having bred contempt. Yet for Orthodox Christians today, there is a constant need to become reacquainted, and perhaps for some to become acquainted for the first time, with the missionary imperative of our faith. Indeed, our Lord’s final words to his apostles were commandments, not suggestions, and to disobey, omit, or ignore His commandments is perilous to souls, both our own as well as those to whom we have been sent.

The nature of evangelism is to proclaim today exactly that which Christ himself commanded, that is, what he ordered his apostles to proclaim. In the words of St. John it is:

That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life.

For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.

That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have communion with us: and truly our communion is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ... that your joy may be full. (1 Jn. 1:1-4).

As well in 2 Peter we find expressed these same sentiments exactly:

Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord. According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue: Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust (1:2-4).

Evangelism is by nature centered then in the person of Christ as known in the Church; and it calls all men to a saving knowledge and relationship with him through communion with the apostles and their teaching, the breaking of bread and the prayers (cf. Acts 2:42). Thus by having communion with the apostles, those first sent to evangelize, and by maintaining steadfastly their teaching, we have communion with the Father and his Son, Jesus Christ, that we might be partakers of the divine nature. Participation in the life of the Church becomes both sign and means of the whole process of the sanctification and ultimate salvation of our souls.

The Christ we proclaim is none other than that same One who first commissioned his apostles telling them to go, to teach, to baptize, and to observe all things whatsoever he has commanded. To preach another Christ in sum or in part would be to deviate from the mission which the Lord commanded. To declare another path to salvation other than he who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life would be to lie.

Yet precisely in these latter days, the hearts of many have waxed cold; many have come in Christ's name saying, "Here he is. There he is." So Orthodox Christians must capture anew, with greater intensity, greater zeal, than this generation has heretofore seen, that missionary, evangelistic imperative of the Great Commission.

Truly, our salvation is nearer at hand than when we first believed. Our salvation and the potential salvation of those multitudes who have never known of Christ, who have never heard his Gospel, hang in the balance. To those within and without the Church we are commanded to cry, "The night is far spent. The day is at hand. Repent! Repent (and be baptized) for the forgiveness of sins!"

As we face the Third Millenium, we must indeed speak the Truth in love to all those who would know Christ as Lord and Savior and

God, as well as to those who would not, or think that they do, and do not. We do possess the fulness of faith, we have found the true faith, as we sing at every liturgy. But we possess the fulness of faith not merely to sing that we have it, but to proclaim to the world that God has become Man, that Man might become like God.

Indeed, we must always be telling ourselves anew that for the Orthodox Christian this truth is not a concept or philosophy. In the words of Mother Maria of Normandy, this truth is a person, and his name is Jesus.

This consequently is what, rather Who, we are to teach to all nations without compromise: this Jesus is both Messiah and Lord, without Whom no man comes to the Father. Not only is He the One defined with great precision by the Seven Councils, but the One met mysteriously at each Liturgy, known to us in the breaking of the bread.

It is precisely at this point, the eucharistic encounter of the faithful with Christ, that the means of this saving knowledge is made possible, is consummated. Thereby, we taste of the good word of God and the powers of the age to come (Heb. 6:5). And it is for this reason that we have been given the command to go, to teach, and to baptize.

Preaching and teaching about Christ, even in the tongues of men and angels without this leading consequently to baptism into Christ is incomplete. "Except a man be born again ... of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (Jn. 3:3,5). Preaching and teaching about Christ without providing for new birth by water and the Spirit, without making possible the eucharistic life, is a spiritual abortion. Thus we cannot be content with efforts if they by design fall short of Baptism and Eucharist.

If it is the nature of evangelism to bring mankind into a saving knowledge of and relationship with Christ in the Church, through Baptism and Chrismation, and thereby unto the chalice of immortality, it is imperative that we look both to those of the household of faith, as well as to those outside it, as the focus of evangelism in our day. And this we must do with unmatched and equal fervor.

We simply cannot evangelize others without having been first evangelized ourselves. If the whole object of evangelism is to bring man into Eucharistic communion enabling him to grow unto the stature of the fulness of Christ (Cf. Eph. 4:13), then we must begin at home. We must return to the upper room, and there, being endowned with power from on high, preach boldly repentance and remission of sins

in Jesus' name, beginning with our own Jerusalem, our own kinsmen. Only when we have been evangelized thoroughly, will we be fit to go to Samaria or to the uttermost parts of the earth.

No greater saint of modern times comes to mind as one who understood such an imperative to evangelize constantly in the Church herself than St. Kosmas Aitolos. Appointed "Preacher of the Nations" by Patriarch Seraphim II (c. 1760), St. Kosmas would spend the remainder of his life re-evangelizing the Church in Greece as well as in parts of Albania and lower Serbia. His preaching and teaching, his catechizing and baptizing of multitudes of those marginalized from the life of the Church by the political oppression of the Ottomans, began a revival, and revival is not too strong, nor too foreign a word, in a part of the Orthodox world whose spiritual fruit is still being gathered, some two hundred years later.

Basically, St. Kosmas taught what men must do to be saved. In this we see the true nature of evangelism. He preached and he taught to those within the household of faith and to those without. In fact, many Moslems would come to hear him preach, and they, too, marvelled at his holiness.

Above all, St. Kosmas called upon man to repent. Repentance was literally the banner he carried. Prayer and fasting and almsgiving, and its fruit, justice, temperance, and *agape*, were "all things that pertain unto life and godliness" (cf. 2 Pet) preached by this saint. It was with the frequent reception of the Holy Communion in mind that he exhorted his countrymen day and night, year after year, preaching unto them the Gospel, the Good News of repentance. Yet, let it be underscored, preceded by confession. "But if we go without confession, defiled with sins, and dare to receive the immaculate mysteries, we put fire inside us and burn," his writings counsel.

Thus the life of one truly evangelized is life lived in communion with God, walking in obedience to his commandments all the days of one's life. For the Orthodox Christian, evangelism is one by nature not of quick and easy decisions, devoid of moral change, nor one which allows avoidance of life in the Christian community or obedience to spiritual authority. In very fact, the life in Christ which is the goal of evangelism can only be lived out in the Church, Christ's own body.

Yet as St. Kosmas would warn us, "The very existence of many churches neither preserves nor strengthens our faith to the proper

extent and in the proper manner, if those who believe in God are not enlightened by the Old and the New Testaments.” This is a direct challenge to those in the Church to continue our conversions, and yet to seek manifestly and demonstrably the conversion of others, if we accept what the Church teaches about herself – and what we say we believe about her – which is, in the words of St. Cyprian of Carthage, that “He cannot have God as his Father who does not have the Church as his Mother.”

In apostolic fullness, to contend earnestly for that faith once delivered to the saints, is the specific task of the Orthodox Church confronting her own members who have not fully entered into the life of Christ. Yet, we are equally charged to proclaim the Gospel and call to eucharistic communion both those of other Christian confessions as well as those of no confession at all.

To speak merely of mutual co-existence, as it were, without a concomitant call to fulness of faith is to ignore the change given the Apostles, and consequently the Apostolic Church, at the Ascension. As well it is to obscure the record of the saints in every age.

Witness America’s own martyrs, Juvenaly and Peter, whose blood was spilled on the soil of the New World, the blood both of “cradle-born” and convert. When confronted with death or compromise of our faith, each gladly submitted to death for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. One confronted the task of converting the indigenous peoples to the Gospel; the other was one of those very native-born Americans converted to Orthodoxy.

Neither the tasks nor the challenges have changed. There are those who would have us change Orthodoxy to fit their own predetermined notions of morality, as was the case with St. Juvenaly. As well, there are still those, in America at least, who would question whether or not we indeed are Christians as with St. Peter the Aleut.

St. Kosmas himself testified with his blood that the nature of evangelism is one of total surrender to Orthodoxy and steadfast resistance to its compromise. On leaving the monastery to begin his apostolate in the streets, St. Kosmas remarked, “My brethren, I act wrongly in this regard but as our race has fallen into ignorance, I said, Let Christ lose me, one sheep, and gain the others.” His own martyrdom at the hands of the Turks took place, (in 1779), precisely because of his effectiveness as an evangelist.

I would underscore our responsibility to present the faith in its

fulness, not merely as a relic of Byzantine antiquity, but as the very Truth – the very Truth about God and Man – without wavering. This is a time when, for example in America, Orthodoxy is being confronted with literally thousands of Protestants, Evangelicals, Roman Catholics, Anglicans and others, who would have what Orthodoxy has always had. We must read the signs of the times wisely and respond to the spiritual crisis around us.

We must not say, “Well, since we all believe in the same God, we should simply love each other and respect our differences.” No Evangelist would have ever said this at any point in our history; no true evangelist can say so today. True love means desiring to impart the truth, in its fullness, to all the world.

God in his providence calls us to proclaim, not unlike Tertullian, that the soul is Orthodox by nature. I would relate one simple instance of my own experience, the experience of one who himself now knows that his own soul was Orthodox by nature, although his background was not Orthodox theologically or culturally. How unfortunate it would have been for me, or the thousands like me, had the doors of Orthodoxy been closed.

As it has been always a great joy to share the experience of my conversion with others, let me share one anecdote to illustrate my point about the soul’s being Orthodox by nature.

Personally, I have been blessed to have travelled to Romania several times since the fall of communism. Both Fr. Peter Gillquist and I, along with two other convert priests, participated in a preaching mission in Romania in 1992. I have since returned twice more, speaking to student groups of all ages.

After speaking to future teachers of religion in Bucharest, on this very theme of the soul’s Orthodox nature, a young woman came to speak to me privately. “I know what you mean,” she said. “I know that I have an Orthodox soul. I want to be a nun,” she agonized, “But I am a Baptist. What can you advise me?”

I related to her that my daughter’s own Godmother, who is now a nun, had received her vocation to monasticism as a young girl, growing up in Central Texas as a Baptist herself. I told her that if a young Baptist in Texas could receive a call to Orthodox monasticism and eventually become a nun, I perceived it far easier for this to be the case for a young woman in Bucharest.

The soul is Orthodox by nature, if Orthodoxy is true, and it is the

nature of Orthodox evangelism to speak to the heart of the matter, as well as to the hearts of those who would respond. As Our Lord spoke to St. Photini, the Samaritan woman which he met at the well, “If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.” (Jn. 4:10)

Speaking directly to her thirst, and the thirst of all mankind, for the things of God, – that is, speaking of man’s own hunger and thirst for God himself – Our Lord continued, “whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life” (Jn. 4:14).

Thousands around us, instead of being saved, as St. Seraphim, admonished us, saved through our acquisition of the Holy Spirit – are perishing instead. The woman meets us at the well, and asks, indeed pleads, “Give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw” (Cf. Jn. 4:15).

We must give them that water to drink, for if being good fathers we know not to give our children a serpent or a stone when they ask of us bread, how much more so shall we be held accountable, if we give not that living water to all who shall acknowledge their thirst?

Let us first then acquire the Holy Spirit, seeking as St. Seraphim would remind us not so much to possess the Spirit as to be possessed by the Spirit! And let us declare openly, proclaim boldly, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call...(and) saying, Save yourselves from this perverse generation” (Acts 2:38-39). Then, indeed, the Lord shall add daily to the Church such as are being saved, not only in Jerusalem and in Judea, but in Samaria as well, even unto the uttermost part of the world.



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

prove useful as a general work of reference, so long as scholars and students of asceticism will be able to afford its purchase (UK £ 80, US \$125). This is an important book for all those interested in “the way of the ascetics” in any religion or generation.

John Chryssavgis

*The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia.* Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by John Wortley. *Cistercian Study Series*, Number 159. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1996) pages 225.

With the publication of Paul of Monembasia's *Beneficial Tales*, Cistercian Publications has added to its impressive and welcome catalogue of works of ancient and medieval ascetical literature from all points of the Christian compass. While most of the long list of its titles over the past twenty years are, understandably enough given this press' origins and name, devoted to the Medieval West, Orthodox readers must be grateful, indeed, for the substantial and increasing number of Eastern texts that have appeared in the series, including many of the classics from the Egypt, Palestine, and Syria of the fourth through sixth centuries. Aside from the several works and monographs of Irenée Hausherr (*Penthos, Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, and *The Name of Jesus*), Tomas Spidlik (*The Spirituality of the Christian East*), and Sergei Bolshakoff (*Russian Mystics*), however, Paul of Monembasia's *Tales* is only the second primary text to appear in the series which comes out of medieval Byzantium, the one other being Symeon the New Theologian's *Theological and Practical Treatises*, and the *Theological Orations*. John Wortley's edition of the *Tales* is thus a particularly welcome addition.

For a reader familiar with the literature of fourth and fifth century monasticism, the stories included in this collection should ring a number of bells. Motifs and incidents from stories appearing in the *Apophthegmata*, the *Historia Monachorum*, and the *Lausiac History*, in addition to such later compilations as John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow*, reappear with striking frequency. The type of the ascetic woman, naked in the wilderness (recall Mary of Egypt), appears four times (*Tales* 1, 12, 15, and 27), the concelebration of angels (cf. Daniel 7 and Theodore of Pherme in the *Apophthegmata*) with or sometimes

in place of priests happens twice (*Tales* 9 and 17), the pious layman as equal or superior to famed ascetics (*Tales* 5, 16, 22), the power of confession to blot out sins inscribed by the recording angel (*Tales* 2 and 3, cf. John of Sinai's *The Ladder*, Step 6), and women ascetics cross-dressing and posing as men (*Tale* 20). John Moschus' story of children playing at the Eucharist and inadvertently calling down the heavenly fire appears in the tale of "The Boy Cast into a Furnace" (pp. 150-155), while Diadochus of Photiki's warning against "angels of light" tempting unwary hermits is entertainingly illustrated by the story of "The Monk in the Cave" (No. 10, pp. 95-100), with its over-ambitious cave-dweller and solicitous abbot.

Entertainment is, indeed, exactly and first of all the distinguishing element of these stories, in particular, as Wortley observes ("Introduction" 25-29), when compared to the more purely edifying intention of the apothegms, hence the characterization of Bishop Paul's efforts as *récit tardif*, the "later tale" as distinctive of medieval Byzantium rather than of the earlier period. Thus, while Wortley is certain of the bishop (fl. 960's) as author of only the first ten tales, he feels free to include the other thirteen in this collection as genuine relics of the Middle Ages. A second note of distinction, although this time marking the *Tales* off from other literature of the period and allying them to the earlier *Apophthegmata*, is their use of a more popular, less exalted literary language, relatively free of the atticizing brush that a Symeon Metaphrastes, for example, would apply to hagiography in this era. The same popular quality also, as Wortley brings out (43-52), affords the modern reader valuable glimpses into the medieval Byzantine world. Monks, parish clergy, bishops, aristocrats, administrators, and slaves – not a complete list of Byzantine society by any means, but an extensive one all the same – all appear at one point or another, and together provide a significant portrait of that society's own understanding both of the ties which bind people to each other, and of those which unite heaven and hell with the visible world ("Introduction", esp. 48-52).

It must be added, thirdly, that these stories are still entertaining. Certainly, there are those which may trouble the modern reader, for example the crudely anti-Semitic color of the "Boy Cast into a Furnace", or the strange, even eerie quality of "On the Judgements of God" (161-163), with its echoes of Talmudic origins (see Wortley, "Notes" 218) and its dubious theodicy, but the same reader will have

difficulty not being touched by the frightening moral tale of “The Proud Monk” (138-143), or moved by the lively intercession of the loving abbot in “The Monk in the Cave”, or else frankly amused by the plight of the robber chieftain who finds himself, by virtue of a totally unexpected and undeserved miracle, taken as a holy man in the very convent he had set out to despoil (134-137), or the reluctant confession of virtue by an imperial administrator of brothels in “Sergius, Demotes of Alexandria” (119-126). This is not heavy stuff. It deals with neither the intricacies of divinity nor the solemn and exalting mysteries of the masters of the spiritual life, but it is edifying – sometimes – and nearly always a pleasure to read, perhaps especially to read aloud.

Hieromonk Alexander (Golitzin)

Archimandrite Vassileios (Gondakakis), *Beauty and Hesychia in Athonite Life; Europe and the Holy Mountain; and Monastic Life as True Marriage*: Numbers 1, 2, and 4 resp. of the *Series: Mount Athos*, tr. Dr. Constantine Kokenes (1 and 2) and Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff(4), pub. by Dr. John Hadjinicolaou, (Montreal: Alexander Press, 1996).

Archimandrite Vassileios is already familiar to American readers from the St. Vladimir’s Press translation of his earlier work, *Eisodikon (Hymn of Entry, NY: 1984)*. Abbot successively of two Athonite monasteries, Stavronikita (1968-1990) and Iveron (1990-present), his writings on the Orthodox spiritual tradition draw on both learning and experience, study and decades of prayer. The three pamphlets listed above, running from seventeen to just over thirty pages each, are part of series begun recently through the efforts of Dr. John Hadjinicolaou. They are beautifully printed, illustrated with cover icons in color and black and white line drawings within the text, and are well served by the clear and idiomatic translations that we have come to expect, in particular, from Dr. Theokritoff, the translator for St. Vladimir’s Press of both *Eisodikon* and C. Yannaras’ *He Eleutheria tou Ethous (The Freedom of Morality, NY: 1984)*.

Father Vassileios’ writing is remarkable. He quotes his sources on occasion, but far more often is content with allusion. The Cappadocians, Desert Fathers, Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus Confessor, Isaac of Nineveh, Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas figure most prominently, together with echoes of the liturgy

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Task of the Church to Evangelize the World

---

FR. ALEXANDER VERONIS

### *Introduction*

One who reads books such as Paul Garret's on *St. Innocent: Apostle to America* or Fr. Michael Oleska's *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality* the later based on primary sources, can begin to understand what our Lord meant when he told his disciples, "The one who believes in me will also do the works that I do and, in fact, will do greater works than these...." (Jn. 14:12). As we meet Sts. Herman and Innocent of Alaska, we bow in awe at their achievements and holiness. Both were 19th century missionaries who fall in a long tradition of Orthodox Christians who proclaimed the Gospel to a fallen world.

I had the blessing to befriend for some years a remarkable missionary who devoted his entire life to proclaiming Christ to the world. I met him at Lafayette College where his son and I were classmates and best friends for four years. His name was Dr. Victor Rambo, an ophthalmologist and medical missionary to India for 50 years. A biography of his amazing life and achievements entitled *Apostle of Sight* by Dorothy Clarke Wilson relates his life story.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rambo, an eminently Christ centered Christian, impacted my spiritual life deeply. His life was filled with prayer, love, compassion, humor, and faith in Jesus Christ. So powerful was Dr. Rambo's spiritual presence on people who met him that four of his five children also became missionaries, two of them medical doctors like himself. At a Memorial Service held in Philadelphia some months after his death, Christians, Moslems, and Hindus from India came to eulogize this "holy Christian doctor from America," as they called him. From my friendship

with Dr. Rambo and his family, I acquired a strong attraction to missions and the spread of the gospel worldwide. Dr. Rambo had a passionate love for India's dispossessed people... especially for the untouchables, whom he served with his heart, soul, body, and mind. He gave physical sight to 50,000 of them in his lifetime through surgical teams trained and led by him. God alone knows how many others he touched spiritually, as he had me, through his Christian witness as a disciple of Jesus Christ.

My experience with Dr. Rambo helped me in subsequent years to better appreciate luminous Orthodox missionaries such as Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Stephen of Perm, Kosmas Aitolos, Herman and Innocent of Alaska and Nicholas of Japan, who decided their lives to bringing Christ to the nations. The Apostle Paul first said what these missionary giants felt and lived: "For me to live is Christ... Woe unto me if I do not preach the Gospel" (1 Cor 9:16). In my subsequent years of academic pursuit I met foreign students at the Holy Cross School of Theology, at Boston University and at the University of Athens... from Korea, Uganda, Ghana, Lebanon, Syria, Kenya, Serbia, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Mexico, and other nations... whites, blacks, orientals, I came to appreciate still more fully the universality of the Gospel and the thirst people from all backgrounds and for its message. It became obvious that if Jesus Christ, the Incarnate God, came to redeem the world, he came for all people, for all times and in all places. Upon that premise, Christians from the beginning have undertaken the task of evangelizing the world. Once having received the "Good News," they could not keep it to themselves.

#### BIBLICAL BACKGROUND FOR MISSION

The missionary spirit and the command to evangelize the world with God's eternal message received firm impetus in our Lord's ministry. At his first appearance after his resurrection, he said these familiar words repeated every eleventh Sunday in the 9th Eothinon Gospel of the Orthros Service: "Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, even so I send you.... receive the Holy Spirit" (Jn 20:21-22). Before his ascension, Christ gave an even clearer command. "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation, ... make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit..." (Mt 28:19). On Pentecost, when the

Church received the Holy Spirit in a powerful, intense, manifest manner, the first apostles took to heart the command to become witnesses in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and to the ends of the earth. (Acts 2,1:8).

God's eternal and ecumenical message to the world, however, had messengers. From times of old Abraham, the father of Judaism and forefather of our Lord, heard God's promise: "I will make you a great nation, and I will bless you, and by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves" (Gen 12:1-3). Abraham left Ur in Mesopotamia with his small tribe of relatives, headed for a land promised for him and his people by God. Abraham responded to his divinely given destiny and became part of a plan that would in time affect the whole human race. The familiar phrase.... "The God of the Patriarch Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob..." from antiquity connoted those "chosen people," called out to fulfill God's divine plan for the human race. Moses the Law giver, king David and the prophets continued to preserve and perpetuate the monotheism of Abraham. They, too, felt part of this divine destiny for humanity, even as they encountered a sea of idolatry and polytheism surrounding them.

In the Old Testament dispensation, we also meet prophets who received special visions from God, like the one in which Isaiah witnessed the angelic Seraphim worshipping the divine throne with that hymn familiar to us from Divine Liturgy: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: The whole earth is full of his glory."<sup>2</sup> To the Triune God's question, "Whom shall I send? And who will go for us?" the Prophet Isaiah gave the response which missionaries throughout the ages have given to the divine call: "Here am I! Send me" (Is 6:1-8). From Isaiah's writings we also hear the prophetic description of the Messiah:

the Wonderful Counselor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father,  
the Prince of Peace, of whose government there will be no end.... and  
upon whom the Lord will lay the iniquity or all...(Is 9:6, 53:6).

The reluctant Prophet Jonah, who at first refused to go to the pagan city of Nineveh, finally obeyed the call of God to proclaim the message of repentance in order to bring salvation upon the great city. Jonah proved to be, though not willingly at first, an Old Testament missionary evangelist whose life story manifests God's desire for all people to repent and come to a knowledge of his truth and be saved, including pagans and polytheists.



On the first of his hometown appearances in Nazareth as a preacher-teacher, Jesus introduced himself in a way that revealed a universal message as he quoted the Prophet Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk 4:18-19; Is 61:1-2). When the apostle Paul spoke to the Greeks of Athens before the Areopagus, his preaching described a savior who had come for all people, who died and rose again to redeem all believers. Speaking of the one, true God, he said as he looked at the statue of their "Unknown God" standing amidst their numerous idolatrous gods:

From one ancestor [the true] God made all nations to inhabit the whole earth, and he allotted the times of their existence and the boundaries of the places where they would live, so that they would search for God... though indeed he is not far from each one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being... now he commands all people everywhere to repent. (Acts 17:24ff).

From there he proceeded to speak of Christ, who rose from the dead and who one day would judge the world in righteousness.

The Book of Acts describes the first generation of Christians aflame with a zeal to evangelize the world with the gospel of Christ. The Holy Spirit empowers, moves, motivates, guides, inspires, enlightens, and encourages them... despite any and all obstacles and persecutions... to evangelize all whom they encounter, Jews and Gentiles alike. Peter's sermon converts 3,000 on the day of Pentecost. Single and mass conversions and baptisms follow, accompanied with miracles. Peter, John, Stephen, Paul, Barnabas, Silas and others embark on a campaign to spread the Gospel throughout the Mediterranean. To all who oppose or persecute these first Christian evangelists and missionaries, the response of Peter and John to the Jewish authorities provides a classical answer which will be repeated throughout the ages: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you more than to God, you judge..." (Acts 4:19). As the early Christians take up the call to witness for Christ and his Gospel, the Holy Spirit graces their willingness with "varieties of gifts of wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, the ability to distinguish between spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues" (1 Cor 12).

Empowered with such gifts, the early Church spread rapidly. Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260-340), in his history of the Early Church, describes the continuation of Christian evangelization:

At that time many Christians felt their soul inspired by the holy word with a passionate desire for perfection. Their first action, in obedience to the instructions of the Savior, was to sell their goods and to distribute them to the poor. Then, leaving their homes, they set out to fulfill the work of an evangelist, making it their ambition to preach the word of the faith to those who as yet had heard nothing of it, and to commit to them the book of the divine Gospels. They were content simply to lay the foundations of the faith among these foreign peoples: they then appointed other pastors, and committed to them the responsibility for building up those whom they had merely brought to the faith. Then they passed on to other countries and nations with the grace and help of God.<sup>3</sup>

Stephen Neill mentions three factors that propelled the early Christians to evangelize the world:<sup>4</sup> 1. The realization that Christ, who promised to return again, did not do so in their lifetime. This meant that until his second coming, Christians must be about the task of spreading his gospel. 2. The realization that the Church of Christ could not be confined to geographical location. The persecution of the Christians around Jerusalem and Judea compelled them to flee to other parts of the Roman Empire. In so doing they brought with them the gospel, especially to the Gentile world which opened up a worldwide horizon. 3. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. This fact impressed upon the Church that on earth they would have no lasting city. Wherever they went, they would have the Holy Spirit who would remind them of all that Jesus taught. Their security and power would come from the Holy Spirit who would guide the Church of Christ wherever it went.

#### THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL: THEOLOGICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Christians always believed in the uniqueness of the Gospel. Jesus Christ was not just another deity created by human imagination. His teaching was not just another religion among many. The doctrine of the Incarnation spoke of God who became a man that man might become God, as early Christians proclaimed. This being true, it fol-

lowed that he alone should be proclaimed among the nations as the only God worthy of worship. Like the Prophet Elijah challenging the false prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, Christians preached the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" as the Lord of heaven and earth against the teachings of other gods by false prophets. In his prologue to the fourth gospel, St. John said of Jesus Christ the Logos of God: "He was in the beginning with God; all things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being in him was life, and the life was the light of all people." (Jn 1:2-4). Christians preached that Christ enters the world "to unite all things in him(self), things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph 1:10). His crucifixion and resurrection to save the human race, and his second coming to judge the nations represent bedrock convictions of Orthodox Christians. They are realities which the martyrs died to defend. Beside the Incarnation, the Trinitarian theology of Orthodoxy helps us understand Orthodox missiology. In the Holy Trinity, three persons live and work together in perfect harmony, love, co-operation, and understanding... God the Father and Creator of all... God the Son who redeems the world through his incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection and sends the Holy Spirit into the world,... and God the Holy Spirit, the Comforter who guides the Church in the way of truth and brings to her remembrance all that Jesus taught and did. "It is a fundamental claim of Patristic thought that in all actions of God in creation and redemption all three Persons of the Holy Trinity are involved and operate always in unity.... what the Holy Spirit does... must be seen always in relation to what the Father and the Son are doing."<sup>5</sup> The Doxastikon of the Pentecost Vesper Service express well the Orthodox understanding of the Trinity living in a perfect unity:

Come O you people, let us worship the Godhead in three Hypostases, the Son in the Father with the Holy Spirit; for the Father timelessly begat Son, Who is co-eternal and es-enthroned; and the Holy Spirit was in the Father, glorified with the Son; one Power, one Essence, one Godhead, which we all worship, saying: Holy God, Who created all things through the Son with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit. Holy Mighty, through Whom we have known the Father and the Holy Spirit came into the world. Holy Immortal, the Comforting Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son. O Holy Trinity, glory to You.<sup>6</sup>

In like manner, the Gospel speaks to humanity of a loving creator God who redeems his fallen creation through his Son: "In Christ God was reconciling the world to himself.... he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:19, 21). As God sends his Son to us for our salvation, he depends upon our cooperation and free will to receive that eternal gift of love. To all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God..." (Jn 1:12). Christians become co-laborers (*synergoi*) with God in Christ to work out their salvation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This synergistic relationship manifests itself clearly in the Holy Eucharist where our loving God accepts his repentant children back into fellowship in a unity of love. God expects the redeemed to love not only him, but each other in this new community called the Church or the New Israel (cf. Jn 13:34-35). As one recent Orthodox theological statement states it, "The ideal spiritual community is manifested sacramentally in the Eucharist, as the Church gathers together with Christ in the Spirit to offer herself to the Father."<sup>7</sup>

The eucharistic community where the love of Christ prevails, as this statement implies, has been a central way by which Orthodox missionaries have taught the gospel to the nations. From the moment our Lord established the Holy Eucharist in the upper room, promising eternal life to those who would commune his body and blood. Christians have celebrated this divine service in their gatherings. Thus Christian life has been a process of living in love.... under God the Father, with Christ's teaching, and by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. "The process of salvation is never individual, even for a hermit living in solitude, but always as a member of the community, the Church," writes Fr. Oleska, who quotes St. Isaac the Syrian as follows: "Those who find themselves in hell will be chastised by the scourge of love.... It is not right to say that sinners in hell are deprived of the love of God.... (for) love acts in two ways, as suffering of the reprovved and as joy of the blessed."<sup>8</sup> St. Isaac's observation that a person can go to hell alone, but only in community can he go to heaven, further stresses the necessity of love in the Christian life. As Orthodox Christians prepare to depart from their divine worship at each Liturgy, they proclaim: "We have seen the true light; we have received the heavenly Spirit; we have found the true faith, worshipping the undivided Trinity, for the Trinity has saved us."<sup>9</sup> They then re-enter the secular

world of "live the liturgy after the Liturgy," as is often said by Orthodox writers.

It has been the common historic practice for Orthodox missionaries, shortly after their arrival at a new mission, to immediately set up a worshipping eucharistic community with services translated into the vernacular. Thus people are introduced into the life in Christ experientially. Through participation in the Holy Eucharist, they learn the meaning of agape-love. Sts. Cyril and Methodius are often cited as the prime examples for promoting the vernacular in missions. They created the Cyrillic alphabet into which they translated the Scriptures, the Orthodox Liturgy and other services. Other examples among Orthodox missionaries doing the same are: St. Stephen of Perm (1340-1396) among the Zyrians of Siberia, St. Macarius Gloukharev (1792-1847) among the Atlai nomads, St. Innocent Veniaminov of Alaska (1797-1878) among the Aleuts and Tlingit Indians of Alaska. St. Nicholas Kasatkin (1836-1912) of Japan who spent seven years learning Japanese before embarking on his missionary work, and in our generation, Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos (1929-present) in Africa (Swahili and other native Kenyan and Ugandan dialects) and in Albania where he and his missionary priests employ the Albanian language.<sup>10</sup> It must be emphasized that the Orthodox missiological practice of translating the Bible and liturgical services into the vernacular represent a markedly different approach from the Western Church which, until the 20th century, insisted on the use of Latin in the Mass worldwide. In the ninth century, Sts. Cyril and Methodius were persecuted and imprisoned by the Roman Catholic Church for promoting the use of the vernacular among the Slavs. Today, however, use of the vernacular in mission is standard procedure among Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

Although Orthodox missions have existed throughout the centuries, their activity in recent times has been curtailed by historical developments. Ottoman Turkish domination of Eastern Europe for four centuries (15th to 19th) generally prohibited Orthodox missions, with few exceptions such as the evangelization of Greece, Albania, and Serbia by St. Kosmas Aitolos (1714-1779). To convert from Islam to Christianity often meant a death sentence. In the latter half of the 20th century, one person especially stands out as having revived the missionary spirit in Orthodoxy.... Anastasios Yannoulatos, presently the Archbishop of Albania. In 1959 he founded a journal named

*Porefthendes* (*Go Ye*) based on Matthew 28:19, and in 1961 became Director of the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Center also known as *Porefthendes*. Yannoulatos, later to become a distinguished professor and writer of world religions of the University of Athens as well as a bishop, wrote of "The Forgotten Commandment" as he argued for a resumption of overseas missions by the Orthodox Church:

It is not a question of 'can we?' but an imperative command, 'we must.' 'Go ye' therefore and teach all nations.' 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' There is no 'consider if you can,' there is only a definite, clear-cut command of our Lord.<sup>11</sup>

Anastasios Yannoulatos cites the theological reason of God's love as the motivating principle for missions. He writes,

The theological thought of the Eastern Church moves in a theological and cosmological frame, in which the dominant element is St. John's conception of the love (*agape*) of the Trinitarian God, seen in the perspective of eschatology and in doxological contemplation of the mystery of God.<sup>12</sup>

This love of God for the world motivated Christians to love God and others, according to Efthimios Stylios.<sup>13</sup> Yannoulatos wrote and taught much about missions. He also lived as a missionary, in Mexico, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and still does in Albania. His amazing productivity as a missionary includes the establishment of Orthodox seminaries in Kenya and Albania, translations and shepherding these neophyte mission churches as a bishop. More importantly he motivated an entire generation of Orthodox Christian, myself included, to take an active part in the spread of Orthodoxy. Many have followed his example from Greece, Europe, and the USA (see footnote 32 for their names).<sup>14</sup>

In conclusion, a quotation from Yannoulatos gives perhaps the crowning reason for the Church to keep evangelizing the world, which he identifies as "inner necessity:"

The question of the motive of mission can be studied from several angles: love for God and men, obedience to the Great Command of the Lord (Mt. 28:19), desire for the salvation of souls, longing for God's glory. All these, surely, are serious motives.... However, the real motive of mission, for both the individual and the Church, is something deeper... It is inner necessity. 'Necessity is laid upon me.'

said St. Paul, 'Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel' (1 Cor. 9:16). All other motives are aspects of this need, derivative motives. Mission is an inner necessity (1) for the faithful and (2) for the Church. If they refuse it, they do not merely omit a duty, they deny themselves.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Clarke Wilson, *Apostle of Sight*, (Philadelphia, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> *The Divine Liturgy*, (Holy Cross Press, Brookline, 1985), p. 20. See also Isaiah 6:3

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 37, 2-3 as quoted in Ruth A. Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Mission*, (Academic Books, Zondervan, 1983) p. 26

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, (Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 21-22

<sup>5</sup> "Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Consultation," Crete, December 1989

<sup>6</sup> *Pentecostarion*, (Boston, Holy Transfiguration Monastery), p. 404

<sup>7</sup> "Eastern Orthodox Consultation," 50-a

<sup>8</sup> Michael Oleska, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, (New York, Paulist Press, 1987), pp. 31-32

<sup>9</sup> *The Divine Liturgy*, p. 32

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Veronis, *Luke Missionaries, Monks, and Martyrs*, (Light and Life Publishing Company, Minneapolis, 1994). This book related throughout how each of these Orthodox missionaries emphasized use of the vernacular.

<sup>11</sup> James Stamoolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today*, (New York, Orbis Books, 1986), p. 83

<sup>12</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "The Purpose and Motive of Mission," *Porefthendes*, 9 (1967), 2 as quoted in Stamoolis, p. 81

<sup>13</sup> Stamoolis, p. 82

<sup>14</sup> Listed below are missionaries who have served overseas in recent years from the USA under the aegis of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center (OCMC) and in cooperation with Archbishop Anastasios: Fr. Christopher and Presvytera Nancy Christopoulos (Kenya), Fr. Martin and Presvytera Renee Ritsi (Kenya and Albania), Fr. Emmanuel and Presvytera Irene Lillios (Kenya), Fr. Luke and Presvytera Faith Veronis (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, and Albania), Dean Syrocopoulos (Uganda), Dean Trantafilou (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), Kosta Poulos (Uganda), Stavritsa Zachariou (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), Faye Cokkinos (Kenya, Uganda), Cheryl and Spiro Logothetis (Kenya and Uganda), Panagiota (Penny) Deligiannis (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), Andrew Pappas, Michael Stavropoulos (Kenya), Peter Gilbert (Albania), Jim Nakos (Albania). The OCMC has also sent over 1200 persons on summer mission teams since 1987 to teach, preach, paint icons, and build schools, clinics, churches, and monasteries. They have gone to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Israel, Greece, Romania, Albania, Slovakia, Ethiopia, Costa Rica, Alaska, the Caribbean, the Phillipines, and India.

<sup>15</sup> A. Yannoulatos, "The Purpose and Motive of Mission" *op. cit.*, as quoted in the *International Review of Missions*, 54, (1965), 293.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



---

## The *Triadon*: An English Translation

---

LESLIE S. B. MACCOULL

*in loving memory  
of my teacher,  
Juli Paulí Bellet OSB*

The *Triadon* is the last work of Coptic literature.<sup>1</sup> Written at a time when Coptic had already long since become a dead language, its rudiments preserved only in Arabophone elementary treatises written for clerics, the poem embodies an impassioned plea for the lively utility of the Coptic language and for consciousness of its role as the carrier of Christian Egypt's millennial tradition. The *Triadon* as we have it is preserved in one incomplete paper manuscript, Zoega 312 = Naples Biblioteca Nazionale Borgia I.B.19 fasc. 488. Four hundred and twenty-eight numbered four-line stanzas are preserved, the numbers being written in the MS in Coptic *buqti* numerals: the MS in its present state begins with stanza no. 128 and ends with no. 732, with gaps between nos. 149 and 237, 274 and 284, 384 and 389, 534 and 582, 724 and 728 (incomplete).

The MS is bilingual, with an Arabic version in the right-hand column, showing that Arabic was the primary language understood by the poem's audience. Indeed, it is possible that the author may well

<sup>1</sup> Text publication: O. von Lemm, *Das Triadon* (St. Petersburg 1903). German translation with introduction and notes: P. Nagel, *Das Triadon: ein sahidisches Lehrgedicht des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Halle 1983), rev. L.S.B. MacCoull in *BSAC* 27 (1985) 110-112. The history of *Triadon* scholarship is admirably summarized by Nagel, pp. 18-22, including its brief treatments by Junker in 1906 and Leipoldt in 1907, shortly after the appearance of the von Lemm publication.

have composed the Arabic version first and then made the Coptic text on the basis of the Arabic. Both the MS and its content can be dated to the fourteenth century;<sup>2</sup> the poem itself is datable to A.D. 1322 (Easter falling on Pharmouthi 16 = 11 April [stanza 32.3-4]).

Stanza 687 refers to a monk Barsûm (Barsauma) as a contemporary of the poet of the *Triadon*. St. Barsûm or Barsûma the Naked, as he is known, served as secretary to the widow of the sultan al-Malik al-Sâlih in Cairo in 1250. He became a hermit, was arrested and released by Muslim authorities, and spent the last seventeen years of his life in the monastery of Dayr Shahrân, south of Cairo. He died in A.M. 1033/A.D. 1317, according to the Arabic Jacobite Synaxary. See René-Georges Coquin, "Barsum the Naked, Saint," *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 2 (1991) 348-349. Stanza 532 gives a date for the celebration of Easter which fits six years during the span of time from 1322 to 1489. Using the known dates for Barsûm's death as a benchmark, the date scholars arrive at is 1322, some five years after Barsûm's death. See, e.g., Chaîne, "Le *Triadon*," esp. 11-15.

The title-word *Triadon* appears to have been coined by the author (see stanzas 441.4, 683.4). This made-up Greek word, τριάδον (von Lemm p. 244), refers to the poem's rhyme scheme: each four-line stanza consists of three lines rhyming alike, AAA, and a fourth line ending in the sound -ON. "*Triadon*" thus means "poem of triplets with refrain". Already in 1903 von Lemm, followed shortly by Junker, had hypothesized that this rhyme scheme was to some extent borrowed from or at least influenced by Arabic poetry,<sup>3</sup> and that the word ΤΡΙΑΔΟΝ was coined on the basis of the Arabic *mutallatu*, "threes".<sup>4</sup> The entire poem abounds in rare Greek loanwords, many not attested elsewhere or perhaps also coinages by the poet, as can be seen from the great number of asterisked words in von Lemm's glossary (pp. 229-246). It is interesting that most often the triple rhymes are made by the endings of the Greek words.

The poem is written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, the dialect originally of Upper Egypt and the classical language of Christian

<sup>2</sup> M. Chaîne, "Le *Triadon*: son auteur, la date de sa composition," *BSAC* 2 (1936) 9-24; Nagel, pp. 22-23. Nagel speculates that the MS we have might have been written by dictation from the poem's author.

<sup>3</sup> Nagel, p. 20 with note 8. Nagel also points out the influence of stanzaic Byzantine hymnody.

<sup>4</sup> Nagel, p. 172.

Egypt since it was used for fourth-century Biblical translations and by fifth-century Coptic religious writers such as the great monastic leader Shenoute.<sup>5</sup> This use of Sahidic is a purposeful choice on the part of the poem's author, a deliberate change from and contrast to the Bohairic dialect, the dialect of Lower Egypt, which had supplanted Sahidic in Bible and liturgy since about the late ninth to early tenth century. It is remarkable that the fourteenth-century writer had managed to learn Sahidic, even an idiosyncratic Sahidic such as that used in the poem, seeing that the Arabic "helps" for learning what was understood as "Coptic" (which had existed since the early thirteenth century) had nearly all dealt only with Bohairic.<sup>6</sup> Again, many Coptic words attested in no other Coptic text are found in the *Triadon*, and sometimes their meaning can be gathered only from the Arabic version.

The *Triadon* is a religious didactic poem. It was written at a time when Egyptian Christians, from earliest times steeped in the Bible and liturgy in their own language yet now for almost five centuries accustomed to using Arabic both in daily life and for theological writings, needed to be reminded of basic themes of piety in a way that deliberately recalled their original traditions. Nagel has well characterized the recurring themes of the poem as veneration of saints and of the Virgin, articulation of firm non-Chalcedonian positions on points of theology, repentance and preparation for the Last Judgment, and recall of the classic ideals of Coptic monasticism.<sup>7</sup> I would add also exhortation to Bible reading and study. Not only does the poem's author assume a thorough grounding in the Old and New Testaments on the part of his readers or hearers, a knowledge "by heart" (ἀποστηθούς) always characteristic of Coptic Christians, he also continually calls upon them to consider anew this or that Biblical story, parable, or image, by reviewing it as a means to virtue and repentance. The didactic tone is seen in the often-repeated modes of address "My brother(s)" or "My beloved".

<sup>5</sup> See R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 238-240.

<sup>6</sup> A. Sidarouss, "Coptic lexicography in the Middle Ages: the Coptic-Arabic *scalae*," in R.McL. Wilson, ed., *The Future of Coptic Studies* (Leiden 1978) 125-142. Only Athanasius of Qus' (d. 1378?) work (in the early fourteenth century!) covered Sahidic as well as Bohairic: G. Bauer, *Athanasius von Qus: Eine koptische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem 13/14. Jhdt.* (Freiburg 1972).

<sup>7</sup> Nagel, pp. 21, 26. Leipoldt's mention of Eucharistic themes (*ibid.* with note 12) is also valid: e.g. stanzas 286, 373, 678 and others.

At first reading it is perhaps difficult to discern an overall structure in the *Triadon*, especially considering the lacunose and incomplete nature of the text we have: the poem seems to go on and on, switching from one Biblical or moral-ethical thematic episode to another without transitions or indications of falling into major sections. Nagel, however, has brilliantly discerned a geographical principle of organization in the poem, seeing it as a journey from the region of the poet's city of Panopolis (Akhmim) downriver to the Nile Delta, visiting saints' shrines and living holy men on the way.<sup>8</sup> We encounter Esneh, the region of Luxor, Tabennisi the Pachomian site, Atripe the headquarters of Shenoute, and then the Delta sites of Ushem (Letopolis) and Tanis. The writer seems to hold Alexandria in some disfavor (see st. 471.1-2). Cairo, the site of the actual Coptic patriarchate since the eleventh century, is not mentioned at all. The sites that merit the writer's praise are those where saints are venerated and monks actively pursue virtue and Biblical study.

A thread of negative attitude towards the Jews runs through the poem (stanzas 345-6, 360, 408, 419-25, 518, 666-74). The writer's position can be described as traditionally theological: the people of the Old Israel are characterized as stubborn, rejecting the fulfilment of prophecies of the Messiah and the benefits of Christ's sufferings. It would be worth investigating to what extent this theme might possibly reflect the realities of attitudes and contacts between Copts and Jews in fourteenth century Egypt, a world well documented in the Cairo Geniza material.

The *Triadon* is a text of great length and depth, which has something of interest for readers in many areas. It has long lain little-known and unused, being regarded as a late anomaly in the Christian Orient with little to say other than to specialists in Coptic philology interested in rare words.<sup>9</sup> Yet it certainly deserves to be known as a work of literature, and appreciated for the flavor of its religious thought

<sup>8</sup> Nagel, pp 27-30 On pilgrimage to living holy men and women in Late Antique Egypt see G. Frank, "The memory of the eyes: visualization of the sacred in late antique pilgrimage," *XVII Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts* (Brookline, Mass., 1991) 59-60, and her forthcoming Harvard dissertation of the same title, also eadem, "Egyptian Monasticism in an International Context," forthcoming in *Pilgrimage, Miracles and Magic in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden).

<sup>9</sup> See the philological papers of von Lemm listed in Nagel, p. 19 note 5

and for the insights it affords us into the mental and spiritual world of a Coptic writer of great accomplishment in what has long seemed a cultural twilight. Byzantinists will be interested, besides in the unusual Greek words, in the survival of Late Antique thought and imagery, such as the nature images derived from the *Physiologus*,<sup>10</sup> and in the poem as a window onto an Eastern Christian culture that had been growing in isolation from Constantinople for seven hundred years. Historians will be struck by the images that come from the realia of the poet's own time: of agriculture and boating on the Nile, of calendrical computation by the stars,<sup>11</sup> of the rapacious tax-collector, of dancers, of Christians worshipping at liturgy and festival. Theologians, patristic scholars, and historians of religion will note the allusions to the *Gospel of Thomas* logia and other apocryphal traditions; the veneration of Egyptian saints such as Phoebammon, Palaemon, Horion, Besa, and the fourteenth-century Barsauma; the passages on the Incarnation, the union of the nature(s) in Christ, the Eucharist (e.g. stanzas 141, 286, 322, 373, 678), the Blessed Virgin (e.g. stanzas 508, 512, 660-64), the vision of the Last Judgement; and references to Armenian liturgical thought and practice (stanza 681). And Biblical specialists will of course have much to do in investigating just what Biblical text or texts, and in what languages, were known to the *Triadon* poet.

This translation has been made from von Lemm's 1903 Coptic text, greatly facilitated by Nagel's notes, renderings, and interpretations. Indeed, without Nagel's work no further study would have been possible, as his careful investigations have cleared up many previously opaque problems in understanding the work. A very few points at which one can add to or differ from Nagel's treatment are discussed in the end-notes. These notes are intended neither to be a complete commentary on the poem nor to do anything more than supplement Nagel's historical, linguistic, or interpretive notes. My debt to Nagel's work is apparent throughout.

Translating the *Triadon* has been an adventure. Continually struck by the complex imaging and wordplay, I hope to have followed the

<sup>10</sup> L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Coptic *Triadon* and the Ethiopic *Physiologus*," *Oriens Christianus* 75 (1991) 141-146.

<sup>11</sup> L.S.B. MacCoull, "Astronomica in the *Triadon*," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 63 (1989) 305-307.

intent of the poem's author by taking the Coptic text as primary. Familiarity with von Lemm's and Nagel's annotations, in particular their identifications of Biblical passages, is assumed here.

It is hoped that this English translation will supplement the fundamental texts of von Lemm and Nagel, and make this rich and interesting poem available to a wider audience. The time has come for the *Triadon* to be appreciated as a work of art and religious thought.<sup>12</sup> Study of the poem will tell us much about the sensibility and the thought-world of a devout and well-read Egyptian Christian of the later Middle Ages.

I should like to thank Levon Avdoyan, Monica Blanchard, as always the late Mirrit Boutros Ghali (under whose auspices I made my first attempt at this translation), Josephine Conrad-Wissa, Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, Susan Ashbrook Harvey, Patrick Jacobson, Elie Kioumgi, Craig Korr, Lee Perkins, Parfeny P. Saworotnow, and Ladislaus van Zeelst for help at various stages of preparing the present translation. Mirrit would have remembered the experiences that led to my writing a poem for him called "Scholar's Lyric: On Reading the *Triadon*" that was printed as the last page of my volume *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London 1993). Thanks, also, to the anonymous reader for *GOTR*.

The dedication of the present work is to the learned Catalan Benedictine of Montserrat who taught me Coptic and the meaning of linguistic patriotism. He would have wanted to see *Triadon* studies come into their own: "Cobriu-me de flors / Que em moro d'amors."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. L. S. B. MacCoul, "Biblical disease imagery in the *Triadon*," *Orientalia* 60 (1991) 1-2. One might suggest many more profitable lines of research, such as how the poem reflects contemporary theological concerns within the Coptic Church, how its religious atmosphere differs from that of Chalcedonian Christian literature of the same period, and how it reflects the Coptic Church's strategies of survival under Islam.

THE TRIADON

138. He is the shepherd of the flock,  
who gives life and lifespan.  
Say to me now: yes,  
his judgements are boundless.
139. Christ healed the withered hand,  
and did many miracles;  
He drove the demons into the swine:  
I'm talking now about 'Legion'.
140. Know now that I speak the truth:  
the whole herd was destroyed over the precipice.  
And Christ healed the mother-in-law  
of Peter, who is called Simon.
141. My brothers, keep yourselves from adultery;  
come with us and see the consecration:  
prepare yourself now to take bread  
from this great banquet.
142. Come with me in haste  
and I will let you into the garden  
so you can spread out your net  
and catch this great eagle.
143. If you do this, you will be very glad,  
for you are now made worthy to participate  
in this honourable grace, and call out  
with a gospel voice,
144. and sing with a voice of blessing.  
Then lawlessness will wither away and die,  
but your soul will live in blessing  
and partake of great good things.

145. When you come to the days of summer,  
you pay taxes to the tax-collector:  
consider Jethro, the father-in-law  
of Moses, brother of Aaron.
146. Come with me to the city of Ushem  
and walk with me gently  
until you see the wisdom of this young man,  
the holy martyr Phoebammon.
147. Why do you cut off your beard and your hair?  
You must find rest and refreshment  
when the days of reckoning come  
before the just judge.
148. Do not say, 'I am full of wounds  
and fed up with humiliation and scorn,  
Your soul is your own,  
and it calls for the invisible God.
149. My son, keep the commandments  
and you will make the grade in the heavenly host:  
and take from these symbols  
spiritual fruit.
237. Let us not be proud, so as not to fall into humiliation:  
for we are poor and weak,  
but we do have the seal of circumcision  
of the heart and the spirit, not of the letter of the law.
238. For the word cuts away  
the defence of the one who talks too much  
and the pretexts of the enemy  
who fights the truth with disputations.
239. Hear now the parable of the weeds,  
gather the good fruit and cleave to the one  
who has eaten honey-cake fresh from the oven  
and has received the teachings of Apa Palaemon.



240. Do not sow on the rock, do not sow thorns  
or in the road, so your bad smell doesn't become noticeable:  
but sow in the good earth,  
so as to bring forth true, perfect fruit.
241. Do not be like the generation of vipers,  
so great unhappiness does not seize you:  
but try to be like those who live in tents,  
and yet look for the city not made with hands.
259. I am talking about those crooked, twisted people  
who were greedy for cakes and grilled fish.  
They died still eating and chewing quail  
among the tombs of the gluttons.
260. Their banqueting-hall became their tomb;  
their faithlessness barred them from rest and home:  
they all became a type, a cautionary tale,  
to keep up from deception and scandal.
261. My beloved brothers, great thanks to you,  
and for this I praise you now,  
when you said to one another, 'Come on  
and let us straighten the crookedness of this poor man.'
262. I want to follow the deeds of the Prodigal Son  
and do what he did in his time;  
and I will say, 'What a crowd is filled with my father's bread,  
but I, I shall die of starvation in this place.'
263. I ran away from the pigs' greed,  
I arose with eagerness and went  
to my father and said to him, 'By  
your goodness, I have sinned, O merciful one.'
264. You steer my ship on the narrow way,  
your good angel will walk before me  
and make my paths straight,  
until I find this great rest in your presence.

265. Save me from the power of the obstructor  
who wants to shave my skin:  
you are the one who heals the battered  
and raises up those in tombs.
266. You know the works of the adversary,  
and know where I come from.  
We are all poor,  
and have no help but your great name.
267. My brother did not know that I had fallen,  
and my return was a great gain,  
even killing the fatted calf on the day  
of my return from the way of evil.
268. Well, my brother, do you want me to be judged  
and trouble our father over a goat?  
You are the favourite; I am just a servant:  
be glad for my life out of this death.
269. I put the wedding-garment on, mounted a mule,  
put on the ring of freedom,  
but wanted to see Apollos,  
whose message Luke told us about.
270. For those blessed ones, Aquila and Priscilla,  
strengthened him in the teachings of the Lord and his stela,  
until he got into the saddle with both feet  
and mounted the horse of the spirit.
271. This is the man who wanted power:  
he taught in Corinth like a judge  
when Barnabas and Mark were in Crete  
and Paul was looking for faithful brothers.
272. This man taught the Jews  
and Greeks, and the people there  
until a great fragrance diffused from him  
and the noses of the wise scented it.

273. Keep yourself far from evil deeds  
so as not to be excluded from the congregation:  
take the aspersion of the blood and the scarlet  
and the water from the hyssop twig.
274. I have not yet spoken of the lawgiving on Sinai...
284. He did as God told him:  
the wind of his strong faith blew the clouds  
which hold no water for the land of Harran.
285. He is the one who bore great heat  
until he saw God face to face.  
He received him and his two angels  
under the tree at Mamre, a terebinth.
286. He bent his head and bowed the knee,  
joined in the breaking of bread, wine in a cup,  
with Melchizedek, who wore the chasuble and humeral veil  
and said the true liturgy in purity.
287. Look, do not cling to me, Teacher:  
all these things are written in Genesis;  
for Moses is the one who wrote them  
for the children of the Hebrews.
288. O Lord, lighten my darkness,  
watch over me as the apple of your eye,  
so I may build aright and not put things  
other than as the Architect put them.
289. Clothe me, my God, with humility,  
put on me the garment of purity,  
so I may speak freely, crying to you, Abba,  
Father, Our Father.
290. Teach me, O God, to do what pleases you,  
and lead me to do your will:  
I shall be a scholar, like Enoch  
whom You took up alive to the place of rest.

291. O Lord, your sun of justice has risen upon me:  
fill me with love and mercy  
and give me the zeal of your prophet Elijah,  
the reprover of Israel, and its guardian.
292. O Master, for your holy name's sake  
give me the grace of your Holy Spirit,  
give me your gift of good understanding  
so my works may be redoubled.
293. My Saviour, receive my prayer,  
give heed to me and attend:  
for everything I do  
lies before your face.
294. My King and my God, Light-bearer,  
anoint me with the Holy Spirit and with fire;  
number me with the faithful servant, the great merchant  
whom You have endowed with honour and power.
295. You know my weakness, and that I am  
your creation and your servant:  
teach me to put your talent to good use,  
bringing forth tenfold interest and more.
296. O true Judge, do not bring me to condemnation,  
for you are my justification and my glory:  
do not let my heart be bereft  
of your heavenly graces.
297. Look upon your servant and prepare his dwelling,  
turn his No to Yes,  
let his six hundred debts become sixty,  
forgive him what he owes, down to the last penny.
298. O Lord, you are king and have put on glorious apparel:  
of your own will you were crucified at the sixth hour:  
the water of life flowed from your side for men to drink,  
and blood as a sign of your life-giving death.

299. O Emmanuel, this is your beautiful name;  
you took flesh in the consummation and fulness of time,  
to set Adam and Eve free  
from servitude to the ruler of demons.
300. You had mercy on the race of humankind,  
after they went astray you made them real persons:  
yours is the glory and honour and riches  
for ever, until the complete consummation of the ages.
301. My brother, wish me 'Many years!'  
and know now: this is  
the good part, that is given to the man who  
has not sat in the seat of the ungodly.
302. My brother, put right your heresy  
and consider the one who wanted to flee to Tarshish,  
but saw the great vision  
of Nineveh, that great city.
303. It was the one God wanted to destroy,  
to shatter like an earthen pot or jar.  
The whale swallowed the one who was sent there,  
when the sailors voted to throw him into the sea.
304. This is the man whose gourd vine grew  
and shaded his exhausted body:  
he sat under its tent like someone on a bed  
and waited for the end of his great preaching.
305. He heard the voice of scorn, when the worm  
gnawed the gourd's root and withered its stem:  
he was sad and said, 'Better that the Lord  
should take me out of this mortal body.'
306. I am talking about the prophet Jonah,  
who is like the one John loved,  
like the one who overcame Jannes and Jambres,  
who withstood the astounding miracles:

307. those two evil magicians  
who tried to make an example of Moses and Aaron:  
it was just like them that Simon Magus and Nero  
fought against Peter and Paul both.
308. Come with me to the island  
and behold this beautiful ewe lamb:  
we shall drink the milk of its udders  
and eat the flesh of the life-giving young one.
309. Now look at this great flock,  
whose participation in one another is alike,  
and its chosen fragrance spreads out  
until it fills this great garden.
310. Like all the glory of the king's daughter in Heshbon  
who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly,  
so is that of the holy Matthias on the mount of Esbon  
in the nome of the Christ-loving city of Latopolis.
311. Come with me to the city of Pape,  
and know now that this is  
the thirteenth of the month of Phaophi,  
that is, the ninth of October.
312. Listen now to this great praise  
which clothes the city of Panopolis,  
a light greater than lamps  
and the light of candles.
313. Prepare a feast in the tabernacle  
up to the horns of the sanctuary  
in the courts of the house of the one who has covered  
his heights with water, 'Hydor'.
314. Hear now this great discourse  
whose sea-depths none can abridge:  
no one who goes with prostitutes or fancy-boys  
will inherit the kingdom of heaven.

315. This is the word of him who stood before Gallio,  
the companion of Priscilla and Aquila,  
saying, 'What is sold in the butcher-shop  
eat with firm purpose, without scandal.'
316. I am talking about Saul, Barnabas' companion,  
who was like the one who saved Barabbas,  
who stood with Silas and Judas Bar-Sabas,  
and went to Antioch, following the spiritual commandments.
317. He first met with Peter and James,  
and finally Agabos prophesied about him;  
he attended to the books of Scriptures, from Moses to Maccabees,  
so the lawless Jews could trap him thus.
318. Come with me to Joppa  
and contemplate Simon and his weaving,  
and know now that he was a tanner  
as Luke has told us.
319. Behold Salome the nursemaid:  
she cannot cleanse or wash away her sin,  
even if she says, 'O Messiah,  
have mercy on your slave girl, your servant.'
320. Be like this woman and do not be lazy,  
so you may take grain from his threshing-floor.  
They ask for all your thoughts  
so they may bear witness for you at the judgement.
321. Look now and see  
those who come again with joy, bearing their sheaves:  
and say to your brother, 'Do you see  
what great things the Lord has done for us?'
322. If you do this, you will rejoice in the Lord and boast,  
and sacrifice the spotless and worthy Lamb,  
and divide up his flesh portion by portion, piece by piece,  
and eat it at the full moon of the month of April.

323. Meanwhile you will hear the one who says, 'When the Comforter will come, who is with the greatness of the Father, then you will receive of his community, the Master's power.'
324. Christ spoke this saying to the ones whose hearts he filled with his grace; he made their spirit be revealed in them, he gave them to drink of the water of life, that bubbles and flows from his gospel teachings.
325. And so, I shall not die, but live,  
and confess God, and reveal  
his holy words, full of life,  
and leap up on the Lord's great Sabbath day.
326. Again, I shall be a disciple, at  
the feet of him whose this great treasure is,  
and I shall see the mysteries face to face  
and rejoice with the great Bridegroom.
327. Then I shall sing for joy about this:  
I shall see couches and houses  
and shall say, 'My Lord, this is what I wanted,  
to be satisfied with a portion of your great goodness.'
328. This is the way I believed in the Lord: and how  
will they say to my soul, 'Turn and stand  
upon the mountain like a sparrow'? Not thus:  
for I have put my trust in the Lord, not in princes.
329. Because of this he will give me great endurance  
like Job the Just, who endured  
this great trial, as his remembrance  
tells us about his upright endurance.
330. After this, you have heard the end of Job,  
who scratched his boils with his nails.  
His name is also Jonab (not Joab),  
from the seed of Esau truly.



331. This is the man upon whom God multiplied his mercy;  
his land brought forth fruit, more than the land of Moab.  
The One God gave him a hundred-and sixty-and thirty-fold,  
and he led a blessed life.
332. Do not cry, O my brother, nor be troubled,  
but bow your head and bend your neck  
before God, so he may fill you and satisfy you  
with his spiritual graces.
333. Do not go on being angry with your brother,  
but forgive him before the sun goes down,  
so you may be like a flourishing tree, laden  
with fruit, whose leaves do not fall.
334. O my beloved, come to me and enter in  
and listen to John, saying  
in his Catholic Epistle: 'The desires of  
this world do not come from the Father.'
335. Look to yourself, and do not defile  
the temple of God with those who are defiled:  
for as for fornicators and the defiled,  
their portion is with the servers of idols.
336. See these crowds, who have gathered  
to tread on one another's feet for the hot press.  
Our Saviour taught his disciples to keep themselves  
from the leaven of the Pharisees and Herodians.
337. Your name, O God, is from the sunrise to the sunset:  
you have watched over me and hidden me  
in your tabernacle on the evil day: you have numbered me  
with those who turn and bring you a sacrifice of praise.
338. You have saved me from the thief, the robber,  
the arrogant liar and murderer  
who has neither truth nor faith.  
You have made his snare and dart, his slings and arrows, useless.

339. Tell me now, my daughter:  
the Lord has done many things for them besides these,  
and he has lifted from them  
the reproach of the adversary.
340. Come and see the great potter  
who healed the man let down through the roof  
and said to him in front of the scribes,  
'Your sins are forgiven you.'
341. My God, I will not give my eyes rest  
until I see your fountain and drink from its water,  
and I shall join with my bride and her mothers,  
and rejoice with my bridegroom.
342. And I will reach out my hand to the vine and its clusters,  
I shall see the turtledove in its nest,  
I shall behold the doves that fill  
the temple and the sanctuary.
343. I shall see those who fill their pots with water  
and rejoice in the Lord God,  
who have perfected themselves, like  
those who ate the manna of the mind.
344. Come, let us go into the garden and worship  
at the holy place, where he who loved me was crucified,  
and gave his soul for my littleness:
345. He, whose divine body the Jews  
struck upon the wooden plank  
of the Cross, saying, 'This is the one  
who was going to rebuild the Temple in three days.'
346. He is the one who drank the vinegar for my sake,  
whose disciples broke off the ears of grain.  
He undid the Jews' plots,  
put to shame the works of the ancient priests.

347. He is the one who said to his own, 'Do not keep company  
with gentiles';  
and yet he said to them, 'Go and call all nations'.  
He granted to them to defeat the nations' resistance,  
in the power of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.
348. He came victoriously and won,  
he put out the fire of burning Gehenna,  
he put to naught the Adversary's plots,  
and snatched away from him those who were bound in the  
netherworld.
349. I mean the truly trustworthy one,  
who said to me, 'You are neither hot nor cold,  
you are lukewarm water. They will follow in your  
footsteps, when I reject you openly.
350. But if you want to save yourself from shame,  
take from me tested gold  
and know that I am the one  
who tries the reins and the heart.'
351. Then he said to me, 'Do not let your soul be a stranger:  
remember in what place you perished,  
and repent in tears that drop on the sands of truth,  
until you fill the riverbed and drink Lebanon.'
352. And again he said, 'Why are you sad and troubled?  
Come, take the easy yoke upon your neck,  
to be fulfilled, and I will fulfil you  
with my burden of the Spirit, which is light.'
353. Then he said, 'If you receive my yoke,  
pay attention, do not be unwilling, do not hurry to throw  
it off: do not be like a draft animal  
or an ox unaware of its great honour.

354. But take after the deeds of the Prodigal Son,  
and do not let your lit lamp go out,  
for I am God, whose gaze truly discerns  
the impious and the just.'
355. My soul, walk in his ways and in his footsteps,  
and he will take you out of this great fear  
and will make the thirsty land a spring of water,  
bubbling up in fountains of eternal life.
356. My soul, now awake and sing  
to God, who gives you a crown  
of mercy and sympathy, as David  
the Psalmist said.
357. Again he said, 'If you keep my commandments, I will turn  
and set your fallen lamps upright and build  
up your fallen tower, and set myself up  
as your watcher and guard.'
358. You, my soul, know the works of shame,  
and you know that fair years are not more than sixty,  
like the days of weeks, seven in number:  
but a hundred and twenty is the blessed fathers' span.
359. Awake, my soul, from this sleep and this forgetting:  
for the night is over, the sun's light is risen.  
See, the Lord reigns as king from the tree,  
he who made fast the world, that it cannot be moved.
360. He, then, who took up his Cross,  
came out of Jerusalem and entered  
into his glory, while the forgetful Jews  
did not know that this was his place of rest.
361. I speak of Christ, who died for us,  
who received the priesthood of Melchizedek and Aaron,  
to whom Philip said, 'Show us the Father and that is enough  
for us.'  
He is God, who sees us and watches over us.

362. This is the mystery that was appointed,  
which God established according to the limit:  
it reached the ends of the earth and its boundaries  
through the preaching of the holy apostles.
363. He made of no effect death's power and sting,  
he who made the blind man's eyes out of clay.  
He said to his disciples, 'Know my love  
for you, for I have called you, you must be my brothers.'
364. He sat on the Mount of Olives  
and praised the one who would endure and win.  
He blessed the one whose testicles would be cut off,  
what are called the 'parts of necessity'.
365. Stand up, you from this stock:  
let us stand upright like well-bred people,  
since we are saved from the fires of Gehenna  
and its black darkness under the earth.
366. Now let us arise and  
listen to the word that  
Paul spoke: 'Now I am  
under sin, miserable me.'
367. If we wake up in the third or fourth watch  
and do this, we will obtain his portion  
— it is very good, it is his —  
in the heavenly tabernacle.
368. Come, let us look and smell  
the scent of the perfume and be refreshed  
and straightway quickly rejoice  
with those who partake of eternal life,
369. and throw off the cares of this life and its burden,  
and look at the work of Zarach and Perez  
the two sons of Judah the watcher,  
whom Tamar the wise woman bore him.

370. Now, Tamar, I marvel at you  
and look with my eyes at you,  
saying in my heart, 'Who was it  
who told this woman this mystery?'
371. But she said, 'How am I to stay alone  
and now become like an idol?  
But by my own counsel I have become  
the mother of sons who became the fathers of David and  
Solomon.'
372. This is the woman who rejoiced in her life:  
she bore the root, established, still living;  
the Word grew in her, strong to bind  
and loose the chained and the demons.
373. My brother, call your people and teach them  
about this great grace they have obtained a part in,  
for Christ offered up his body, giving it as food,  
giving his holy blood as drink.
374. He offered up his body for you,  
putting to naught sacrifice to idols:  
he gave us alone grace to be sons of God,  
with the Spirit by which we cry out 'Our Father'.
375. My brother, as I have done, you do too,  
and consider all these words and their definition:  
and now, with me, act like Horion,  
the companion of Victor son of Romanos.
376. In this martyr's prayers we trust,  
according to the established order:  
for God the good will forgive us  
all that we owe.
377. For the Mother of God intercedes for you,  
and her intercession suffices you  
on the day when we will set foot  
before the true and just Judge.

378. My beloved brothers, you  
knew the one who came to you  
saying expressly: 'If you  
are merciful, you are perfect.'
379. Beloved, take your oil-filled lamps,  
so you will inherit eternal life  
with those who have pleased God from eternity  
and have entered their Bridegroom's chamber.
380. Listen to the voice saying, 'Arise, Peter,  
sacrifice and eat: do not let your  
heart be scandalized: for I shall  
make my ways straight for the upright.'
381. Do not be afraid of the doorkeeper,  
but hope in the Word of God  
who says, 'I have said, you are gods,  
you are sons of the Exalted, the Merciful.'
382. Brothers, even if one of you could  
hold back the courses of the sun and moon,  
he should not say to his brother, 'Fool',  
so as not to be guilty of everlasting wrath.
383. You know that if someone gives himself up to pleasure  
a sharp sword will pierce his soul,  
and the bow of the Mighty One will fight him  
with arrows that go right through the heart.
384. But let each one of us be obedient...
- \*\*\*
389. [Christ was born, and] wrapped  
in swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger:  
but at the end he made Death of no effect, and trod him down,  
and gave us the grace of eternal life.

390. Lord God, do not destroy  
my soul, like those who have been wiped  
off the earth: you destroyed them quickly  
because of their lawless deeds.
391. But deal with us as you did with that  
woman, to whom you said, 'You are freed  
from your sickness.' You healed her utterly,  
for you are a merciful God.
392. Grant me, my God, to build and place  
the foundation of my house upon the rock; and to  
forgive my neighbour, so I may become king over ten  
cities, over the greater part.
393. Fill us, O God, with wisdom, so we may  
act like the one who said No to you and yet  
repented at the end and found mercy  
at your great and fearful tribunal.
394. Do not throw me away, O God, like those to whom you gave  
a bill of divorcement,  
but do good to me in change and requital,  
make me worthy to stand with those who have washed  
their garments and come out to meet their Bridegroom.
395. Give me grace, O Dweller in heaven, to build  
the foundation of my house upon the rock:  
do not give my flesh as food for crows and kites:  
do not deal with me as did Pharaoh with his cook.
396. Save me from the cup filled with poison:  
give me a portion with those who have obtained  
eternal life, and have bowed their necks  
beneath your exalted, unseen hand.
397. You are the one who said, 'Lay not up material treasures on earth,  
the place where moth and rust  
destroy, where thieves dig and steal  
all possessions of gold and sapphire.'



398. But you said, 'Lay up for yourselves immaterial treasures  
in heaven, the place where neither moth nor rust  
destroy, where no thieves dig and steal what you  
have stored up in the great treasure-vault.'
399. And you said, 'Protect yourselves  
from your accusers, so they do not devour you,  
hauling you before the tax-collector, to strip you  
of your last penny, your last mite.'
400. And you said, 'If someone compels you to go a mile,  
go with him two, so you may thus build  
your house upon the rock,' like those who filled seven baskets  
with the leftovers of the seven loaves you blessed,  
O Blessing One.
401. And you said, 'Do not let any one of you worry about clothes  
or about what he will eat or drink:  
for the body is worth more than clothes  
and the soul more than food, intelligent man.'
402. You said, 'Consider the lilies of the field, that are grass:  
how do they wear clothes? How much more are you  
than all these. And your Father in heaven has told you  
that he will give you the kingdom of heaven, rational little flock.'
403. You said, 'Let everyone who follows me  
leave all the possessions under his roof  
and all his companions, and those from whose loins he came,  
and take up his cross, with shining mind.'
404. Only-Begotten Son, perfect in grace and love,  
save me from the raging of wind and wave,  
you who are sprung from the root of the one who took  
Uriah's wife, David, father of Solomon.
405. Look upon my littleness, my very own,  
and watch over my new wine that I have put in the cellar,  
and prepare me a table, in the presence of the one who  
troubles me with evil deeds.

406. I flee to your goodness and beseech  
you to give me the readiness to arise and pay  
you what I owe you, as long as I exist and am  
still in this place, before they lay me in the tomb.
407. Grant me to find what the saints found,  
for their thoughts did not fall into defilement:  
they did not require a tooth for a tooth,  
but repaid evil with good.
408. You entered Jerusalem mounted on an ass and an ass's colt,  
and you cured the crippled and the lame:  
and for that the senseless and foolish people of the Jews  
blamed you, because you healed on the Sabbath.
409. You, who created your angels in their orders,  
said to the haemorrhaging woman, 'Daughter, be comforted.'  
You taught those who wanted to follow you  
that you had no place  
to lay your head: you who rule the universe from the ages.
410. You are the one to whom Jairus said, 'Lord, come  
and raise my daughter, for she is already dead.'  
And you raised her and told them to give her something to eat.  
This ruler of the synagogue believed in you.
411. My sins, O God, are very many and have become many;  
bring my poor soul out of the depths of this pit:  
do not compare me to those who sew a new patch  
on an old garment, not fitted to it with thought.
412. But rather make my flesh and bones whole  
like those whose hand you grasped and took away their fever.  
Grant me to put new wine in new wineskins  
and watch over them all together until  
they are fermented perfectly.
413. Brothers, come, hear these sweet words  
and understand these comforting thoughts,

as I have begun and have taught you  
the usefulness of this language, Coptic.

414 .... and they brought him down to the netherworld.

415. I ask you, who live in this region,  
do not hurry to unbind the sandals  
upon me, so as not to reveal the fraud  
of all my evil deeds.

416 .... and do not mercilessly bring me down to Tartarus.

417. Woe to me, the needy one, if they suddenly seize me  
and put me before the throne of Him Who Is,  
and the Buyer and Seller appears,  
who buys punishment and sells rest.

418. What am I to do on the day of the great judgement  
when my sentence, a long one, catches up with me?  
There is no salvation for me in silver and gold,  
no respecting of persons at that fearful tribunal.

419. I am afraid that my portion will be  
like that of those who were greedy for onions and cucumbers:  
they lived in the wilderness, but wanted  
to turn back to the land of Egypt, Babylon.

420. I mean those who were in the wilderness forty years.  
God rained on them manna from heaven's gate;  
and but for Moses, his holy one,  
God would not have had mercy on this lawless people.

421. Through Moses their sorrow was turned to joy;  
God showed them the way and opened heaven's gate:  
he gave them manna to eat and it increased,  
but they did not trust Moses and Aaron.

422. These are the men greedy for turnips and vegetables.  
They saw their life before them, as he hung upon

the wooden beam of the cross. With their bodies they followed  
in his footsteps  
but with their minds and hearts they did not believe in him.

423. This is the people that wandered in a great desert:  
their land brought forth thistles and thorns.  
They went on their wanderings until they fell into the net  
of the wrath of God, because of their evil deeds.
424. This is the race whom wasps stung:  
their flesh and their bodies collapsed in the wilderness;  
birds and ibises ate their bodies;  
they became food for worms and wild beasts.
425. Come now, my daughters,  
and weep with me for this great flock  
that perished so suddenly. They found no salt, not an acacia  
bush  
to salt their skin, that rotted and spread stench.
426. Come with me now, my companion, leave the feast  
and consider the one who fell asleep under a palm.  
He walked on thorns and sand, leaving the soft  
pillows on ivory bedsteads.
427. Brother, come and take this scroll from me,  
call my sister and tell her  
about greed for sin, not to commit it,  
so she may be saved from the Adversary's hand.
428. Brothers, with me act like the one whose  
brother put on the ephod and the vestments,  
who equipped his ship with rowers and spears  
and loaded it with his wares and his cargo.
429. Consider this boatman, whose tenant I am;  
do not catcall at him or hate him,  
but truly know that this ewe lamb belongs to him,  
which bore the lion-cub, the king of beasts.

430. But I love this boatman,  
for I know that the inheritance has fallen upon him  
for him to become a priest and an heir  
at the time when the order will devolve upon him.
431. Then he will put on the ephod and the vestments  
and perform the liturgy in priesthood, when  
the mustard seed grows to be a great tree  
and the birds of heaven find shade under its branches.
432. My brothers, be strong, and let your heart be firm,  
and climb up the high, strong mountain  
and give thanks to God, saying 'Thine  
is the power and the glory forever and ever.'
433. Be patient with me, my brother, and be calm:  
do not find fault with me and say 'Why  
so many words?' Have the words multiplied in your mouth,  
or are you now talking in riddles?
434. Pay attention to my explanation, take it in,  
and know that I have prepared a great feast for you.  
Come and eat from it: do not be prevented by what  
you have made from business in this life.
435. Come with me, stand on your feet  
and spread your net to catch and hold fast  
the dove, that was not caught  
as was the black raven by Noah the just.
436. Come down to me, O dove, and stay,  
until I ask you, who was it that planted  
the olive tree for you to find the leaves of its branches  
and take them, until the eighth day, to those  
saved from the flood.
437. He saw you, the one saved with his sons and their wives,  
and you came to him at the hour of evening: he caught you with

the flat of  
his hand, and knew that the water had receded, the dry land  
was revealed;  
he knew that this mystery depended on the true anointing.

438. He knew in his bright mind that Christ, the Logos  
of God, would descend into the womb  
of the Virgin, and take flesh and bone and sinew of her  
and a rational soul, becoming perfect man.
439. He is the God who measures heaven with his hand:  
he dwelt with man, until he grew up and came of age.  
He knows the number of my days, how many they are,  
and knows that I require them, my little self.
440. This is the God whom I ask to watch over me until  
I cleanse my land of thistles and thorns  
and prepare to take this medicine and this incense  
that save me from the power of the old serpent.
441. Brother, do not tell me that these words need explanation,  
but look rightly, for I have not taken them from outside,  
and know, man of good sense, that without God's  
providence I had not set this *Triadon* aright.
442. Glory to God, who stirs up north and south wind,  
who gives me, the forgetful, an attentive heart,  
who has clothed my rational soul with a robe of honour,  
who gives me the justice of eternal life on the last day.
443. He, to whom power and might belong,  
revealed himself to Cleophas and Luke in the field:  
going to Emmaus they saw him, and touched  
his limbs as they sat with him at dinner.
444. He said to them, 'Do you not know  
that everything written in the Law was written about me?'  
Then he opened their hearts so they might know and understand  
what was written in the Law and the Psalter.

445. Then he hid himself from them, and they did not know where he  
    had gone,  
    just as before they did not know where he had come from.  
    They said, 'Truly our conscience is like stone,  
    for we did not know him, when he explained the scriptures to us.'
446. My beloved, pay good attention to this great time  
    when they will sacrifice the suckling beast, the lamb,  
    and eat from it, so as to be satisfied  
    and be worthy of the Passover which leads to rest.
447. If you find this, you will find a great profit  
    and be saved from the evil days,  
    and will strengthen yourself and not fall  
    into the evil snares of scandal.
448. You are worthy to eat the unleavened bread  
    and have no leaven be found in your tent,  
    and share with the one who was selected by lot  
    to offer incense in the sanctuary.
449. I am not telling you about the unleavened bread of the old  
    commandment,  
    but about the bread from above that we will eat tomorrow,  
    seeking it today: the kingdom of heaven, which we long for  
    and attain, when we forgive those who trespass against us.
450. We participate in it when we taste sweetness,  
    endurance, seeking and persistence,  
    and pray with a contrite heart and well-framed words,  
    and receive great, heavenly graces.
451. We all know, my beloved, clearly,  
    that God's commandments are gentle, not oppressive,  
    the way he said, 'If you give just a cup of cold water.'  
    You are the people of Christ: his reward is great.
452. He is God, who has the power to make alive and to kill,  
    and he again is the one who created the Pleiades:

we must bow our head and neck to him  
and worship him in truth with a holy spirit.

453. He is the merciful God, who loves those  
who in this way make obeisance before him and call to him  
in both times, the easy and the tight places,  
thanking him in both trouble and comfort.
454. He who sprung from the root of David  
looked at Peter as he waited in the hall  
and was sad for him, and cried in great lamentation,  
because he denied his Lord openly.
455. He knew that he had also said,  
'Who dips his hand with me in the dish,  
he is the one in whose heart the Devil put it  
to turn me in into the hand of the lawless.'
456. Truly this saying was fulfilled  
in Judas, in whom the Enemy  
put into him hard thoughts  
to betray his Master.
457. Woe to that one who has not turned away from the sins in him:  
who shuts up his unexamined heart  
and puts them inside, till he kills  
his soul and goes to eternal fire.
458. He will inherit Gehenna and its flame  
because, in a word, he dared in his trickery to touch  
and even kiss his Lord: but He did not prevent him from  
touching Him,  
but rebuked him with His true word.
459. Blessed are you, O Dismas, because you sought  
the kingdom, and straightway you found  
the promise which nothing else is like  
in the paradise of rest.



460. Truly God received your prayer and grasped it:  
he made you worthy to sit at his great banquet  
of a thousand years, which no one can comprehend,  
for it has not entered the reckoning of the years of the  
epoch.
461. Who, then, was the wise man who knew this  
in his brilliant mind, to assess this  
and explain the mystery of the throne's measure  
as written in the amazing vision?
462. One saw the vision on the island, the other in the field.  
For the first, the book became sweet in his mouth, but bitter  
in his heart:  
the second told us about the oven that was heated with pitch  
under Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldeans.
463. As for this man, who tried to put the Three Holy Children to  
shame,  
they did not listen to his commands nor conform to them,  
but put their trust in God with their whole heart, in him  
whose is the rule over what is fleshly and what is spiritual.
464. Afterwards this man knew his condemnation:  
his sin was plain to him; he cursed his birth  
and truly hardened his heart: for it had to happen  
for God to reveal himself in the flesh.
465. Then he said, 'These men have not obeyed me,  
poor me!'; saying, 'Mine was  
the power over them, but now I know that this  
fourth one is truly the Son of God.
466. 'The one who saw my hateful deeds  
wanted to save these children for my sake:  
he is the one who created woman from the rib  
that he took from the side of Adam, the first man.

467. 'Now I know that the prayer of these holy ones has been received by God the Almighty, He Who Is, who holds heaven and earth and what is in them in his hand, the first before time, the last till eternity.'
468. Look at this man, who fell from his condition,  
how he spoke in great formulations  
and became indeed worthy of this great rank,  
so as to prophesy about this great mystery.
469. Come with me, brothers, to Babylon, to  
see those who sit in the shadow of the willow tree  
and lament as they hear the people sing  
with all the instruments of music.
470. Now I want to go to Rama  
and there seek for many men,  
and go with them to the city of Rome  
to live there, like Paul the architect.
471. Everyone seeing me says, 'This man is an Alexandrian.'  
How so? Have I come to look like a wandering bum?  
I have fixed it in my entire mind to go around  
from city to city, according to the gospel word.
472. How have I left my own land  
and become like children in the marketplace?  
But I have not likened myself to what happened to the widow  
when the unjust judge judged her, who was just.
473. I need to get knowledge and understanding  
and strength, like the simple widow  
to whom the judge gave what was hers  
in his true judgement, after a long time.
474. I am eager to climb up into the sycamore  
and see the one who saved our father Noah.  
Again he said to his disciples, 'Shake  
the dust of your feet upon the city of the lawless.'

475. Come, my fathers, let us divide the booty  
before they bind the weeds into bundles  
and burn them in the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth  
according to the Master's order.
476. Beloved, I have not talked to you about Mammon:  
but let us all say, 'O God, give us  
your exalted grace, because without  
your help we would have become food for wild beasts.'
477. Again let us say, 'O God, do not abandon us  
utterly, us, the poor; and even if  
we possess this temporal, finite life,  
you know that man's mind turns to evil.'
478. Brothers, let us sit and shed our tears  
until they flow like rivers of water  
upon the things we did in our first years,  
far away in this life full of suffering.
479. Let us keep ourselves, beloved, from deception  
and take hold of Christ, for he is the Head,  
and he also is the one who knows how great is the number  
of my years, me, this miserable one.
480. He healed the man with the withered hand;  
he saw the prostitute, that she had  
faith: he had mercy on her and set her  
free from her sins, in the house of Simon.
481. He too is the one who gave speech to the dumb;  
he died for us and was wrapped in linen cloths,  
he rose from the dead in his divinity, and his  
grave-clothes were not undone, but rolled up like potter's  
clay.
482. He sat in the ship near the shore  
and taught thus: 'When you pray, shut your door.'

Woe to me, miserable me, for I have not taken to heart  
a single word of his blessed teachings.

483. He also said, 'Not one single iota or one single  
dot will fall out of the Law nor be erased,  
as Micah said: "Bethlehem, though you are small,  
you are not too little, in Judah and its governorate."'
484. He is the one who created the Star of Horus and the Great  
Bear.  
He commanded the priests to burn the liver and the shoulder  
as they burn the other parts left over  
from the Paschal lamb, in absence of quarrels.
485. He is the one who went out into the field to sow,  
and the good field yielded thirty – and sixty – and a  
hundredfold from his seed.  
His sweat flowed like blood from his armpit  
at the time when he prayed in the night of his Passion.
486. The angel appeared to him and said to him, 'Although  
you showed weakness, you too keep on existing and remain:  
and yours is the power and the glory and the enduring might,  
and your power is until the consummation of the ages.'
487. Let us sing to him with organ and strings,  
for he is the one whose side was pierced with a spear, for it  
was the weapon in the hand of the Cherubim, in place of a  
sword  
and it opens for us the way to the tree of eternal life.
488. Let us consider Christ at the time when he turned  
to his disciples and rebuked the Jews for what they had done.  
He compared his kingdom to fishermen who leave  
the good fish in their net and throw out the bad.
489. Let us hear his word, that you are different from many  
sparrows;  
and hear his word to the chief

of the apostles: 'I will give you the keys  
of the kingdom of heaven, so you can shut and open.'

490. What shall I say of those whose spirits and minds he joined  
to his divine body? He wrote their names  
in the Book of Life; he gave them an immeasurable thing:  
to sit, on the Day of Judgement, upon twelve thrones.

491. Truly no one among men is like  
these men, who ate of the feast and the type, the Last Supper.  
Beloved, let us be enthusiastic to make our  
souls like those of these great, blessed men.

492. Now we know that the just man will be exalted like the  
date-palm;  
he is like an eagle, not like a swallow,  
and he increases until he reaches this great transformation  
and is king over the ages in his perfect nature.

493. Woe to me, poor me, I have become abomination:  
in place of clean bread I ate polluted bread.  
Some were zealous for scholarship, but I for sweat.  
Where to find the destroyer and the builder together?

494. More woe to me, miserable me, if  
men know that I love this diseased old woman,  
and know that I sleep with her under a cloak  
and join with her in great passion.

495. Incisive discourses cannot convey  
my darkened mind from this threshold;  
but I slept in the bed full of fleas  
and scorpions, with this great whore, Babylon.

496. How can I have left this way of the monks of the south  
who eat salt and vinegar and dried bread and *saris*?  
I followed my evil thoughts and filled my heart  
with must of wine,  
I burdened myself with food and drink and the cares of this life.

497. I was like a wild animal that devours flesh;  
I likened myself to an ox that eats lettuce.  
The Evil One surpassed the other demons in love  
for silver and gold:  
for being proud for me is a great, capital matter.
498. I went into the garden, I had no desire for peaches:  
I left behind the expensive late summer fruit, in satiety.  
I did not hear the word of the one who said, 'Do not drink  
water, but drink a little wine for your stomach's sake.'
499. I am the little one among my brothers; in my father's house  
I am small.  
I ask you, O God, to number me with the one you have drawn  
to your faith, Paul; and number me with the ones who buried  
your divine body, Joseph and Nicodemus.
500. Look upon my poverty, O my God, and take care  
for my miserable soul, that is plunged  
in the filth of sin. The Enemy has approached to devour it,  
for he roars like a lion, and he is the dragon.
501. Give me, O good God, what I desire,  
to find the strength to resist him,  
for your will grants me to put my trust in it,  
and to make a profit in business with your currency.
502. O Lord, look from your heaven upon your servant,  
who has taken refuge  
under the protection of your shadow: give him  
strength to pass through  
the sea of this troublesome life, and he will sing  
the song of Moses and Miriam and Aaron.
503. I shall sing to you, O God, on a ten-stringed psaltery,  
I shall go into your house and hide away:  
there I shall uncover to you all my thoughts  
hidden from men: they will be revealed before your face.

504. Make me worthy, O my God, to go into your house at dawn  
and worship before your holy temple, and kiss its atrium:  
and I shall see you, O Son of God, sitting on your throne  
in your great glory upon the chariot of the Cherubim.
505. O my God, make me like a juniper tree, which is a cypress,  
and the four-square wood, and put me on Mount Ararat.  
Make me an olive tree, that grew  
the first of all trees after the Flood.
506. Purify my heart, so it may become a clean  
tablet to write your pages on with your finger,  
so your sayings may truly take root in my heart  
and I shall keep your ten blessed commandments.
507. If I keep them, I shall become the dwelling-place of your  
self-deprivation,  
I shall behold all the mysteries of creation,  
I shall receive the power of loosing and binding  
and be king over ten cities in heaven.
508. I know I will attain this if I leave behind defiled deeds  
and light the wick of my lamp, and make its stand strong,  
and I shall see the queen standing, clothed with the glory of  
Heshbon,  
the queen of women, the Mother of God the Co-Eternal Word.
509. I said this, O Lord, because the zeal of your house has eaten  
me up.  
Lead me, O my God, to your holy, solid mountain  
and I shall see all creation in its height and depth  
and I shall speak in it with just, true words.
510. Bring my soul out of the country of Tanis  
so I may see your ark, which they call 'a chest';  
I shall see you as you heal the lame and the sick,  
giving light to the blind, casting out demons.

511. O my God, do not hold my words against me in judgement,  
but may they become a pride and a good report for me.  
Save me from the tribulations of this dwelling-place  
and this region:  
for yours is the power over everything, O Master of the ages.
512. Grant me my request through the intercessions of the one in  
whose womb you rested,  
on whose head your beloved disciple saw a crown  
made of twelve stars, and he also bore witness  
that she was clothed with your light, with the moon  
under her feet.
513. You, O Christ our God, of your own will took flesh  
of the daughter of the one who trod down the lion and the  
she-bear.  
We offer you a burnt offering, frankincense and sweet gum:  
we bring you sacrifices of blessing to your sanctuary.
514. And we say, 'Bless the year in its crown with your goodness,  
give the earth drink from your dew, until its furrows are  
filled,  
increase its fruits without withering and fading,  
give joy to the ram and sheep in its good pasture.'
515. Give us all grace to find mercy before you  
on the day of the great trumpet and the great earthquake:  
give us strength to swim in the great flood  
and so the burning river of fire will be stilled for us.
516. O God, sprinkle our souls with the hyssop of your pyx:  
write our name with those of your saints on your tablet.  
Give us an inheritance in Jerusalem and in Zion too:  
do not cast us out of the number of your great portion.
517. My brother, do not say to me 'You have talked a lot: why?'  
This is not talking too much: I am rather gathering my chicks  
like a hen,  
being afraid of the wine-cup that he gives out to each,  
that all sinners will drink unmixed.



518. Now I am sad, my brothers, and lamenting  
over this people, whose were all the promises and sacrifices.  
How did they fall into error all their lifetime little by little  
until their soul was robbed of entering into the place of rest?
519. Come to me now, you spinning women,  
and tell me about the news of your men who sacrificed  
their sheep when the moon was in Cygnus  
which they call the Leader-star.
520. Tell me now, you who spin in the moonlight,  
what is the necessary thing that hinders you in the day?  
Going around in lanes and houses and streets  
busyng yourselves with useless examples.
521. What shall I say of you, O fig tree, who has no caretaker?  
The people that did not know to burn the sheep's bones head  
to foot,  
nor the mystery of sprinkling its blood on the doorposts  
of their houses, so the destroyer of the firstborn would not  
destroy them.
522. You are like your mother, who hid the household idols under her  
camel's saddle. She was not afraid of Jacob and the oath.  
For this she bore Benjamin. Her soul departed,  
she died in Ephrata, in a just judgement.
523. You are the women whom the prophet rebuked for their  
hairstyles and fringes  
and tinkling bells and painting their faces.  
They put aside hymns and odes;  
they loved their necklaces and bracelets.
524. These are the women who loved pillows and cushions:  
they left their husbands and took husbands from the merchants  
who killed them as they committed whoredom with them,  
paying no heed to their beauty, their beloved children.

525. This is the reward for those who walk in drunkenness and jokes,  
who wallow in food and baths and unguents;  
but then those with whom they wallowed pierce them with sharp  
spears,  
and their enemies will see and rejoice over the destruction  
of the lawless.
526. This is the reward for those who walk in great arrogance  
and boasting and pride and drunkenness:  
their fire will be lit with pitch and lime and wood twigs;  
they will be in the outer darkness forever without rest.
527. This is the revenge upon those who are ensnared in  
paper contracts  
and leave behind judgement and consideration:  
they will be dusty in front of the gate  
and walk in the way of Balaam, the ventriloquist.
528. I am talking about the man whom God rebuked  
through a she-ass,  
which clung to the wall like a tent-peg is driven into the  
soil.  
She told him that the angel of the Lord required repayment  
from him  
for the way he thought of his people in evils.
529. When this man heard that, he was troubled at heart,  
but the gifts and money had closed his mind.  
Thereafter God gave him great understanding,  
and he prophesied about the star that was to rise shining over  
Jacob.
530. Let us leave this man, and behold the green cedar,  
and differentiate between leprosy and living scar-tissue,  
and sing in this psalm until it is finished, about the  
winepress,  
and be angry at our sinning, beholding the good.

531. Let us differentiate between creeping rash and cautery scar,  
so as to know wounds and scabs and scar-tissue,  
and sores and swellings, so we do not become the losers,  
nor the wise among us become foolish and unperceiving.
532. If we are able to differentiate among leprosy, rashes and  
scar-tissue,  
and apportion light and darkness, we will be saved from shame  
and be worthy to keep the feast of our holy Pascha on the  
sixteenth  
day from the moon of the month of Pharmouthi, which they call  
April.
533. Come with me, my brothers, to Golgotha, until  
you see the one on whose head the Jews put a crown of thorns:  
for he is the one who bore our sins, that are like plaited  
thorns;  
he took upon himself for us the curse, upon his cross in the  
Place of a Skull.
534. Come and let us bring him burnt offerings,  
and cut with axes the root that bears no fruit;  
and play trumpets and cymbals,  
blow cornets, play the strings and psaltery.
582. .... But he called Lazarus, and he came out with his face  
covered;  
he came and passed by the tomb which the sons of Hemor  
had sold to Abraham for a miliaresion.
583. It is He who speaks to us in the Scriptures,  
and we all know that it is He  
who promised to give us the crown and the diadem  
and to seat us upon thrones of the spirit.
584. He gave Moses the sacrifice of bullocks,  
he gave the priesthood to Aaron for length of days  
until they were fulfilled. He gave his apostles too  
the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Comforter.

585. He is the one who said to the ancients, 'Thou shalt not steal':  
to us, though, he said, 'Love your enemies';  
again he said, 'The one who dares to blaspheme against the Holy Spirit  
will not be forgiven in the two ages.'
586. He has made our ways straight,  
taught the near and the far  
not to be angry with those who curse them and  
strike them in the face with their fists, as he himself was not.
587. He is the one who taught us all these teachings at this time  
so that all our branches might grow and not wither,  
so we might bring forth good fruit and go  
into the house of God with our firstfruits and our spiritual  
tithes.
588. We will take our pomegranates and our figs  
and our oil and wine in jars  
and bring our supplications and prayers  
and put them, on feast days, up in the sanctuary.
589. He who was wrapped in a linen sudarium  
revealed great wonders,  
knowing all my deeds that I have done,  
and my thoughts, crooked and straight.
590. I ask his goodness to save me  
and give heed to my prayer and hear me  
and send me his grace to feed me,  
and I will be satisfied with the fruits of his goodness.
591. I ask him to take me out of the land of Tanis  
and watch over me, so my lamp does not go out,  
and grace me with the oil of mercy, so the  
door will not be shut to me on the day of the fearful  
judgement.

592. I beseech him to give me strength in my legs,  
and to loose all my chains that are bound like belts:  
I will follow him, I will leave the dead to bury  
their dead and put them in their tombs.
593. I ask him to save me from a fall and from a midday demon,  
and to forgive me the multitude of my sins, as I have loved  
his holy name; I have said in my heart, 'Will not  
my soul obey the true God?'
594. I now know, poor me, that I am  
like the one who defiled his garment and wanted to wash  
his spot, and he called to his soul, saying, 'Arise  
quickly and put evil deeds behind you.'
595. Why have you brought it about that evil desires follow you  
and put on garments that are dirtier than old leather scraps?  
Arise now with me; I wish to divide Shechem  
and to tell the number of the real, true tabernacle.
596. Why, O my soul, have you fallen down and cleaved to  
the earth like two pieces of wood stuck with nails?  
Come now and sing in the gradual psalm:  
I have lifted up my eyes to you, the invisible God.
597. If you do this, God's mercy will catch up with you  
and he will send his help and his power to be with you  
and illuminate you with the light of his true Spirit,  
which is the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete.
598. Arise and give your promise to the Lord,  
and become like the one who washed the Lord's feet  
with her tears, and say, 'Unless the Lord  
build the house, the labor of the builders is in vain.'
599. Cry out and say, 'O God, sprinkle me  
with your hyssop, so I may be able to behold  
your mysteries, and I will receive the key  
of your heavenly kingdom.'

600. My brothers, come and see the rejoicing and the happiness  
I have obtained in continence and being careful:  
for I have listened to the one who said, 'The sun has risen,  
the animals have gathered together and gone to sleep in their  
dens.'
601. Man goes forth to his work and seeks his food  
from the plants of the field that are thrown into the oven.  
Because of this I said, 'Come now,  
will God forget the work of his hands?'
602. Then I said, 'You, O God, created me,  
you have tested my deeds and known me,  
and in your compassion have saved and freed me,  
and have given me the grace of eternal life.'
603. When I multiplied my lawlessness and wove  
the chain of my sins, you acted toward me according to your  
wisdom,  
had mercy upon me, were not angry  
with me because of my evil deeds.
604. Because of this I knew that you are a God who turns away from  
your anger,  
and you will be compassionate and not wrathful,  
and I truly knew that you had not abandoned  
your mercy from all ages.
605. Have mercy upon me, O God, and forgive  
the multitude of my sins, and do not spit me out  
of your mouth, O you who forgave  
the lawlessness of the people of Nineveh openly.
606. I know, O my God, that you desire mercy more than  
sacrifice. In this you know all my  
ways. Because of this I have been zealous to beat  
all the limbs of this worldly body.

607. You, O God, are my help and my protection  
and my saving, and the oath  
which I swore in my great tribulation:  
help me to fulfil it nobly.
608. Help me, O my God, with your power, until  
my feet are able to tread on thorns,  
and I receive this great incense from your goodness  
to take care of the sufferings of my entrails.
609. Look, what is better or more pleasant than when  
brothers, three or two, dwell in a single house,  
whose love distils like balm  
down as upon Aaron's head,
610. coming down on his beard and on the hems  
of his clothes, until he opened his mouth to laugh.  
They will be likened to the wise virgins  
who were like the dew of Hermon.
611. Heal me, O my God, from the sickness of avarice,  
for I have become a bent old man:  
make me new, so I stand up straight like the cedar  
of Lebanon, that is planted in the house of the true God.
612. Raise me up, O my God, like the date-palm that is planted  
in your house, and number me with the one who sowed  
the good seed, and plucked out the weeds  
from his land, and it became clean.
613. In this I shall rejoice in my good works  
and be glad, when I see my abundant harvest,  
and I shall be happy in this field of mine, which will be left  
after it was cultivated and bore spiritual fruit.
614. But when I shall see that my field is prepared,  
I shall spread my net and hunt  
the Phoenix, the great bird who remains existing,  
who hides in himself the mystery of the true resurrection.

615. For this I shall walk straight, and straighten the seams  
of my clothes, and rebuke the foolish:  
I shall see them, having taken on their necks bags  
full of sand, because of their evil deeds.
616. My brother, try to pay what you owe  
so that God's mercy will seek you and hurry to you,  
and many nations will bow the knee to you  
and kings' sons will serve you with gifts.
617. Then you will see them all, when they have bowed  
the knee to you and are clothed  
in robes of glory: you too will be dressed  
in shining white garments,
618. and get a golden chain for your neck and brooches  
of precious stones, and walk in adornment, filled with peace,  
until God's help raises you up and takes you  
on high in the tabernacles of heaven.
619. Then you shall be so as to have seed in Zion  
and be worthy to attain Zion,  
and dare to speak freely in Zion, to sing  
in new spiritual songs.
620. Then there will be seed for you lying in Zion,  
and you will triumph over the evil who have envied Zion:  
you will rejoice to be in Zion  
and have everything that was kept for you in the other world.
621. You will partake of this, if you learn about God's kingdom and  
do his will,  
and bring forth out of the mind's treasure things new and old.  
When God's wisdom says to you, 'Do you understand this?', you  
will say Yes,  
and hear from her the sweet, blessed voice:



622. 'Blessed are the servants who keep watch, for I am coming at an hour they do not know, and I shall give them my kingdom, for I abide on high and see those humble of heart and those upright.'
623. My brother, seek God, do not be in two minds,  
for to those who seek him he gives his grace,  
through which the soul that has understanding beholds  
the goodness of the kingdom of heaven.
624. This is the portion of those who sought heavenly things  
and followed Christ and took his burden upon themselves.  
They likened themselves to the one who said, 'The sun's  
glory is one thing, the moon's glory another.'
625. These are the people who partake of the reward and the  
recompense  
from the one who appeared to his disciples and took honey  
and broiled fish, in great humility,  
and explained to them all the prophets' thoughts.
626. This is the portion of the man who cleaves  
to God and acts according to his law that he defined.  
God has blessed him and made him increase  
in length of days, and taught him his true salvation,
627. and has given him strength to tread on the serpent and the  
basilisk,  
and to fly on high like an eagle or a falcon:  
whom Philip heard saying, 'Even for a hundred  
staters' worth of bread I could hardly feed this great crowd.'
628. And he saw the one who overcame the temptation of the devil  
and fed the great crowd with five loaves  
in the wilderness. He showed Thomas Didymus  
the nailprints and the spear-wound in his divine side.

629. Let us too believe that no separation  
exists between his Godhead and his manhood.  
He is the one whose divine light is spread  
over those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death.
630. And we believe that his divinity united  
with his humanity: and he is the one who answered  
the man who went away sorrowful and far  
from God's kingdom, for he loved mammon.
631. (He said,) 'If you keep the commandments, and if  
you wish to become truly perfect and receive  
the support of the kingdom of heaven, and hasten  
to collect your revenue and your salary,
632. go and sell all that you have, all your goods,  
and give to the poor, and you will be saved from accusations,  
and remove your mind from those regions  
to the place where your treasure will be.'
633. But when he heard all these words that we have written  
he went away sorrowful, for they became a curse to him  
through the one who said, 'You have seen how they have taken  
themselves away, the rich, from the kingdom of heaven.'
634. And he said, 'The camel's entrance is easier  
through the needle's eye, than the rich man's  
entrance, as I have told you, into God's kingdom,  
with you, O poor in spirit, rich in spiritual things.'
635. But when they heard these words about the two sides,  
those who had left their fishing-boats and nets,  
Christ called them companions and brothers:  
he gave them the Beatitudes, for they saw his mysteries.
636. These are the men whom he called wise men;  
he graced them with all sorts of transformations,  
he gave them joy and made their hearts laugh,  
for he told them they would sit upon twelve thrones.

637. These are the men who sought Christ with broken hearts:  
he made their thoughts wake up out of sleep,  
he made their words give light in them in his answer,  
he illuminated them with his bright light.
638. Beloved, come to gather beautiful precious  
stones and delicate perfumes,  
and take from the eighty eggs  
to catch the falcon and the crane.
639. Then let us catch the great antelope  
and smell the fragrance spread out  
over us now, and level out  
our threshing-floors and put wheat into our granaries.
640. Beloved, let us level out our threshing-floors  
and call our companions and ask them  
to leave behind the works of the Delayer,  
the useless, wicked servant.
641. Then let us gather together, brothers, and shed  
our tears and bring our fragrance to the peach tree,  
so as to be able to reject and distance ourselves  
from all thoughts of scandal.
642. Let us listen to the one who says, 'Honor widows,  
for widows truly do the service we need  
in this service of the holy ones, that requires  
them to do it in true love.'
643. But we, if we follow the words of this great teacher,  
will be saved from this great flame  
that is prepared for sinners, as it is written:  
'These are they who will go into eternal punishment.'
644. This is the word of truth that is written  
in the holy gospel, of those who smear themselves  
with cruelty and become like whited sepulchers,  
which people walk over without knowing it.

645. These are the men about whom he said,  
‘They hated the light, for their deeds were evil.’  
Therefore their years and their days are destroyed,  
gone with the impure thoughts of their hearts.
646. As they hated the light, so God hated them:  
he knew their thoughts beforehand and tested them:  
before ever they were conceived in the womb and their mothers  
bore them  
they became ready for the great lawcourt.
647. These are they who readied their souls for the fiery flame  
in outer darkness — even if light shines in fire  
this burning is darkness, that shoots fiery arrows  
that enter, burning, into their lawless hearts.
648. Well, brother, have you known this great burning flame,  
and truly understood it? Though light shines in fire,  
this fire is darkness that shoots out burning fire,  
outer darkness at the bottom of the netherworld.
649. If this is my knowledge and understanding, why  
do I give day after day over to regarding  
worldly desires, not knowing when will come upon me,  
in how much time, the hour of necessity?
650. Why have I allowed my enemies to steal my money?,  
saying before today, ‘If they catch me they will trample me.’  
I was negligent and did not say ‘The zeal of your house has  
eaten me up,’  
driving the sellers and buyers out of my temple with a whip.
651. How could I have been so negligent, that my enemies took what  
was mine?  
How shall I answer when the true Judge asks  
after his talent, saying to me, ‘Was it right for you to toss  
my property to bankers and money-changers?’

652. 'But I have come to take what is mine back with interest,  
to receive the one I have chosen from those born,  
to pasture Jacob, the people of great multitudes,  
to make him king over generals and their divisions.'
653. Alas for me, who have become still worse in my journey:  
I have become a violent person in my weights and measures;  
I have been hated amidst my people and my lineage,  
for them I have become a man of a foreign tribe.
654. Therefore I was very troubled at heart, and discouraged,  
and I said, 'O God, you can take away my lawlessness  
and loose the chain of my falling by the wayside  
and set my poor soul free.'
655. Let your angel say to my soul, 'Why are you  
crying?', and give me the joy of the little girl they call  
Rhode,  
to whom those in Mary's house said, 'You are mad  
to say that Peter has come out of prison.'
656. Give me, O my God, power and great strength  
and an inheritance with that of the one who feared the  
doorkeeper  
and afterwards proclaimed the greatness of your divinity  
until he died on the cross head downwards, under Nero.
657. He is your administrator, to whom you gave the keys  
of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore he did not dig or make a  
hole  
in the roof, but came in by the door; and saw  
what many prophets had justly desired to see.
658. My God, you are the door and the shepherd and the doorkeeper:  
I beseech your goodness to put to death  
the limbs of my lawlessness from the neck,  
and make your life take root in my skull.

659. Alas for my poor soul, that does not remember  
the encomium of the Mother of God on her day of remembrance.  
It was not really forgetting: it just thought about  
its weakness in the face of her great encomium.
660. How could I forget this Virgin, whose ointment  
is spread over every place, when ointment-bearing women  
make braid trim for their clothes, as their painstaking effort  
finds a way to make their clothes bright-colored and golden.
661. She is the Ark of the Covenant, the Lamp, the Censer,  
and she is the Tabernacle and the portion of manna, the  
daughter  
of Joachim and Anna, the Root of Jesse, whose parents  
became her children and basked in her holiness.
662. She is the Virgin, the Chosen Lady,  
she too is the scented lily and the sceptre of sovereignty,  
she is the one who has found great freedom of speech and great  
opportunity  
to be the intercessor for the human race.
663. She is the holy Mother of God, the chosen one  
above heaven and earth; and she is a vine full  
of true grape-clusters: and I ask her to take me to her  
and give me to drink of her true wine of the mind.
664. As the stag loves to stay by the brooks  
of water, this is the way my soul loves to drink the new wine  
of the true vine, and cut branches from the date-palm  
and sing hymns before the one who enters Zion.
665. I shall praise him with the children of the Hebrews in  
praises,  
and I shall see him mounted upon the ass's colt  
and behold his exalted works, which he has done  
when he threw out the money of the money-changers.

666. I shall see him with a whip driving  
the sheep and cattle, and with his words stinging  
the hearts of the Jews' priests, because they had made  
his Father's house a market of evils.
667. Then he spoke to them a true word with his tongue:  
'Whoever falls upon this stone will be crushed.'  
No one of them can remove this defense,  
for he is the stone which in envy the builders rejected.
668. For he, our Lord, knew their thoughts and their turnings,  
and he shook their hall that they had built:  
no stone stood upon stone, no one could turn their captivity:  
they were obliterated out of both worlds.
669. The word our Saviour spoke about them was fulfilled:  
he stabbed vengeance's spear into their entrails, penetrating  
their depth full of lions: he dug out their enemy and got him  
ready for them, so they became without rest.
670. Then he made them an evil spell for their bodies  
to be crushed with, until their flesh was quenched  
and their flesh went to pieces because of what they had done  
of evil to all the ancient prophets.
671. Christ said concerning them, 'These saw and beheld  
and hated me and my Father also, and again they insulted me.  
Therefore I will take from them the priesthood and the keys  
of knowledge and prophecy and even the kingdom.'
672. This is the crooked race, that has not known the form  
of the prophetic word, powerful and cutting.  
Their soul wiped away the sweet water in the trough  
that came from the real and true Rock.
673. These are the children who murmured against the one who  
satisfied them  
with manna: they wanted the fruit of the cedar.

Therefore they fell in divided burdens and went to  
destruction;  
they were deprived of entering the land of spiritual promise.

674. These are the ones who loved to dwell in the land of Goshen  
and did not remember the tomb Abraham took in Shechem  
from the sons of Hemor, who followed after Ham:  
they are called the sons of Canaan.

675. I shall leave this discourse about these men, and take  
for myself knowledge and wisdom and a measuring-rope,  
and measure the holy city, which no one can  
enter but those who follow the true Lamb.

676. This is the city out of which are thrown dogs and pigs,  
the polluted, adulterers: they will all be thrown into the  
oven  
filled with fire; and they will purify its squares and streets  
of potion-brewers and those who make scandal.

677. Blessed is the soul that has not loved  
evil deeds, but has loved Love and its love:  
it has become worthy, in its great endurance, of its place  
of rest in this City of the mind.

678. Blessed are those worthy to eat heavenly  
food, and have rested in the paradise of joy.  
Their flesh too will arise and be nourished  
in the church of the firstborn, with the spiritual  
tabernacles.

679. My fathers, come and see: I have dug to  
the depths of the earth. Then I dug as far as a thousand  
cubits down in the hole until reaching sand,  
dug out without there being stone or mud in it.

680. So, my fathers, remember the hour I came to you:  
you came to meet me and said to me,  
'Do you want to try something  
with your words that you throw at us?'



681. But I said to you, 'I want to go to Armenia  
and learn in that place the interpretation  
of all thoughts at the beginning of the washing  
of feet on the day of the Master's Supper.'
682. But one woman stood near you and bent her neck  
towards me and turned up her nose at me like  
someone making fun of me or laughing at my appearance,  
because she took my speech as idle words.
683. But I looked at her and bent my head  
towards her and said to her, 'Woman, you who  
are going to laugh at me, do you not know the number  
of ideas I have gathered together in this *Triadon*?'
684. Then I said to her, 'Now I adjure  
you, my sister, to turn away  
from all my mistakes, just as you have turned  
from your mother's milk to eat perfect food.'
685. Afterwards I said to her, 'I want to go with you to Phoenicia,  
O woman, who have adorned your hair with plaited garlands,  
and approach with you the tribunal of Felix  
and hear him saying to me, "You are mad about parchments."
686. 'I shall answer him, "I am not mad, but I have demanded my  
defense  
in definite measure. Receive it now and take it  
and know the word that says: It is necessary that the Son of  
Man  
be lifted up, so that those who believe in him may find  
rest."'
687. I ask you, O holy Apa Barsauma,  
save me from trials too great for my body:  
spread over my shame the garment  
you have worn, O wise man of our time.

688. I beseech you, teacher of the holy Apa Besa,  
give me the strength of the prophet, whom the  
Jews sawed to pieces, so I may be with the wise  
virgins who went out to meet the Bridegroom.
689. These are the people who have kept the traditions  
and become worthy to enter paradise.  
God beheld them and did not overlook  
their good, good works.
690. These are the people who wove  
the crown of their deeds, trying  
the straight and the hard ways,  
going at a run into their stadium.
691. These are the virgins who overcame  
the arrows of the burning, flaming fire:  
the custom of menstruation left off in them:  
they became pure and clean.
692. They, whose passions died totally,  
followed the one who died for the people:  
and with the oil of their mercy they filled the people  
as the wise virgins refilled their vessels.
693. Come, brothers, behold these great deeds  
of the wise virgins: we are to do them too.  
And teach me how to do them,  
though I have been careless in my lazy neglect.
694. But now I know that the salvation of my face is my God,  
and I know too that the salvation of my length of life is my  
God,  
as I have known that the salvation of my judgement is my God,  
and the saving of my soul by his invisible power.
695. God is the one who saves my soul too:  
he has not given me over to those who destroy souls:  
and how would God destroy a soul  
that trusts in his great, great mercy?

696. Therefore I have taken my stand to take up  
the burden of our Saviour, who came  
to save us and to take  
the weight that burdens us.
697. He is the one who gave us a place to go  
into, to the fold of the sheep that he pastured,  
and in his compassion he kept them  
for us as arranged places of pasture.
698. He is the one who chose the young David and took him  
from sheepfolds, tested his heart and took his measure;  
he took him from behind the lambs and changed him,  
making him king over wise men and archons.
699. This is the man whom God marked out  
to be king over his people, and made him equal  
to the faithful man who joined himself  
to God by his shining deeds.
700. This is the man who did not get angry or wrathful,  
who did not eat sour grapes, so his sons' teeth  
are not set on edge, and are not thrown out along with those  
who are  
thrown out of the house of their virginity with fornicators.
701. Blessed is the one who went to the place near the desert  
and saw the ascetics in the wilderness.  
Some of them uttered a saying from Jeremiah,  
while others read from Chronicles.
702. Still others enquired about the great oven,  
and some asked questions about the great winepress.  
But I said to them, 'Why, O great men,  
do you think about these great mysteries?'
703. But they said to me, 'Do not talk to us in anger,  
and remember what Thomas did

with our Saviour, when he saw the mark of the nailprint, how  
it was,  
and the spear-stroke in his divine side.'

704. But I said to them, 'I believe that Christ lives in me,  
and I trust that Christ is present in my heart,  
and I also hope that Christ will reveal in me  
the interpretation of great mysteries.'
705. But they said to me, 'Explain  
these enquiries to us with spears  
that enter the hearts of those who quarrel: for except for  
poised arrows they will not put aside their quarrel.'
706. But I said to them, 'I will go to those who do washing:  
perhaps I shall find or discover among them  
some shining clean clothes,  
so I can put on white garments.'
707. 'And I will raise myself up to the house of the heron,  
high exalted, and will not weaken  
with those whose heart is weak  
and do not endure in temptation.'
708. 'I shall preach this word with a contrite heart,  
and I ask God to send us  
his help, so we may find the way  
into his eternal kingdom.'
709. They said to me, 'Annas is coming.'  
But I said to them, 'No, my brothers,  
but now, beloved, Anna is coming,  
she who is the mother of the Mother of God.'
710. She was a sign for us like a banner:  
she bore for us the one who purified the threshing-floors with  
a winnowing-fan;  
he took the wheat to make bread for the individual,  
but the chaff he burnt in the unquenchable fire.

711. He instructed his disciples to call the Samaritans,  
but if the Jews did not mix with them  
he wanted to mix with them,  
to save the one who fell among thieves.
712. He took him to the innkeeper,  
he sent Barnabas and Saul to the Antiochenes,  
he made the persecutor of his people the charioteer  
of the new Israel, by his upright teachings.
713. This is the man who taught me to cut my hair,  
told me to find shade in the shadow of my tree,  
taught me to spread out my net  
to catch the birds that find shade in its branches.
714. If, my beloved brothers, we very much wish  
for great strength and protection,  
let us catch the eagles in their nests,  
for they gather in the place of the remains.
715. Then let us climb up into the great tree  
that grows in the midst of the great fortification  
and see the women unbinding their long hair,  
turning round upon the roofs of the castrum.
716. Some of them wear fine fringes (on their clothes),  
singing songs and odes,  
dancing and doing dances and playing castanets  
with their hands, rejoicing in their hearts.
717. Others with their feet give the measure,  
while yet others lift up baskets;  
they have taken them entering the sanctuary  
after having passed the pastophorion.
718. After this I saw the king embarking on the great boat,  
and he was the great shepherd and the great bishop;  
he took me and made me overseer over them,  
to pasture them in the broad pasture.

719. From now on, my fathers, I must shake off  
the old garment, and seek to climb the sycamore  
and act like Zacchaeus, of the seed of Shem, son of Noah,  
whose craft was that of tax-collector.

720. It is fitting for me to look down on mockery  
and be from now on a wise man,  
to take to myself juniper-wood and pine  
and build the ceiling with them and with cypress.

721. I will search for people who hate people  
and bring them to me so they become my tenants  
in my vineyard, like my begotten sons:  
I will give each a solidus for their wages.

722. I have now become an administrator:  
I must give the workmen what is customary.  
I shall begin with the new, before the old,  
and bring the last before the first.

723. If I do this, I shall be able to quench the arrows  
that burn with fire, and receive salvation and saving:  
I shall grasp some fans with my right hand  
and drive the small animals out of the sanctuary.

724. I want to make these fans out of feathers ...

\* \* \*

728. They ate of the hidden, true manna ...

\* \* \*

729. For they were worthy to recline in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac  
and Jacob.  
I envy their life that is doubled and multiplied,  
heeding the word of Ezra, who remembered Akob  
and collected the divine ordinances.

730. This is the man whose old head-covering was laid far aside,  
for God anointed him with the oil of his mercy:  
he walked in the straight way, and did not take off  
the white garment that he wore.
731. He received blessing from the Lord God his Saviour,  
he partook of the mercy that they brought, as it was brought,  
and his soul did not die, even if some thought it dead:  
but I do not know: God is the one who knows mysteries.
732. This word I did not utter in metaphors, but when I read the  
writings  
of this just man Ezra, who showed the woman to go  
to her man, the woman whom he saw sorrowful in her farm-field,  
and thought in his heart, 'What is this astonishing vision?'

## NOTES

144.2: The word **ANOMIA** as a loan-word in Coptic, both in literature and in documents, deserves a study of its own. It is most often applied to "heresy", i.e. to a doctrinal or ideological position with which the given writer does not agree.

147.1: cf. stanzas 530-532, on spiritual "leprosy" (MacCoull, "Biblical disease imagery"): this is part of the cleansing process prescribed in Leviticus 14:9.

238.2-3: rhetorical terms, **ANOLOGIA** and **APHORMH**.

290.5: "be a scholar", from **ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕ**.

301.4: **LOIMOC**, literally "plague", is often also used of heresy, something that pollutes and destroys the sufferer. The fourteenth-century worldwide plague pandemic struck Egypt as well: M. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton 1977).

309.2: **ΜΕΤΟΧΗ**, a marvellous survival of the Neoplatonic technical term.

328.4: On *archons* see L.S.B. MacCoull, "Patronage and the social order in Coptic Egypt," *Egitto e storia antica* (Bologna 1989) 447-452.

329.4: Or "the book about him"; **ZYΠOMNHMA** = "text".

343.4: **ΝΟΗΤΟΝ**, “intelligible”, again Neoplatonic, and used often throughout the poem (as it affords a good rhyme), e.g. 677.4.

356.4: “Psalmist”, literally “song-writer”, **ΜΕΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ**.

376.2: , a liturgical *Ordo*.

393.4: The **ΦΡΙΚΤΟΝ ΒΗΜΑ** of Christ is a familiar image from the phraseology of late seventh- and eighth-century Coptic legal papyrus documents: e.g. KRU 65.77.

438: Compare Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaph. in Gen.* 5 = PG 69.65B.

441.3: **ΡΜΝΖΗΤ** is a favorite epithet of Pachomius.

449.2: This corresponds to the often-noticed unusual phraseology of the Bohairic Lord's Prayer, **ΠΕΝΩΙΚ ΝΤΕΡΛΑΤ**, Matt 6:11 Horner: cf. U. Benigni, “Il pane di domani nel paternoster copto,” *Bessarione* 2 (1897-8) 125-129: a modern study is needed.

460.4: a crux (Nagel: “unklar”, p. 74; “corruptela”, p. 172). Von Lemm's Arabic text gives *al-abqti* as corresponding to **Μ-Π-ΤΟΝΘΙΟΝ**. Nagel gives no source for the emendation he recommends (to *al-aqbat*, pp. 74-75), which may be a *lectio facilior* but may not be right. Von Lemm may have been a bit closer to the right notion when he tried to see **ΤΟΝΘΙΟΝ** as a garbling of < **ΤΩΘΕΙΑ**, **ΤΩΘΑΛΜΟΣ** (p. 243), “scoffing” or “jeering”: the allusion would be to all the years of Moslem mockery of the Christian Eucharist. However, one can simply read *al-abuqti* as what it is, the Greek-derived Arabic term for “the epact reckoning”, and translate accordingly as “the reckoning of the years of the epact”.

467.4: reading Nagel's **Π-** for **Ν-**. Also possible is an adverbial **ΝΩΡΟΠ**, “first at the beginning of years”.

470.4: the epithet of Paul is **ΑΡΧΗΔΕΚΤΩΝ**, “the Architect” sc. of our faith (1 Cor 3:10). This would repay study within Coptic literature. Cf. above, stanza 288.4, and below, stanza 712.3.

471.1-2: cf. L.S.B. MacCoull in *Actes XV Congr. intl. papyrol.* 2 (Brussels 1979) 121-122. The Coptic wordplay of the *Triadon* poet is very difficult to render in translation. Note the interesting wordplay on the words *rmrakote*, *sarakote/sarakote* and *kote*. “Everyone who sees me says, ‘this is a **ΡΗΡΑΚΟΤΕ**’ [i.e., a man of Rakote, the Coptic name for Alexandria]. How did I become like some **ΣΑΡΑΚΟΤΕ** [the Arabic word which translates *sarakote* in the *Triadon* is *rahhâlin*]? I set aside all my **ΜΕΕΥΤΕ** [thoughts/notions/principles] to **ΚΩΤΕ** [go around/wander] from city to city according to the word of the Gospel.” (On the etymology of *sarakote* see too a forthcoming article by



M. Blanchard, "Coptic *Sarabaites* and *Remnuouth*," a revised version of a paper presented at the Twentieth Byzantine Studies Conference).

487 Peter Nagel has written a very interesting article on the imagery of this stanza, positing that it may have its roots in the writings of St. Ephraem the Syrian. See his "Die Lanzenstich Joh 19,34 im *Triadon* (Vers 487)," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 1(1990) 29-35.

491.2: lit. "the likeness, the Type", *ΤΟΝΤῸΝ*.

494-495: Interpretation has still to discover just what the poet is symbolizing by the Apocalyptic figure of "this diseased old woman, the great Whore of Babylon".

519.3-4: For ὁ καταβιβάζων, astronomically the descending node, cf. Proclus *Hypotyposis* 5.101 Manitius; and schol. in Vett. Val. 367.28 Pingree. The exact significance of the lunar mansion in Cygnus might go back to Ancient Egyptian astronomy (/astrology) and possibly be recoverable through some Arabic source. Cf. MacCoull, "Astronomica in the *Triadon*".

520.4: the loan-words are *πραγματίζειν*; ἄργός (cf. Dioscorus of Aphroditō, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 A 25, possibly alluding to a Menandrian monostichon: L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphroditō* [Berkeley 1988] 79); and *παράδειγμα*/ -ματα.

527.1-2: an involved play on words and word-elements in the Greek. In line 1 *CYMΠΟΥΛΗ* (*sic*) is actually from, or a deformation of, *συμβολαῖον* in the documentary sense; in line 2 *CYMBOYΛH* gets its significance from the basic denotations of *συν-* + *βουλή*.

530-532: In addition to the remarks in MacCoull, "Biblical disease imagery," Dr G. Robinson Fantoni suggests to me (per litt.) that since in preparation for Easter monks usually refrained from bathing during Lent, by the end of that period they might well be suffering from some skin problems.

588.2: reading Nagel's emendation of *ΕΞΕΝΤ<Ε>ΥΧΗ*.

607.4: lit. "in (a) nobleness", *ΜΝΤΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ*.

629.1—2: almost a direct quotation from the famous twelfth-century addition to the Coptic Eucharistic liturgy: *ΜΠΕ ΤΕΚΜΕΘΝΟΥΤ ΦΩΡΧ ΕΤΕΚΜΕΤΡΩΜΙ ΝΟΥΣΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΡΙΚΙ ΜΒΛΛ*: (that) "your divinity was not separated from your humanity for a single moment nor for the twinkling of an eye."

631.3-4: survivals of Roman/Byzantine administrative terms: the *annona*, *demosion*, and *opsonion*. Cf. *epitropos* below in 657.1, 722.1,

a term which remained in use even in Ottoman times (as in MS Coptic Museum Lit.312 of A.D. 1626).

651.4: "money-changers" as per von Lemm's κόλλυβος, κολλυβιστής (p. 236).

652.4: more Byzantine administrative/military terms: *archistrategos* and *meros*.

653.4: ἀλλοφυλον has resonances elsewhere in the writings in which Copts protested the death of their own language. Compare Athanasius of Qus' saying that the Copt who does not know Coptic (but poignantly wishes he did) "...has become a foreigner in his essence" (ed. Bauer, pp. 245/305: quoted in L.S.B. MacCoull, "The fate of Coptic," *BSAC* 27 [1985] 66, rp. in eadem, *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* [London 1993], no. XXV).

659.2: this is obviously the Magnificat, the feast that of the Annunciation (Phamenoth 29).

660.3-4: on golden dyes cf. L.S.B. MacCoull, "Coptic alchemy and craft technology in Islamic Egypt: the papyrological evidence," in *The Medieval Mediterranean* (Minneapolis 1988) 101-104, tr. in *Coptic Perspectives*, no. XV.

661-662: for these epithets of the Virgin there are parallels everywhere in the Coptic Theotokia: cf., e.g., DeL. O'Leary, *The Coptic Theotokia* (London 1923) p. 5b.

681: On the Mandatum ceremony of the (likewise non-Chalcedonian) Armenian church see F.C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford 1905) 204-214, the long collect said just before the foot-washing; M. Ashjian, *The Great Week in the Armenian Tradition* (New York 1978) 38-41; A. Renoux in *REArm* 7 (1970) 55-57, 92-97.

685.4: 2  $\bar{\text{N}}$  here means "about", not Nagel's "durch" = "by means of".

694.1-3: in lines 1 and 2 "know" is  $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ , "wissen/savoir"; in line 3 it is  $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{N}$ , "kennen/connaître".

712.3: the epithet of Paul, terming him ἡνίοχος, "charioteer" of the faith (a Platonic allusion?), also deserves to be investigated in the Coptic literary tradition.

717.4: see A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Ricerche sulla versione dei LXX e i papiri, I: Pastophorion," *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 171-211; and G. Descoedres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983).

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Uniqueness of Jesus Christ and Other Religions

---

DR. JAMES S. CUTSINGER

I am very pleased to be with you today, though more than a little daunted at the task before me. To speak on the uniqueness of Christ and the other religions in twenty minutes or so is rather like keeping a pet elephant in your living room: you are going to have to knock out a wall or two to get him inside, it is going to be very messy, and sooner or later he is bound to escape. Actually I am somewhat relieved at the shortness of the allotted time. I have been a theologian and philosopher of religion for about sixteen years, but I have been Orthodox for less than two, and I well know that there are much wiser hearts and heads in this room than my own. If there are errors in what I am about to say, you can be thankful in any case that my remarks will not last very long. In the meantime, I take relief from a remark that Fr. Hopko made when he was at Rose Hill last Summer. You need to be very important, he told me, to be a heretic. Otherwise you are just wrong!

We hear a good deal about what the major issues are facing Orthodoxy today. Certainly among these issues one must include the question of Christian attitudes toward the faithful of other religions. I believe, in fact, that this will prove in the long run to be *the* most important contemporary issue of all – more important, for example, than the role of women in the Church, though this as we all know is a critical topic as well. The reason for my conviction is simple. No matter whether one is working in a foreign mission field or pastoring a small church in rural America, all of us are increasingly obliged to

take account of the beliefs and practices of other religious traditions. Practically speaking, the boundaries between the traditional religious worlds have been all but destroyed by modern communications and travel. At the same time, on a more theoretical or academic level, the sacred texts and spiritual classics of Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and other traditions have become more and more accessible to the western reader, and this has meant that many Christians now have at least a superficial acquaintance with the principal teachings of the other faiths. If the Christian students entering my university course in comparative religion know nothing else – and I can assure you this is often the case! – what they *do* know is that their own religion is not alone in claiming to be the way and the truth and the life.

This means of course that those of us in pastoral and teaching positions must make a point of being familiar with these other religions ourselves. This is not easy. To begin with, much that is written on the subject of comparative religion is written by scholars who are at best only comparatively religious, and who are often indifferent or even hostile to religions in general, Christianity included. This is important to understand in advance. It is no good going to a scholarly study which takes the view that Taoism, let us say, is a purely human concoction and then smugly thinking that this somehow demonstrates the superiority of the Orthodox faith. If you looked a bit further you might well find that the same scholar takes the same view of Christianity. An honest, careful investigation of other religions requires that we turn instead to writers who at the very least believe in God, and who take the possibility of divine revelation seriously. Some of us must go even further. We cannot just read what the scholars, even the pious ones, say about Islam. We must also learn what Muslims say about Islam – by studying the Koran and the classic texts of Islamic spiritual authorities, and by speaking with authentic representatives of this tradition. Please understand. I am not saying that such work is obligatory for everyone in this room. There are many organs in the Body of Christ, and thankfully we do not all have to perform all the functions. I am simply reminding you of what it would take before a person could speak with authority on the question of Christ and the other religions. He needs first to know these others, not just in passing, but from the inside out.

It is obviously impossible even to begin looking at other specific

religions this morning. One elephant in the house is enough without bringing in a whole herd. What we *can* do, first of all, is to review the various positions which faithful Christians have taken toward other religions in general. I would then like to explain which of these points of view I myself find the most adequate. Finally, I shall say a few brief words about the implications of this position for missionary activity and evangelism.

As I see it, the possibilities for the faithful Christian are basically three, nuances and combinations aside.

1. The non-Christian is necessarily damned, for there can be no salvation apart from a conscious, explicit, and active faith in Jesus Christ and membership in His visible Body, the Church.

2. The non-Christian may be saved, but only in spite of the religion he practices and only through the mercy of a God who overlooks his ignorance in this life and permits him to submit to the lordship of Christ after death.

3. The non-Christian may be saved by means of the very religion he practices, for non-Christian religions may also contain saving truth, revealed in them and through them by Christ Himself, who is the one and only truth.

I have proposed that each of these positions is faithfully Christian. *Faithfully* is an important qualifier, of course. Any number of nominal Christian writers have suggested that Jesus was just a nice guy. If that were true, we could presumably open the flood-gates to virtually anything. The latest new-age fad could be approached with the same sympathy as Orthodox Judaism. No, what I mean by inserting the qualifier is to limit discussion to those who profess a full-blooded faith in Jesus Christ as the incarnate, only-begotten, and eternal Son of God. It is possible, I am saying, for such faithful Christians to see other religious traditions in any one of three ways: as demonic, as neutral, or as potentially salvific. Each of these attitudes is consistent with what we are told in both Scripture and Holy Tradition, and each is therefore a legitimate *theologoumenon* for an Orthodox Christian.

This may well be a controversial claim already – simply saying that there are options on this question. I know that it is in some Orthodox circles, and we shall see shortly what your own responses might be. In any case, since I may be in hot water anyway, let me go ahead at this point and take a further and perhaps more troublesome step. Of these possible understandings of non-Christian religions, I

suggest that the third is the most acceptable. Arguments can be put forward on behalf of the others, of course. And yet, all things considered, it seems to me wisest and most realistic to say that while salvation is certainly possible through no one but the one and only Son of God, we are nonetheless in no position as Orthodox Christians to delimit or circumscribe where this Son does His saving. When Bishop Kallistos Ware was recently with us at Rose Hill, I made a point of asking him, with a view to this conference, what he thought on this matter. He writes, as you may remember, in *The Orthodox Church* that "we know where the Church is but we cannot be sure where it is not" (316). The context is the relationship between the Orthodox and other Christians. Would he be willing to apply this maxim, I asked him, to the relationship between Christianity and the other religions? He said that he would be, so I feel that I am in good company.

Let me admit candidly, however, that my convictions, unlike those of His Grace, are not the result of any great erudition concerning the Fathers, nor do they come from what little knowledge I may have concerning the doctrines of different religions. Quite apart from any scholarly experience or expertise in these domains, this position has been a response in the first place to my personal acquaintance with certain non-Christians who seem to me to exhibit all the marks of true sanctity. I realize that this may sound to some like liberal mushiness. How could a really good God damn somebody as nice as old Fred? But I am talking about something deeper and more solid. As Orthodox we must remember, after all, that our convictions concerning the central truth of our faith, the doctrine of the incarnation, have always been based above all, not upon biblical proof texts or philosophical arguments, but upon the experience of salvation. In technical jargon, Christology and Soteriology go hand in hand. We believe that God became man because we know there are men who have at least begun the process of becoming God, and we affirm that there is no effect without a proportionate cause. In logic, this would be called the principle of sufficient reason. If Christ does not have divine power, then there is no way to understand how others are empowered through Him to share in the divine nature. In the simple formula of St Athanasius, if Christ is not God, then how do you explain Anthony?

Well, you can see where my thinking is headed. If Christ is not salvifically present in the Buddhist religion, how are we to explain Buddhist saints? If not in Islam, then whence Muslim saints? One

may object, I realize, that Satan is the great deceiver – that he can easily mislead us with supernatural phenomena. But I am not talking about miracles of healing or clairvoyance or incorruption, though there is in fact considerable attestation for these throughout the world. I have in mind the greater miracle of selfless love, which I do not think the devil can mimic. Or if he can, then this particular criticism redounds just as surely upon us Orthodox in the evaluation of our own holy ones. No, it seems to me that in all humility we must say instead that something of God simply has to be at work in such cases. If through persevering fidelity to his own religion a man has in some way come to exhibit the signs of true righteousness, then it must be the case that there is truth in the path he has followed. If “by their fruits ye shall know them” (Mt 7:20), then the trees in such cases cannot be evil – nor, it seems to me, even neutral.

What we are not permitted to say, of course, is that salvation is possible apart from Christ. It would be quite inappropriate and inconsistent with Orthodoxy to suppose that Christ could be but one among several equally valid manifestations or revelations or avatars. However much the Christian might wish to render a positive judgment about other religions, he cannot take a position which is contrary to the teaching of Scripture and Holy Tradition.

So what do our authorities tell us? Once again I am faced with the elephant. How in so short a time to tackle such a topic? With full admission that much much more would need saying, allow me to direct your attention first to a key Biblical text that is often decisive in such discussions. I have in mind our Lord’s words in John 14:6: “I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.” Some of you may have been thinking of this passage already, a text often cited by those who adopt the first of the positions that I outlined earlier – those who ascribe the other religions to Satanic invention and who would damn their adherents. But is their interpretation the only possible one? It would be, perhaps, if one took the pronouns *I* and *me* to refer exclusively to the historical Jesus, and if one further assumed that explicit acknowledgement of this Jesus is necessary in order to be saved by Him. This would be the opinion, for example, of certain conservative Protestants. We Orthodox, however, are supposed to know our theology better! And in this case knowing our theology means remembering that the subject of all our Lord’s actions and words was not his human nature, but the divine



Person of the eternal Logos. This is clear enough when He tells the Jews that "Before Abraham was, I am" (Jn 8:58). We must remember, too, that this same transtemporal Subject is "the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (Jn 1:9).

Now what of Tradition? What do the holy fathers say? It is possible, as you know, to find at least a few especially bold formulations underscoring the universality of Christ and His work. In the early Church, for example, there is the well-known statement of St Justin the Martyr that "those who lived in accordance with the Logos are Christians, even though they were called godless, such as, among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus and others like them" (*First Apology*, 46). I have little doubt that had Justin known of Confucius and Siddhartha Gautama, he would have included them among these others. And in our own time, there is the example of the Serbian hierarch and saint Bishop Nikolai Velimirovich, author of the *Prologue*, who in his *Prayers by the Lake* speaks of God "amassing precious gifts in the East" and who cries out, "Glory be the memory of Lao-Tse, the teacher and prophet of his people! Glory be the memory of Krishna, the teacher and prophet of his people! Blessed be the memory of Buddha, the royal son and inexorable teacher of his people!" (Chs. 48-49).

It is not necessary, however, to focus only on such exceptional claims. I believe that the Council of Chalcedon itself opens the door to this understanding of salvation. We are taught that while the eternal Son is inseparably united by the incarnation with our humanity, the two natures nevertheless remain distinct and unconfused. No one less than the great Athanasius explains that though the divine Logos was in the body, He "was not hedged in by His body, nor did His presence in the body prevent His being present elsewhere as well" (*On the Incarnation*, 17). St Athanasius, of course, is thinking solely of Jesus's physical body, but could this teaching not be applied as well to Christ's body the Church? If it is, and if one is prepared to admit that the universal and unconstricted presence of the Logos carries with it His saving power, then the implications are great indeed for our view of the other religions.

I come finally to the practical question. What are the implications of this point of view for the topic of our conference: mission and evangelism? It certainly does *not* mean that we should stop bearing witness. Even if a Christian takes the view that other religions may

save their adherents, he is still obliged to fulfill the great commission. The divine Son of God remains the one and only Savior of the world, and Christianity is still the only religion which teaches explicitly that He has saved us by taking our human nature into Himself. Whatever view we may adopt toward other faiths, there must be no compromise of these doctrines.

On the other hand, if it is true that Christ is salvifically at work beyond the boundaries of the Christian religion, then a certain shift in one's evangelical strategy may be needed. Two points in particular come to mind, and with these I shall conclude my remarks. It seems to me, first, that the Christian missionary and evangelist must undertake his work armed with some very careful distinctions. He should at all costs avoid confusing three groups in particular: those who believe in nothing at all, who have no apparent interest in a life not of this world; those who follow some obviously unhealthy cult, which perverts the mind and enslaves the will; and those who faithfully practice one of the world's major historic traditions. These three kinds of people simply cannot and must not be approached the same way. It is important to add, of course, that within these three groupings there will be as many variations as there are human beings. To take only the last, truly devout Hindus (for example) will naturally include in their ranks both the simple and learned, both the merely decent and the remarkably holy. And so also for the other religions, our own included.

This leads to the second of my practical comments. How are we to approach some of the wisest and best of the non-Christian faithful? This may be a less important question for some, but given my own professional work as a teacher and the contacts I have established with representatives of other traditions, it is certainly a crucial issue for me. What does one say, for instance, to a learned Muslim authority – I am deliberately taking a real example from my own experience – whose knowledge of Christianity (let alone Islam) is as deep as one's own, and whose life seems to exhibit all the gifts of the Spirit? Confrontation, denunciation, and rejection are clearly uncalled for. If we remember, however, that the divine Logos is not circumscribed by His body, and that His Spirit "bloweth where it listeth" (Jn 3:8), we shall not be surprised at this state of affairs. With humility and modesty, and with a genuine interest in learning something ourselves, perhaps what we *might* do is deepen such a person's understanding

of the ultimate Source of his already evident sanctity.

There are no formulas here. Our witness will certainly demand more than just words. Above all, we will be required to show forth in our own lives that the seeds at least of such holiness have been sown in us too. And this means, finally, that like everything else in our Holy Orthodox Faith, our chief responsibility comes down to our own personal discipline. If I believe that in the only Son is the fulness of truth, then I am obliged to do all that I can to enter into this plenitude myself – to grow up to “the stature of the fulness of Christ” (Eph 4:13). What God may be pleased to do with my meager efforts, and what in the meantime *His* view may be of my neighbor’s religion, I cannot say. But no matter. My own instructions are clear.

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## The Unity of Biblical and Dogmatic Theology

---

PROF. GEORGE D. MARTZELOS

Our decision to deal with this topic is due to the problem an Orthodox systematic theologian faces because of the renewal of biblical studies in Orthodoxy and, more broadly, because of the tremendous expansion of specialized theological studies in the last forty years.

It is known that Adolf Harnack, in his effort to interpret the origin of Church dogmas, supported the view that the Church's dogmas essentially deformed the primitive message of the Gospel and through the use of Greek philosophy made it a pure intellectual phenomenon contributing in this way to the Hellenization of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Thus, he contends that the Christian dogma is nothing more than "the work of the Greek spirit based on the Gospel."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the fact that these views of Harnack are no longer acceptable,<sup>3</sup> nevertheless, they project with special sharpness the dialectics of the relation between dogma and Holy Scripture, an issue which we also experience today, even within the boundaries of Orthodox theology.

For Protestant theology this debate is justified and well understood because it is related to the basic axiom of Protestantism, "*sola Scriptura*," with which Holy Scripture becomes the exclusive criterion of Tradition and the life of the Church. For this reason, within the Protestant world many theologians support with special fervor the independence of biblical theology and its autonomy from patristic and dogmatic theology which led to what we know as a four-part division of theological knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

Certainly all these views we could understand and explain, considering them as natural consequences of the dialectics of the relation

between Holy Scripture and Church Tradition – a theme which indisputably dominates and pervades all of Protestantism. The problem, however, set forth from an Orthodox theological perspective is the following: can we legitimize theologically such a relation between dogma and Holy Scripture which as a consequence would lead to the acceptance of the self-sufficiency of biblical theology and therefore its autonomy from patristic and especially dogmatic theology? This is a debate which dominates, even primarily so, our contemporary theology.

To this question is closely related the Orthodox consideration of the relation that exists between Holy Scripture and the theology of the Church Fathers<sup>5</sup> which makes up the burden and framework of the expansion and formulation of Orthodox dogma.

After such progress in biblical and patristic studies in our times this relationship is generally accepted and especially within Orthodox theology as the dogma of the Church does not constitute the fruit of Greek philosophy as considered by the followers of liberal Protestants, but is seminally found in Holy Scripture. In spite of a morphological development which was mainly based on Greek philosophy, the content, nevertheless, remained always the same from the time of its seminal biblical formulation up to the time of its most developed church form. The use of Greek philosophy by the Church Fathers did not deform the biblical contents of dogma simply because it was limited only to the morphological level, that is, the level of terminology. This phenomenon has already been observed in Holy Scripture, as for example in 2 Mac. 7:28 where an account is given of the creation of the world out of nothing (“from non-being”), or in John 1:1 and 1:14 where the Son of God is called by the name “Logos” without changing at all. However, the character and the essence of the revealed Biblical message remains.

The use of Greek philosophy during the formulation of Orthodox dogma was an historical imperative necessary to preserve untouched the truths of the Gospel from heretical falsifications. The Fathers were obligated to present the Orthodox teachings with their own morphological philosophical terminology with which the heretics presented their teachings. If, for instance, the Fathers were compelled to characterize in this way a non-biblical but philosophical term for the definition of the relation of the Father and the Son, it is because Arius first characterized the Son as “alien to ... and in every way unlike the

Father with regard to essence,"<sup>6</sup> falsifying completely the teaching of Holy Scripture for the person of the Son and Logos of God. In this way Orthodox dogma in all its phases of development of formulation by the Church Fathers was essentially an answer to the challenge of the heretics with the exclusive purpose of guarding the revealed biblical message. There is no doubt that had not the various heresies appeared and challenged the faith of the Church as originally formulated in Holy Scripture, such a developed form of Orthodox dogma would not have been formulated. At that time, in fact, it was very difficult to distinguish Church dogma from the teaching of Holy Scripture.

Consequently, it is false to support, on the basis of pure morphological criteria such as the use of philosophical terminology, the existence of some dialectics of the relation between Holy Scripture and Orthodox dogma which by extension would lead to the acceptance of the absolute autonomy of the biblical from patristic and dogmatic theology. To adopt this kind of criteria would destroy even the unity of the books of Holy Scripture. As is known, however, the theological unity of Holy Scripture is not safeguarded by an external form of the books, which are not otherwise unique, but by the unity of the revealed message in the entire history of divine economy.<sup>7</sup> By analogy, the criterion of the unity between Holy Scripture and Orthodox dogma also must not be an external form, but a unity of the revealed divine message, preserved and unadulterated within the Church. On the other hand, in accordance with Orthodox theology, revelation itself which characterizes the books of Holy Scripture, also characterizes the writings of the Church Fathers. It is not one divine inspiration of the Holy Scripture and another divine inspiration of the Fathers.<sup>8</sup> This is because divine inspiration is not an extraordinary activity of the Holy Spirit manifested once and forever only to the authors of Holy Scripture, but a continuous presence and activity of the "*Paraclete*" within the Church in such a way as to guide without any distinction both Apostles and Fathers; that is, the entire Church is guided "to all the truth."<sup>9</sup>

Regardless of the fact that the essence and content of Orthodox dogma have through and through biblical character, Orthodox dogma in itself, as formulated in the writings of the Fathers or in the creeds and formulas of the Ecumenical Synods, is based completely on Holy Scripture and definitely not only on the New Testament but also on

the Old Testament. And this was absolutely natural within the Orthodox Tradition because in the effort to encounter the various heresies, the Fathers were definitely compelled to base themselves on Holy Scripture as this method was used by the heretics to lay the foundation on their unorthodoxy.

Thus, according to the heresies which they encountered, the Fathers prepared many times long lists of Biblical citations on which they laid the foundation of Orthodox dogmatic teaching. Certainly this does not mean that they supported the dogmas with isolated and incoherent lists of biblical passages. For the Fathers, it is not the passages themselves that are the basis of their dogmatic teaching, but the entire spirit and theology of Holy Scripture.

If, for instance, one searches for the source and base of the dogmatic teaching of the Fathers that the person of the Old Testament theophanies is the Logos (of the New Testament), one would confirm that the determining teaching on this dogmatic teaching of the Fathers was the Johannine and Pauline correlative of the person of Christ with historical events of the Old Testament.<sup>10</sup> This is the key to the right understanding of the Old Testament.

Also, reading the dogmatic works of Athanasius the Great or Basil the Great confirms that these Fathers, in their efforts against the Arians and Pneumatomachians, to prove the uncreated nature of the Son and the Spirit, used a theological method which was based completely on Holy Scripture. They mobilized all those passages of Holy Scripture where reference is made either to common energies or to the common names of the persons of the Holy Trinity. This supports the Son and the Spirit having common energies and common names with the Father. Consequently, it is impossible not to have common nature with the Father – that is, uncreated nature.<sup>11</sup> In this way, the whole of the dogmatic teaching is based on an unshaken foundation. We must accept that this biblical foundation of the dogmatic teaching of the Fathers characterizes not only their anti-heretical writings but *mutatis mutandis* the creeds and the formulas of the Ecumenical Councils. As Father Georges Florovsky states, that the early creeds (symbols of faith) were intentionally biblical and, especially, that it is precisely their biblical phraseology that many times makes them difficult to understand in our time.<sup>12</sup>

The refined philosophical formulations of the representatives of Protestant liberalism such as Harnack not only lose the warmth of



the biblical message,<sup>13</sup> but cross out the theoretical framework used for safeguarding the biblical message from heretical falsifications.

The dogmatic formulas of the Ecumenical Councils, however, are supported by significant dogmatic passages from Holy Scripture. For instance, based on the central Christological passages from Holy Scripture, such as John 1:14, Phil. 2:7, Eph. 2:14-17 and 4:15, the dogmatic formulations of Chalcedon summarize them in an assimilated and creative way into an unbroken textual unity.<sup>14</sup>

But even strict dogmatic formulation mainly targets the safeguarding of the biblical truth which refers to the reality of the incarnation of the Son and Logos of God: "As the prophets spoke from above concerning Him and Jesus Christ Himself has instructed us and the Fathers delivered to us the Creed."<sup>15</sup> With this passage the Fathers closed the (dogmatic) formulation of Chalcedon which succinctly, but very impressively, underlines the unity of the biblical, patristic and dogmatic theology within the framework of the Orthodox Tradition. It is exactly, this unity that is proclaimed in a celebratory way, the *Synodicon* of Orthodoxy which is read, as is known, on the First Sunday of Great Lent: "As the Prophets beheld, as the Apostles have taught, as the Church has received, as the Fathers have dogmatically stated... as Christ awarded; thus we proclaim..."<sup>16</sup>

We believe that what we have said makes it quite plain that the theology of the Church is the unique dogma which cannot be understood in the Orthodox Tradition independently of the biblical foundation; nor, certainly can biblical theology be independent of the dogmatic structure. This certainly does not mean that this unity of Holy Scripture and Orthodox dogma, or, in other words, this unity of the biblical, patristic and dogmatic theology, abolishes their distinctive character. This character, however, is purely morphological and for this reason it does not destroy their essential unity as it happens, for example, in certain Protestant theologies. On the other hand, more generally, in Orthodox Tradition the whole mystery of theology is confirmed by an organic bonding of unity and distinction – unity and particularity – where the one not only does not destroy but also completes functionally the other. This characterizes not only the Trinitarian dogma with its unity of essence and particularity of hypostases, and the Christological dogma with its unity of person and distinction of natures, but characterizes as well the particularity of patristic theology.<sup>17</sup>

These affirmations raise the inevitable question can we, on the basis of the Orthodox Tradition, accept the Protestant fourfold division of the fields of theological science where Biblical theology dominates as self-sufficient and independent from patristic and dogmatic theology? We are of the opinion that this is high time for us to be engaged from an Orthodox perspective in working but a new division of theological science

Translated by Rev Dr George C Papademetriou

<sup>1</sup> See A von Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* Leipzig (1902) 125 f, 135 f, 143 f Also his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 1 Bd, Tübingen (1909) (photocopied reprint Darmstadt 1983) 18 f, 55 f, 249 f See also N A Matsoukas *Origin and Essence of the Orthodox Dogma* (in Greek), Thessalonike (1969) 34 f

<sup>2</sup> A von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, *op cit*, 20

<sup>3</sup> For sharp criticism of these theses of Harnack, see N A Matsoukas, *op cit*, 41 f, 77 f See also J Kalogirou, "Die Kritik von Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) an der Orthodoxen Kirche (Ihre Entstehung bestimmt durch historische, kulturelle, politische, die Tagesdiplomatie selbst beruhende Faktoren, ihre eigensinnige Enffaltung, ihre Zurückweisung und ökumenische Übersindung in der neuen Zeit)," in *Nomos* (Annual of the Law Department of the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike) vol 2 a (1989) 471 f

<sup>4</sup> See P N Trembelas, *Encyclopedia of Theology*, (in Greek), Athens (1964) 161 f

<sup>5</sup> For the relation of the biblical and patristic theology from an Orthodox perspective, see G Florovsky, *Bible Church Tradition An Eastern Orthodox View* Vol 1 Belmont, MA Nordland Publishing Co., (1972) pp 27 f, 73 f, 97 f

<sup>6</sup> See Athanasius the Great, *Contra Arianos*, 1, 6, PG 26, 24A

<sup>7</sup> Cf H J Kraus, *Die biblische Theologia Ihre Geschichte und Problematik* Berlin (1974) p 380

<sup>8</sup> See G Florovsky, *op cit*, p 89f N Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology A Introduction to Theological Epistemology* (in Greek) Thessalonike Pournaras Press (1985) 181 f

<sup>9</sup> John 16 13 Cf G Florovsky, *op cit*, pp 25 f

<sup>10</sup> See John 12 31 and I Cor 10 4

<sup>11</sup> See G D Martzelos, *Essence and Energies of God According to St Basil Contribution to Historic dogmatic Research on the Teaching of the Essence and Energies of God in the Orthodox Church*, (in Greek), Thessalonike (1984) pp 135 f, 182 f

<sup>12</sup> See Florovsky, *op cit*, p 11

<sup>13</sup> See A von Harnack, *op cit* p 19 f 2Bd, Tübingen (1909) (photo reprint Darmstadt 1983) p 397

<sup>14</sup> See G D Martzelos, *The Christology of Basil of Seleucia and its Ecumenical Significance*, (in Greek) Thessalonike (1990) p 271

<sup>15</sup> J D Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* Graz (1960-1961) vol VII, col 116 E Schwartz *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol II, 1, 2, Berolini et Lipsiae (1933) p 130 (326)

<sup>16</sup> *Triodion* Athens (Greece) Published by the Apostolike Diakonia of the Church of Greece (1960) p 145

<sup>17</sup> For more on unity and distinction in the particularity of Patristic theology, see especially N A Matsoukas, *op cit* pp 181 f



---

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

apprehend. *Secrets of God* is unusual in that it brings into one volume a very wide variety of Hildegard's writings in a generally successful attempt to give a more complete picture of her talents, thought, and concerns. We see here her theological fascination with the great themes of sacred history, especially creation and redemption, and her concern with piety and virtue, and then in later texts on medicine and natural history read of her remedies for headaches or her "scientific" opinion on ostriches. Some guidance in the reading of such a wide variety of material would be helpful, but Sabina Flanagan supplies only the barest of background information in her introduction to the texts. Nevertheless, the extraordinary intelligence of Hildegard shines throughout this volume, and by its close we find ourselves conversant with one of the greatest minds and spiritual leaders of the twelfth century.

Helen Creticos Theodoropoulos

*Λεμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* Ed. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 6, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996) pages xvi + 256.

The most recent addition to the Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia Series (vol. 6) is a Festschrift in honor of Lennart Rydén. Professor Rydén's many accomplishments in Byzantine Studies merit this recognition, as attested by the list of his eighty five publications included at the beginning of the text. *Λεμῶν* is edited by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, a former assistant to Rydén, who has contributed two previous volumes to this series and an article in this collection. Other contributions come from twelve well-known U. S. and European Byzantinists. Most of the articles reflect Rydén's scholarly interests in late antique and Byzantine Hagiography. The book is recommended to anyone interested in the latest scholarly discussions of those issues.

George Demacopoulos

*Towards God: The Western Tradition of Contemplation.* Michael Casey (Melbourne: Dove, 1995) pages viii + 179.

The title of this book conveys the image of a dry and dusty text-

book filled with historical and scholarly references on the topic of prayer. However, that would be a misleading rendering of this thoughtful guide offered by Michael Casey, a Cistercian monk from Victoria, Australia. Instead, the author combines an informative perspective on the spiritual traditions of the Latin Church together with a personal statement about prayer.

I found it refreshing to read a contemporary work about the nature of prayer that acknowledges the spiritual writings of the past while expressing intimate reflections and experiences of those ancient writings. In this book, Michael Casey accepts the risks of sharing his “deepest thoughts and aspirations through the medium of print, since it is possible to be misunderstood” (p. vii). Fortunately for the reader, Casey’s “risks” yield much spiritual fruit for the student and practitioner of prayer.

The title and premise of the book are derived from the author’s understanding of the mission and ministry of Jesus Christ. Casey remarks:

Throughout the Gospel’s there are two salient aspects of the identity of Jesus. He is from the Father, sent by God to accomplish a task. Secondly, the human journey of Jesus is one that leads back towards God. It is this movement back towards God that is opened to believers of all generations (p. 2).

Casey emphasizes that prayer is an act of turning towards God, the most human and personal act that one can take part in: “It gets us in touch with our deepest reality, penetrating beneath the superficial layers of routine experience to the level of being” (p. 32).

Rather than continuing on a theoretical plane, the author delivers practical insights for cultivating one’s personal prayer life. Casey carefully groups these suggestions by chapter heading. For example, in the chapter entitled *The Gift of Time*, he elaborates on the preciousness of time, and how good stewardship is vital for fruitful prayer. In chapter six, *Different Vantage Points*, Casey encourages variety in one’s prayer routine, offering excellent examples and sensitive suggestions. The author notes that because the human person is dynamic and ever-changing, prayer must reflect these changes. In the chapter entitled *Pondering the Word*, Scripture is given a prominent place in one’s spiritual development. A concise and informative description of *Lectio Divina* is offered to the reader for consideration. *Lectio*

*Divina*, or holy reading, is a Western Christian practice dating back more than fifteen hundred years. Simply stated, it is an experiential interaction that combines reading, meditating, and praying with particular passages from Scripture. In chapter nine, *Short Prayers*, Casey introduces brief but meaningful types of prayer, including the Rosary and the Jesus Prayer. He shows a preference for prayer that is short and frequent, rather than compartmentalizing prayer to one time of day.

I felt especially drawn to two passages from the book. First, Casey intimates that the goal of prayer is not the absence of unrest, but rather on active dialogue with God. He writes:

There is a danger that we may become satisfied with the self-oriented components of meditation – a sense of peace, togetherness and relief from anxiety – without adverting to the more important relational aspects. To concentrate too much on our own physical or psychological well-being is to stop short of the mark. Sometimes it may be better to flounder around, floating in and out of prayer, uncontrolled, as long as this gives us a sense of our need for God (p. 60).

I found this passage very powerful since much of contemporary secular spirituality has a tendency to enumerate the personal dimension and “results” of meditation: decreased anxiety, increased energy, healthier blood pressure, decreased feelings of anger and depression, etc. Casey notes that without this relational aspect, prayer/meditation/contemplation or any other modern term we use will fall into the hands of “self-improvers” (p. 48).

A second passage that I found enlightening dealt with the need to integrate various types of prayer disciplines for one’s long-term growth and spiritual maturity. Casey notes:

These chapters have had as their theme various ways in which the Scriptures can animate our prayer: reflective reading, the use of familiar texts and reciting of short prayers. It should be obvious that we need to keep enriching ourselves with all three, since each touches a different level of our spirit... At different stages we need less of one and more of another: more reading, for example, to get us started as beginners; less reading when the habit of meditation is well established. After years of progress we may have internalized God’s Word to such an extent that books are rarely necessary. In general, however, all three elements need to be present to our lives in one form or another for a healthy practice of prayer (p. 98).

This description of prayer suggests freshness, variety, freedom, and opportunity. Variation and integration of prayer methods may assist us in appreciating God from different vantage points. Similarly, this approach to prayer will inevitably reveal our inner and true selves. Casey states that the further we advance towards God, the more we are established in the truth about ourselves: "It is hard to know which comes first, self-knowledge or an appreciation of the richness of God, but it is certainly true that they are closely associated" (p. 61).

Finally, who would benefit most from the material in this book? Several groups of people may find this work edifying and worthy of attention. Let me first begin by noting that this book may not be intended for novice practitioners of prayer. Verbose and sometimes scholarly in approach, this volume is more involved than the works of other Roman Catholic authors such as Henri Nouwen or Mother Teresa of Calcutta. That being said, I believe that *Towards God* deserves a warm and wide audience. Roman Catholic readers will appreciate the blend between historical perspectives and contemporary application. Eastern Orthodox readers can reflect on the similarities and nuances within Eastern and Western traditions of prayer. Other Christian and non-Christian audiences will appreciate the informative yet non-threatening approach taken by the author. Whatever our faith background, Michael Casey ultimately invites the reader to "live our life here on earth as a journey *towards God*" (pg. 2).

Alexander Goussetis

*Askese, Mönchtum und Mystik in der Orthodoxen Kirche*, Theodor Nikolaou (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1995) pages 215.

The author of this book is well-known, particularly in the Greek and German theological world, having taught from 1971-1984 at the University of Bonn, having established the Institute for Orthodox Theology at the University of Munich in 1984, and being the founding editor of the journal *Orthodoxes Forum*. The present volume is the third in a series of publications by the Institute.

The first section of Prof. Nikolaou's book sets the theological background for an appreciation of monasticism, by perceiving the latter within its *eucharistic* and *communal* context from the moment of the creation of humanity. The emphasis is on the *social* monasticism of

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.



---

## Traditional Methods for Mission and Evangelism

---

FR. LUKE A. VERONIS

*“Let your light shine before others” (Mt 5.16)*

On a dangerous seacoast where shipwrecks often occur there was once a crude little lifesaving station. The building was just a hut, and there was only one boat. But the few devoted members kept a constant watch over the sea, and with no thought of themselves went out day and night tirelessly searching for the lost. Many lives were saved by this wonderful little station, so that it became famous. Some of those who were saved, and various others in the surrounding area, wanted to become associated with the station and give of their time and money and effort for the support of its work. New boats were bought and new crews trained. The little lifesaving station grew.

Some of the members of the lifesaving station were unhappy that the building was so crude and poorly equipped. They felt that a more comfortable place should be provided as the first refuge of those saved from the sea. So they replaced the emergency cots with beds and put better furniture in the enlarged building. Now the lifesaving station became a popular gathering place for its members, and they decorated it beautifully and furnished it exquisitely, because they used it as a sort of club. Fewer members were now interested in going to sea on lifesaving missions, so they hired lifeboat crews to do this work. The lifesaving motif still prevailed in this club's decoration, and there was a liturgical lifeboat in the room where the club initiations were held. About this time a large ship was wrecked off the coast, and the hired crews brought in boatloads of cold, wet and half-drowned people. They were dirty and sick, and some of them had black skin and some had yellow skin. The beautiful new club was in chaos. So the prop-

erty committee immediately had a shower house built outside the club where victims of shipwreck could be cleaned up before coming inside.

At the next meeting, there was a split in the club membership. Most of the members wanted to stop the club's lifesaving activities as being unpleasant and a hindrance to the normal social life of the club. Some members insisted upon lifesaving as their primary purpose and pointed out that they were still called a lifesaving station. But they were finally voted down and told that if they wanted to save the lives of all the various kinds of people who were shipwrecked in those waters, they could begin their own lifesaving station down the coast. They did.

As the years went by, the new station experienced the same changes that had occurred in the old. It evolved into a club, and yet another lifesaving station was founded. History continued to repeat itself, and if you visit that sea coast today, you will find a number of exclusive clubs along that shore. Shipwrecks are frequent in those waters, but most of the people drown!

Here we see a powerful analogy of what happens within our Church when we remain enclosed in buildings, forgetting our evangelistic privilege and responsibility. A great danger exists to our own being as Christians, and to the identity of the Church, when we forget our call to go forth to *all* nations and share the gospel of salvation with all peoples. Archbishop Anastasios of Albania has appropriately stated, "As unthinkable as it is to have a church without liturgical life, it would be even more unthinkable to have a church without missionary life."<sup>1</sup>

In line with this thought, I would like to turn to our Orthodox tradition and talk today about different methods or principles of mission and evangelism which have been a part of our Church throughout all her history. I will not give a list of so called steps of evangelism, however; do this and you will be effective. No, instead I want to meditate on how our great missionary forbearers proclaimed the Gospel – what Saints Paul, Nina of Georgia, Cyril and Methodios, Stephen of Perm, Makarios Gloukharev, Kosmas Aitolos, Herman and Innocent of Alaska, and Nicholas of Japan did? We need to study their examples, and find models which we can imitate. In addition to their examples, I would like to tie in some practical experiences that I have witnessed in today's missionary effort in Albania.

From this presentation, I hope to raise questions or provoking thoughts which can challenge the Orthodox Church to honestly analyze her world-wide mission program. We need to begin taking the next step forward in our modern mission effort. Through such an evaluation, I think we will also see principles which apply not only in cross-cultural situations, but at home as well.

Overall, we will look at four general areas in our tradition: the character of the missionary, the missionary team that goes forth, the preaching of the message itself, and the actual training of leaders within the young indigenous community. All four areas integrally relate to the overall method of how to evangelize in a traditional Orthodox way. I will conclude by sharing a vision reflecting upon the training and preparation of future missionaries.

#### I. THE SPIRITUAL CHARACTER OF THE MISSIONARY:

“IT IS NO LONGER I WHO LIVE, BUT CHRIST WHO LIVES IN ME” (GAL 2.20)

As we reflect upon the illustrious missionaries of the past, the most distinctive and obvious feature for all these missionaries was their exemplary lives. Before any message could be preached, something had to be shown. The crucial aspect of a mission is not what one proclaims, but what one lives, who one is. Orthodox theology and history teach us that the transformed life preaches in a way that no words can match. Saint Francis of Assisi summarized this well when he said, “Preach the Gospel at all times, and if necessary, use words.” Thus, the first and foremost principle of any “method” of mission is the development of the spiritual character of missionaries – their struggle for holiness, their capacity to carry God’s grace, their humble, servant attitude, and their identification with the people.

#### *Struggle for Holiness*

Missionaries ought to exemplify holiness and direct people to grow in a faith that leads toward holiness. As Fr. Lev Gillet wrote, “Faith is nothing unless it transforms our lives, unless it bears fruit, and leads to holiness.”<sup>2</sup> For this reason many great missionaries of the past took a period of time to cultivate their spiritual life “in the desert” before their active mission began. We have the examples of the Apostle Paul who went into the desert of Arabia for three years, Cyril and Methodios both spent considerable time in a monastery. Stephen of Perm lived

more than a decade in a monastery, Kosmas Aitolos dwelt seventeen years on Mount Athos, and of course Herman of Alaska was considered one of the pious monks of the monastery of Valaam before departing for Alaska.

The saying of Saint Seraphim of Sarov encompasses this whole message, "Acquire inner peace and thousands around you will be saved." Of course, the journey toward deep inner peace is a life-long one, and should begin before one enters into the mission field. Unfortunately, too many missionaries lack this peace. They think that to be fruitful simply implies busying themselves with numerous activities – programs, schedules, meetings; they forget or ignore the most basic responsibility, their own inner peace and spiritual growth toward holiness. "The transformed life of the entire being in Christ is the true characteristic of a missionary."<sup>3</sup>

In Albania, I hold a frequent dialogue with a group of young medical doctors and students who are open to discussing matters of life and faith. The majority of these men come from Orthodox families, but most profess to be either atheist or agnostic. With one of the most outspoken doctors, I asked the question, "What is your purpose in life?" He proceeded to answer that his goal was to do good for humanity, to do more good than evil. This was a nice answer, and many people seemed satisfied with such a response. But from the Church's perspective, this answer falls short of our calling. God does not call us to simply do some good. He calls us to become holy, to be different, to be united with Christ in his holiness, to be *agios*, not of this world. Our goal is to honestly repeat the words of Saint Paul, "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives within me."

When missionaries begin to live a holy life in a secular society, they have begun to offer the first and most basic lesson to the people they go to serve. Without this desire to become holy themselves, and then to lead people toward holiness, missionaries will be no different than humanitarian workers.

New believers must realize that holiness is something natural to all Christians, attainable both for the missionary and for new believers who commit their lives to Jesus Christ and His Church. Holiness does not mean achieving extraordinary ascetic feats, or being perfect in all we do. It is giving up one's own interest and putting on Christ, opening oneself up to the power of the Holy Spirit and allowing Christ to shine through one's life. It is doing small things with great love all for the glory of Jesus Christ.

*Becoming Carriers of God's Grace*

In this journey toward holiness, missionaries begin to understand and teach that they act simply as carriers of God's grace, instruments in the hands of God. Mother Teresa of Calcutta often uses an appropriate analogy. She says about her work: "I am a little pencil in the hands of God. He does the thinking. He does the writing. He does everything – and it's really hard – sometimes I'm a broken pencil. He has to sharpen it a little more. But be an instrument in his hands so that He can use you any time, anywhere."<sup>4</sup> Missionaries should ask themselves daily, "Am I a carrier of God's grace? Do I realize that here lies my primary responsibility?"

Simeon Yanovsky, a contemporary of St. Herman, and a skeptic and agnostic before meeting the holy elder, spoke in this way of the humble missionary, "To my great surprise, the simple uneducated monk Fr. Herman... had a great natural intellect, much common sense, he was well read in the writings of the holy fathers, but *above all he had the grace of God.*"<sup>5</sup> The purpose of mission is precisely this, to reflect the holiness, the goodness, the hope that comes through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; to act as vessel carrying God's grace to all people.

*Maintaining a Humble Attitude and Identifying with the People*

Another essential aspect of the missionary's character is his or her humble, loving, patient, servant attitude. Opposite behavior tempts some missionaries. As foreigners they often have an authority, especially when going from First to Third World countries, simply because they control the money or administration of the sending agencies. Some of them may subconsciously become missionaries for this exact reason, to be given an authority and an air of importance which they could not find staying at home.

The example of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples remains the primal model for missionaries. They are to serve the people they go to help and to identify with them in their struggles and needs. The nineteenth century missionary Makarios Gloukharev offers a vivid example. During the beginning stages of his ministry in the Altai mountains of Siberia, Makarios met much resistance and indifference from the people. This initial attitude tempted him to contemplate abandoning his mission because these people, he thought, were not

ready for Christianity. After re-evaluating his mission strategy, however, he concluded that he could proclaim the gospel more effectively through his example, not his words. He began to imitate the humility of Christ by doing menial chores for the local people as a symbolic proclamation of the gospel. He believed that to enter homes and sweep the floors as a humble servant was to identify himself with Christ, to bear witness to Him in a way more authentic than sermons. Through his subservient attitude he slowly began to reach the people.

Other missionaries behaved in a similar manner. Saint Herman fervently defended the rights of the Alaskan natives against cruel Russian traders and officials. He became one with the people so much so that each persecution against them was a persecution against him. He pleaded in a letter to the leader of the Russian-American Company, "I, the most humble servant of the local peoples and their nursemaid, stand before you with bloody tears and write my request: be a father and protector to us . . . wipe away the tears of our defenseless orphans, soothe the sorrows of aching hearts, let us know what joy is like."<sup>6</sup> So we see that identification with the people is an imperative for any missionary.

Thus, the first and most basic method of mission is the spiritual development of missionaries – their struggle for holiness, their capacity to carry God's grace, their humble, servant-like attitude, and their identification with the people. The heart of any method lies with this beginning.

## II. MISSION TEAMS: "JESUS SENT THEM OUT TWO BY TWO" (Mk 6.7)

### *Example of Christian Community*

A second fundamental principle is to approach the missionary task as part of a team. Jesus sent his disciples out two by two, and it is in like manner that we need to go forth. The importance of a team has much more to do than with the fact of offering companionship. A group of missionaries can proclaim the gospel loudly through the example they establish. They teach their first lesson in Christian community through the love, care, and compassion shown within their missionary fellowship. A positive example is again the ministry of Makarios Gloukharev. He departed for the Altai mountains with two other companions. From the beginning, the three imitated the Apostolic Church by sharing everything as a symbol of their unity and

love. They hoped that this witness would touch the hearts of the indigenous peoples.

Unfortunately, the opposite behavior sometimes exists in mission work. Jealousy, misunderstanding, and insistence on one's own way have sometimes been the traits among missionaries. Such behavior damages the very foundation of the Christian message.

### *Diversity of the Team*

Another benefit of a team is the diversity one can offer. Many parts encompass the body of Christ, and the more parts exposed to non-believers, the more likely they will find their bridge into the Church. Remember the openness of Saint Paul in his work in Corinth, "I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth... for we are God's servants, working together" (1 Cor 3:6, 9).

The missionary saints of our tradition were not all monks or even men. In addition to bishops, priests (celibate or married), and monks, there were, "princesses, diplomats, officers, soldiers, merchants, mariners, emigrants, travellers, and captives." The greater the variety, the more numerous examples people have to understanding the faith.

Our mission in Albania offers a positive example. Although our mission team is small – we presently have twelve long-term missionaries – it is quite diverse. Among the twelve we have two monks, three nuns, two married priests with their presbyteres (one with two children), two lay women and a lay man. Their professions include an architect, an accountant, a nurse, elementary and secondary teachers, and a communications specialist. I have witnessed the impact this diversity has had. Some people are attracted immediately to the monastics. Others have certain biases and seem more comfortable with a married person, or even a non-theologian lay man or woman. The diversity reflects the diverse people we try to reach, and thus offers different avenues for people to hear the Gospel. In this area I admire our Protestant brothers and sisters. In Albania, long-term Protestant missionaries number more than 400, and include a wide range of people – from pastors and theologians, to doctors, lawyers, businessmen, a retired policeman, engineers, teachers, old and young. "One waters, another plants, but God gives the growth."

*Prayer Team*

A missionary team also comprises not only the active workers in the field, but also people back at home who support them with their prayers. This may not seem to be a “method” of evangelism, but in fact it is one of the most essential ingredients to a fruitful mission. If we look at the example of Saint Paul, we see a strong belief in prayer as the foundation for all his ministry and work. In every letter to his neophyte churches, Paul continually asked for their prayers on his behalf and on behalf of the gospel. His work was in vain without constant prayer for protection, strength, guidance, and boldness for himself, his co-workers, and his infant believers.

So we see how the mission team plays an integral role as a method of mission. Through the support it offers, together with setting an example of Christian community and diversity, the mission team itself proclaims the gospel.

III. PROCLAIMING THE GOSPEL MESSAGE: “I HAVE BECOME ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE, THAT I MIGHT BY ALL MEANS SAVE SOME” (1 COR 9.22)

*Patience, Flexibility, and Creativity*

The third method of mission involves proclaiming the spoken gospel in relevant and meaningful ways. In this area, the first attitudes missionaries must cultivate are patience, flexibility, and creativity. Serving as a priest in Albania over the past year and a half has given me some memorable and educational experiences. For example, there was the first time I celebrated the Divine Liturgy in a village. This village, typical of most places in Albania, had not participated in the Divine Liturgy during the last twenty-five years of Communist rule. Even over the past four years of freedom, a priest had come into the village to offer the Eucharist only a few times. During my first service, the church was like an outdoor bazaar, with a continual hum of noise. When I turned around to say, “Paqe me të gjithë – Peace be with you” I saw some people smoking their cigarettes in the middle of the church. Part of me wanted to yell at them, “This is a house of God. Why are you acting as if it is an outdoor bazaar?” And yet, another part of me said to myself, “They are like sheep without a shepherd. This is just another sign of the need to educate and cultivate the Orthodox ethos here.”

I experienced another unique situation during the Resurrection



Liturgy this past Paschal season. In the middle of the night, the noise in the church reached such a high level that when I began to say, "Blessed is the kingdom..." the chanter, who was only fifteen feet away from me, literally could not hear my voice. I had to ask the people (for the fifth time) to please be quiet and show some respect inside the house of God. I told those who wanted to receive Holy Communion to come forward in front of the Royal Gates (about seventy people approached thinking that they would receive at that very moment), and I asked the others who wanted to talk to please leave the church and continue their discussions outside. We began the Divine Liturgy again with the chanter standing beside the royal gate, one foot away from me. Silence prevailed for ten seconds and then the noise erupted again. We proceeded to celebrate a beautiful and moving Liturgy for the next hour and a half in the midst of total chaos and unbelievable noise. This is the reality of many places in Albania.

I offer these stories as examples which show how mission work demands creative approaches to ministry. Obviously, we don't handle situations the same way we would in a parish in America. Thus, we must challenge ourselves with questions: Is it appropriate to offer a three hour Matins and Divine Liturgy in villages that have not had any services for thirty years? Is there another way we can begin in our teaching of worship? Can we be creative, staying within our Orthodox tradition, and develop something practical and unique for our present situation?

Saint Innocent's ministry offers some creative ideas to difficult problems. For example, as bishop, he allowed "pious and informed" laymen to administer the sacrament of Baptism due to a shortage of priests (a priest would complete the baptismal prayer and chrismate the newly initiated at a later time). He also established men *and women* to act as "readers," people who led weekly worship services in the absence of a priest. Celebrating such "reader" services on a regular basis would better prepare the people for the Divine Liturgy, when a priest actually comes into the village.

Saints Cyril and Methodios offer another insightful example. They translated the Liturgy of Saint Peter into Slavonic and used this Western Rite service in their ministry among the people of Moravia. Here, we see the greatest Byzantine missionaries being not afraid to use a Roman service to meet their particular needs and situation. Our mod-

ern efforts require such patience, flexibility, creativity, and vision.

### *Appropriate Catechism*

Another area of preaching the Gospel involves the catechism itself. In situations like Albania, where many people call themselves Orthodox but know little if anything about the true Orthodox faith, missionaries ought to emphasize the importance of learning and practicing the faith. We cannot be satisfied with people who call themselves Orthodox simply because their grandparents were Orthodox. Sometimes we deceive ourselves by baptizing people without any teaching, simply so that the Church can say we have "so many" Orthodox Christians. Can we be satisfied with less quantity but better quality? Makarios Gloukharev worked fourteen years in the mountains of Siberia, during which time he baptised only 675 adults out of 44,000 inhabitants. Obviously, he believed in intense catechism to prepare people for their Christian journey.

In our preparatory teaching for baptism, we should take care not to teach simply rules and doctrine. Some priests seem satisfied with people who profess an ideology based on external rules and commandments, without ever challenging believers to discover the ultimate, intimate relationship with the Holy Trinity. Our faith does not strive to teach a high truth, or fine morality. We seek to open the path for the Holy Spirit to move and live within the person. The goal of our teaching ought to be for new believers to become "new creations." Sometimes, I stop and wonder how many of the people I have baptized feel they have become a new creation? How many have truly died to their old self and become new? We have the responsibility to challenge each newly baptised person to be satisfied with nothing less than holiness in their lives. We can remind them of the words of Saint Gregory the Theologian, "Don't you know that the only way to be a son of God is to become a saint?"

One positive example I remember occurred with Ana, a girl from a Muslim family, who decided to become Orthodox with a group of her university friends. On the day of her baptism, she expressed to me with tears of joy the excitement she felt putting behind her old life, with all its sins, and beginning a new and exciting life in Christ. In this person, I clearly witnessed a radical discovery and the start of a transformation. Becoming a new creation is the purpose of our baptism.

### Contextualization

A final principle of preaching the spoken gospel is the idea of “becoming all things for all people so that by all means [we] may save some” (1 Cor 9.23). From Saint Paul we see how he preached to the Jews as a Jew, but presented the gospel in a different way among the Gentiles. For example, among the philosophical and idolatrous Athenians, Saint Paul mentioned nothing about the Jewish background and fulfilled prophecies of the Messiah Jesus. Instead, he dealt with the Greeks at their level. He didn’t condemn them for their gross idolatry, but instead chose to find good in their worship:

Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things you are very religious; for as I was passing through and considering the objects of your worship, I even found an altar with this inscription: To the Unknown God. Therefore, the one who you worship without knowing, Him I proclaim to you (Acts 17:22-23).

From this introduction, he proceeded to talk about topics relevant to the Greek mind. He even quoted Greek philosophers and pagan poets to support his apology of the faith. In this way, Saint Paul contextualized the gospel and minimized the chances of his Gentile audience rejecting his message simply because of a cultural or religious bias.

So our sensitivity of proclaiming the Gospel with creativity, flexibility, boldness, contextualization, and truth, creating an intimate, transforming relationship between the hearer and God, are essential characteristics of a proper method for mission.

#### IV. TRAINING OF INDIGENOUS LEADERS: “ENTRUST TO FAITHFUL PEOPLE WHO WILL BE ABLE TO TEACH OTHERS AS WELL” (2 TIM 2.2)

The fourth method of mission work is the training of indigenous leadership. From the beginning of one’s ministry, the missionary has to seek out interested believers who will take the reigns of leadership as soon as possible. Saint Paul’s words to his disciple Timothy offer wisdom to the missionary, “What you have heard from me through many witnesses *entrust to faithful people who will be able to teach others as well*” (2 Tim 2.2). Too often, this task proves very difficult for missionaries. As foreigners missionaries frequently foster an unhealthy paternal love which hinders their spiritual children from growing up.

### *Time Frame for Missionary*

From the beginning of their ministry, missionaries have to think about the end of their ministry. Missionaries should keep in mind the fact that they are working themselves out of a job. They ought to live and work among the people as if no foreign worker, but a local person, will succeed them.

The life of Saint Paul reveals a deep understanding to this principle. The divine Apostle travelled throughout Asia Minor, Macedonia and Greece for a period of eight to twelve years, rarely staying in one city or town for longer than several months and never for more than two or three years. Yet, by the end of one decade, he could write that there existed “no further place for me in these regions” (Rom 15.23). How many missionaries go into the field thinking that their work can be completed in ten years time? How many missionaries are willing to pass on the baton of ministry at the right moment, and how many overstay their calling?

A critical look at our own modern missionary efforts reveals something quite different. There have been Orthodox missionaries in East Africa for thirty years, but why do we still consider the church an infant, needing overbearing care by her missionary parents? The twenty-five year modern Orthodox mission in Korea could be another interesting and enlightening study. For our situation in Albania, as we work to revive a once dead church, we must daily ask ourselves, are we ready to pass over leadership after ten years? Archbishop Anastasios of Albania has given us the directive that whenever any of us leave our mission work, we have succeeded only in as much as we have trained and prepared Albanian leaders to fill our places.

### *Responsibility and Trust*

Missionaries need to align their goals and work with such a time perspective. Their ministry is not to baptize or even to preach to all the people in one area. Their goal needs to be the training of select leaders who themselves have the zeal, desire, inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit to fulfil this work. If the missionaries train their spiritual children correctly from the beginning, if they open their eyes to the gift and power of the Holy Spirit and teach them to trust in the Spirit in their lives, the leaders have fulfilled a major task of their work.

We should put our trust in the Holy Spirit alive in the young believers; trust in Christ dwelling in them. We ought to have faith in the transforming power of the gospel in their lives. Sometime missionaries' reliance upon methods, systems, programs, organizations and overbearing, paternal patronage seem to minimize our and their faith as new believers.

When missionaries do not trust their new believers and leaders to do anything because they are too young and immature in the faith, or because they do not have enough formal training and theological education, missionaries come close to the danger of minimizing the power of the Holy Spirit.

### *Personal Mentorship*

In this training of individual leaders, missionaries need to spend quality time on personal relationships, mentoring, and spiritual guidance. To build up leaders takes time, not just through spoken lessons on the faith, but especially through allowing them to stay close to us and learn from our daily life. The examples we give through our lives offer the greatest lesson from which they can learn.

Sometimes this aspect of personal mentorship is difficult, especially for Americans. We have been taught to focus on numbers, the bigger the better. If we spend the majority of our time with only a handful of people, instead of the masses, then some of us think we err. And yet, how much more effective our ministry can be if we focus our time on a limited number of leaders, and allow them to reach out to the masses. Remember the words of Saint Paul. "What you have heard from me through many witnesses *entrust to faithful people who will be able to teach others as well*" (2 Tim 2.2). Timothy, Silas, Luke, Sosthenes, Titus – these were the young men who always travelled with Paul and learned first-hand from him. Paul directed other leaders in each city or town in which he established a church. Look at the last chapter of Romans, and we get an enlightening glimpse of the many disciples and co-workers, men and women, who Paul trained and influenced. Because of such "leadership" ministry he could confidently leave the eastern region of the Roman Empire after one decade of work.

Of course, within the overall ministry of a missionary, there will be need for programs, buildings, and projects, but the most important

issue, the heart and soul of the work, is the people themselves. As we build up programs, are we building up the leaders who can run the programs? As we build many churches, do we have the faithful leaders who will transform these concrete buildings into houses of God on fire for the Gospel? The goal of Orthodox mission is not to build physical buildings, but to create living Eucharistic communities which act as evangelistic centers for the whole surrounding area. The indigenous people are the ones who know the language, customs, and life of their own people much better than any foreigner, thus they can more effectively serve as leaders and preachers.

### *Opportunities for Service*

Combined with this focus on a select number of leaders, missionaries need to find practical opportunities for these young leaders to develop their talents. Train the new converts from the beginning to be “missionaries” among their own people. There exists a great danger to subtly lead new converts into a passivity. If the missionaries teach their first converts to constantly rely on the missionary, to wait upon his work and efforts, and not to challenge the Holy Spirit within themselves, they may become dependant and passive. Their faith remains contained. Growth and development lie dormant.

From the beginning we should teach new believers that their source of strength comes not from the missionary, but from the Holy Spirit working through the Church. The Holy Spirit abiding in the Church is above any one bishop, priest, or missionary. The foundation is our loving Father who created us, our Lord Jesus Christ who saved us, the Holy Spirit who abides in us, and the Church which protects us. If we teach new believers to place their trust here, and challenge them to share whatever little knowledge they have, then we begin to build a strong foundation.

Too often missionaries want to do everything, because they feel they can do it better than the new believers. And yet, how does one learn if they do not practice? As missionaries, our responsibility is to give freedom, and then to guide and counsel. We constantly should ask ourselves, if we leave today, if we get kicked out of the country unexpectedly, will the Church survive? Are there enough leaders to direct and lead?

So, let us heed the words of Saint Paul, “What you have heard

from me through many witnesses entrust to faithful people who will be able to teach others as well.”

#### VISION FOR ORTHODOX MISSION

I would like to conclude my talk with a vision I have for our Orthodox mission. The modern Orthodox missionary renewal began over thirty-five years ago with the establishment of the *Porefthendes* movement in Greece. Over these past three decades, our own mission program in America grew from a tiny office in the Greek Archdiocese, to today's Orthodox Christian Mission Center in St. Augustine, Florida. We now send scores of short-term missionaries each summer, and support a growing number of long-term missionaries. We are even on the verge of beginning a chair of missiology at Holy Cross. But what next? Where do we go from here? The future continually brings new challenges. Which of us could have ever guessed the new opportunities that have arisen in the past decade? We have a thriving indigenous Orthodox Church in Indonesia. Albania, the bastion of atheism, is now open to all, with a resurrected Orthodox Church. And the fall of the iron curtain has opened new doors for help and service.

How can we respond to such opportunities? The vision I have tried to deal with is this. It entails the establishment of a mission school and center, in the form of a quasi-monastic community. A place of learning missionary and cultural principles, all revolving around a life of spiritual formation – prayer, solitude, and study of Scripture and the Church Fathers, especially our great missionary fathers and mothers. A place preparing and forming missionaries.

One of the most important principles I have learned during my limited missionary experience, is the idea that good intentions are not always good enough. Too many people enter the mission field ill-equipped, causing more damage than good despite their sincere intentions. People thinking about missionary work should take time to reflect and wrestle with the daunting task that awaits them. They should address such questions as to which methods they will use in their work. Do they realize that their own spiritual formation and struggle for holiness are the foundation of their work? Do they have a proper attitude of humility, ready to learn even more than they may offer? Have they thought about going out as a team (of course, all

married couples should look at their spouses as team members), and what impact their team behavior will have? What about the actual message they will proclaim, and the means of conveying that message in a contextualized, meaningful way? And finally, have they thought about the importance of the training of indigenous *leaders* from the beginning, and what such training entails?

This summary of some traditional methods of Orthodox mission acts as a foundation to the vision. Such a mission school and center would serve as a preparation ground for missionaries to learn these methods. It would offer the training needed to prepare new missionaries for their upcoming task, while acting as a place for rest and renewal for veteran missionaries. It could also be a necessary center which continually sends forth a challenge to all our Orthodox faithful to be responsible in their faith and fulfill God's calling to the Great Commission. I won't expand more on this vision, because I only offer it as a means of conclusion, and as a thought-provoking idea with which the leaders of our missionary movement can wrestle.

As we in the Orthodox Church recover our historical understanding and commitment to missionary responsibility, and as we recommit ourselves to the traditional methods of mission and evangelism mentioned today, then our Church can save herself from becoming a social club (as described in the opening story), and can help her recover her status as a "life-saving station" in the midst of the world's troubled waters.

<sup>1</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Missions in the 1990's Two Views" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14(2) 53

<sup>2</sup> A Monk of the Eastern Church 1992 *The Year of Grace of the Lord*, (Crestwood, NY St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992) 222

<sup>3</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Orthodoxy and Mission" *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 8(3) 147

<sup>4</sup> Dorothy S Hunt, *Love A Fruit Always in Season Daily Meditations from the Words of Mother Teresa of Calcutta* (San Francisco Ignatius Press, 1987) 243

<sup>5</sup> Michael Oleksa, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, (NY Paulist Press, 1987) 49

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 310

<sup>7</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Orthodox Mission - Past, Present, Future" In *Your Will Be Done, Orthodoxy in Mission*, G Lemopoulos, ed (Geneva WCC, 1989) 66



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

ecclesiastical community. A cursory reading of the *Homilies* of the hesychast Archbishop of Thessaloniki is a proof in point. Indeed, the Holy Spirit never deals with the life of disconnected individuals, as if it were a matter of the private inspiration of a specific class of the privileged, a class which is distinguished from the common body of the Church. According to the hesychast Saint, inspiration is indeed a personal experience but it occurs only within the specific and historical context of the eucharistic community, in this way the issue of inspiration is seen in its ecclesiological fullness. The activity of the Spirit brings forth unity in Christ through the sacraments, and together with this it confirms the various functions and gifts in the Church as events of communion with Christ for the benefit and up building of the ecclesiastical body.

Pneumatology in the theology of Palamas is not reduced to “sociology” – at any rate, how could this be possible since grace is uncreated, not created – rather, it constitutes the criterion for a solid theology and life, according to which *gifts* and *institutions* are synthesized harmonically. This is the mystical life of the Church which is lived experientially in the liturgical and ascetic dimensions of the life of the faithful. If Gregory Palamas emphasized through his Pneumatology the charismatic life of *theosis*, he did not do this independently of the sacraments, but rather as a new elaboration upon the historical and institutional dimension of the life of the ecclesiastical body, as a re-constitution of the unique Christological event.

Stavros Yangazoglou

*“Virgins of God”: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity.* Susanna Elm (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) [p.b. 1996], pages 444.

This book is based on the author’s doctoral dissertation submitted in 1986 to the University of Oxford and entitled “The Organization and Institutions of Female Asceticism in Fourth Century Cappadocia and Egypt”. The original thesis has been substantially edited and revised, not least in order to include an updating of the rapidly increasing bibliography in this field. Thus the useful footnotes and extended “Select Bibliography” (pp. 387-429) refer to more recent publications in the primary sources, but especially in the secondary material (for example by E. Amelineau, P. Brown, C.W. Bynum, E. Clark, and

V. Harrison). The development from the original dissertation is particularly evident in the introduction (pp. 1-22) and conclusion (pp. 373-85). The title of the publication under review is derived from Canon 13 of the Council of Elvira held in 306 (p. 26).

The historical period considered in this book is the fourth century, chosen for its significance inasmuch as it constituted the time during which Christianity was legalized. Therefore, it covers the years that witnessed the development of new organizational models within the Christian Church, and particularly its monastic institutions. Further, this was the period when Christianity began to define itself through its own internal struggles, both theological and ecclesiastical. This also occurred against the background of other, external, fundamental changes in the administration, society, and economy of the Roman Empire, which eventually led to the division of the then world into Western and Eastern parts.

The geographical areas examined in the book are Cappadocia (Asia Minor) and Egypt (Alexandria), selected for their crucial importance in terms of secular and religious developments during the fourth century. In the former region, the classic model of ascetic life is found in the work of Basil of Caesarea (pp. 60-77), while the two Gregories develop a theology of virginity (Gregory of Nyssa: pp. 78-105) and a variety of celibate living (Gregory Nazianzus: esp pp. 151-832). In the latter region, the author focuses on the desert dwellers of Egypt (pp. 253-82 on the *Sayings*, as well as pp. 311-30 on the contemporaneous monastic *Histories*), on the parallel classic model of Pachomius and Shenoute (pp. 283-310), and on the more "doctrinal" Athanasius of Alexandria (pp. 331-72). Cappadocia and Egypt present two different geographies and climates, as well as distinct social, political, and economic structures. These two worlds, and their corresponding world-views, are bridged by the ascetic spirituality of Evagrius of Pontus (d. 399), arguably the most outstanding intellectual in the Egyptian desert. Unfortunately, the study of Evagrius – a central part to Elm's dissertation – is brief in this book (pp. 277-80), although it comprised the contents of at least two articles by the author in *Augustinianum* (1990) and *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1991).

In this important study, however, Elm has consulted not only literary sources, but also ecclesiastical canons and imperial edicts, as well as inscriptions and papyri from the regions in question (pp. 227-52). More significantly, she has not confined her research to orthodox

writers. Omitting non-orthodox writers and heretical phenomena would also mean, we are now aware, leaving out an indispensable field for the (re-)construction of the early ascetic life. Without an insight into the entire spectrum of religious movements and monuments, an adequate understanding of the contemporary monastic conditions would be impossible. And with a proper appreciation of the overall social picture, one is able to trace recurring problems whereby extreme positions are repressed for the sake of moderate models of integration (see esp. pp. 106-36 on "Homoiousian Asceticism", and pp. 184-223 on "the Demise of the Homoiousian Model").

Monasticism has in the past primarily been evaluated from the confessional (namely the theological or narrowly ecclesiological) perspective of the individual scholar. As a result of this, fundamental and monumental works of scholarship largely ignored the more "marginal" aspects of the monastic ideal which merit attention in this book: (a) the "variations of *female ascetic life*" (pp. 25-59), and (b) the significance of "*urban asceticism*" (pp. 331-72). Consequently, the author's approach is historical, the description is social, and the methodology employed comprises the classical ways of critical textual analysis. Theology is incorporated in the numerous references to doctrinal themes, but it is for the most part subordinated to the general socio-historical project.

No one can deny the gradual erosion, especially in recent decades, of the traditional boundaries between the various academic disciplines, as new scholarship and fresh insights are brought to bear in our understanding of late antiquity - most notably in our estimation of the interplay between society and theology, or between sexuality and morality.

Nonetheless, whether elaborating on the subjective dimension of human sexuality (Elm refers to M. Foucault on p. 12) or whether laboring the social dimension of sexual renunciation (Elm is clearly indebted here to P. Brown), the experience of the early monastics themselves must also be borne in mind as an authentic interpretation of their ascetic life. Their own perspective must neither be overlooked nor even undermined. I am not convinced that a non-theological outlook is assuredly unbiased, or indeed that there *is* in fact an objectively non-theological viewpoint.

In discussing the organization and institutions of fourth century female asceticism, Susanna Elm has endeavored to discern and apply

methods used in the study of history to a topic generally regarded as theological, and therefore sometimes neglected by students of ancient history. She has identified the social, economic, and legal – that is to say, the more “institutional” basis of female asceticism, and reconstructed *the model of the family* as well as *the model of complete detachment* from society based on the charismatic personality and the doctrinal affiliation of the leaders associated with these. The process of the organization of female asceticism illustrates a problem central to the history of Christian thought and establishments, namely the conflict between religious institutions and sectarian enthusiasm. The hierarchy of the Church were obliged, especially during the formative years of the 330s, to employ various methods in order to solve the tensions and to resolve the extremes which developed out of the very teachings of the Gospel that they preached.

As Elm so articulately argues in this book, the ascetic and monastic personalities of this period were much less innovators than reformers. Their newly developed notions of ascetic life – suited to the demands of contemporary society (especially in regard to sexual discrimination and segregation), and conformed to the development theology (particularly in regard to orthodoxy of creed) – were heralded as traditional, while long-standing ascetic communities and convictions were branded as “heretical innovations”. In light of this, Elm accordingly addresses the need for a revision of the conventional picture of asceticism.

John Chryssavgis

*Asceticism*, Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (eds.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) pages xxxiii + 638.

This important and impressive volume includes papers and proceedings from an international conference convened at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in April 1993. However, it is much more than a collection of essays, because the editors have added significant sections of research, covering a historical sketch of the study of asceticism, selected bibliography, and a useful index of names and subjects.

The themes examined and the contributors writing embrace a wide range of confessional backgrounds, religious experiences, and as-

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## Vision for Missionary Education at Orthodox Seminaries

---

FR. STANLEY S. HARAKAS

The topic that has been given to me, "Vision for Missionary Education at Orthodox Seminaries," seems to be both narrow and quite specific on the surface. Without seeking to complicate the topic, however, it is necessary to point to a measure of ambiguity in every one of the terms of the this title, because if education for mission at Orthodox seminaries is to be effective and productive, those responsible must know at least some of the alternatives and choices which they have in developing a missiological component to the program of theological education in their responsibility.

One way of doing this is to clarify in an orderly fashion some of the alternatives implicit in each of these terms, because it will help us understand the dimensions of a "Vision for Missionary Education at Orthodox Seminaries" that in the end will be both comprehensive and specific, and, hopefully, useful in developing programs of mission education.

I will take the terms in reverse order and comment on them for the purpose of clarifying the task of understanding and the creation of a normative set of criteria for the educational dimension of seminary education which will form the final section of this paper.

### I. THE TERM "ORTHODOX SEMINARIES"

The term "Orthodox seminaries" points immediately to the general issue of institutional theological education in our day. The built-in ambiguity in this aspect of our work focuses on the question of the goal and purpose, or perhaps better, the goals and purposes of theological education. Theological education historically and

contemporaneously takes place in various kinds of settings. Among these are the home, public worship in the local churches, monasteries, through magazines, newspapers, journals and books, as of late through audio-visual means and now in cyber-space.<sup>1</sup>

Even when formal theological education is considered, the goals and purposes of institutionalized academic theological education are not always clear or agreed upon. The classic form of the discussion contrasts academic theological education with the preparation of persons for the exercise of ministry. The ideal form of the first is the university theology department with its assumed universal and objective approach to religion and theology, most clearly represented by the contemporary emphasis on "globalization." On the other hand, preparation for ministry in seminary education tends to be an expression of the practical needs of particular churches and denominations, usually connected with an ecclesial tradition and the preparation of candidates for ordained and lay ministries in and for the church's parish ministry.

In their polarized condition, critics see academic theology as inevitably leading to a betrayal of the faith and ecclesial life. A description of this process is to be found in the recent book, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment of Established Nonbelief*, by George M. Marsden.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, academics charge seminary education to be narrow and sectarian and consequently biased and prejudiced.

Thus, these and other dimensions of theological education can be understood as contrasting and alternative models of the seminary's task. At the beginning of this decade twenty-six seminary presidents in the United States and Canada were queried about five areas of tension in theological education. The tensions they identified were: (1) intellectual theologizing and pastoral ministry; (2) successful performance and spiritual formation; (3) a curriculum oriented to pre-service education and the curriculum needed to meet the need of an increasing number of older students; (4) maintaining a curriculum that reflects the school's mission and new courses to attract students and funds; and (5) globalization as a peripheral concern or as a primary goal.

Many seminaries and schools of the theology, of course, seek to walk a road incorporating these perspectives in some measure of balance and coherence, so that the education of those who will serve the



church in full-time callings will be intellectually informed by the academic dimension of their education and will concurrently provide training for service by developing a wide range of skills focusing upon the practical aspects of ministry, including an outreach to the world as well as pastoring and nurturing those in the Church. A third dimension of seminary education is what is currently referred to by the Association of Theological Schools as "ministerial formation." This aspect of theological education addresses the personal, communal and spiritual dimensions of those who would serve. Avoiding the extremes and seeking a wholistic approach to theological education seems to be a useful understanding of theological education in general and for the Orthodox Church in particular.

The solution developed, perhaps for other extraneous reasons, of the university system in Greece is one way of expressing this approach. There, the theological and the pastoral aspects have been divided into two faculties, the first emphasizing the academic (but with some inclusion of pastoral elements in the curriculum) and the second emphasizing the pastoral concerns (but with some inclusion of academic elements in the curriculum). The other solution is to seek to embody the academic, the pastoral, the outreach, and the formative dimensions into an integrated curriculum, understood as the whole seminary experience. This, it would seem, is the model that Orthodox theological education seeks to embody in most of theological educational centers of the Orthodox Church throughout the world, whether university based or in free standing schools of theology.

Appos to mission concerns and theological education, Vasil Istavrides, who retains the title of Professor of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Halki Theological School, published an article in 1968 expressing this wholistic, integrated view of seminary education under the title "Theological Education for Mission."<sup>3</sup> He argued for the need to "missionize" the curriculum by establishing a chair or department of mission studies that would include among its concerns a dialogue with other faiths. He cautioned that there should be an avoidance of an excessive emphasis on functional and practical aspects in a one-sided, activist and "outworldly" horizontal perspective that would lead away from the vertical spiritual and theological dimension. In the terms discussed above, Istavrides' view includes academic, pastoral and spiritually formative aspects of theological education

together in an integrated, interpenetrating whole.

Richard M. Pope has expanded this understanding of the seminary in an article titled "The Seminary as a Learning Community" which expresses the broad and inclusive understanding of seminary education.<sup>4</sup> The author holds that the seminary is a Christian learning community. The purpose of the seminary is to educate and to prepare men and women for exercising the Church's ministry not outside it, but in and through the Church. Existing to serve the Church, it is neither a graduate school of religion, though it includes intellectual concerns, nor does it concentrate exclusively on contemporary problems, as a department of the official ecclesial establishment, but it takes the "long view," seeing its work in a broad theological context. Pope speaks of the seminary as a learning community, "because learning takes place best in community." Its primary goal is education, which seeks to form men and women who can both think and act in and for both the church and the world to which it is sent. This expresses a view, similar to Istavrides, that goes beyond the merely intellectual, beyond the merely functional, that tends to perceive the role of the seminary in general as wholistic and integrative. Not emphasized enough perhaps is the spiritual and worship dimension, but given the ecclesial and communal emphasis, this dimension is easily understood as included in the whole picture.

## II. THE TERM "MISSIONARY EDUCATION"

The second term for assessment in the title of this paper is "missionary education." While it may seem to be almost repetitive, this is a different issue, though not unrelated to the understanding of the seminary delineated above. Given the history of Greek, Arabic, Romanian and southern Slav Orthodoxy under the domination of the Ottoman Empire, it is easy to understand why the early Christian missionary imperative withered and died during the Ottoman captivity of the Orthodox Church. When in the nineteenth century these Churches re-surfaced as ethnic ecclesial bodies, the idea of mission and education for mission was almost totally lost. Only the Orthodox Church of Imperial Russia had a tradition of missionary activity, though the history of Russian Orthodox missions is a very mixed one, including some of the finest examples of Orthodox missionary methods and some of the worst. Unfortunately, even lasting Ortho-

dox mission work, such as that in Japan, were originally often motivated more by political concerns of the Russian Empire and less by the sincere desire to create believers and believing communities of Orthodox worship and life.<sup>5</sup>

One of the best examples of Russian Orthodox Missionaries was Makary Glucharev who was born in 1792 and tonsured a monk in 1819 who did missionary work on the Altai plateau in central Asia among the Kalmuck people of that region. According to Stephen Neill, he rejected methods which just counted the numbers of converts baptized and which used materialistic enticements to gain converts. Gluckarev believed in long instruction of those to be converted and continued education after conversion, baptism and chrismation. Neill says of his missionary philosophy that

(Makary) was willing to baptize candidates only after a long catechumenate during which they had received Christian instruction in their own language. And he constantly impressed on his fellow workers that baptism is the beginning of the process of conversion and not the end of it.<sup>6</sup>

Further, he sought to interest all of the people of the Russian Orthodox Church in the work of mission. For this, he wrote a book titled, *Thoughts on the Methods To Be Followed for a Successful Dissemination of the Faith among Mohammedans, Jews, and Pagans in the Russian Empire*. His hope was to awaken among the Russian Orthodox clergy and laity an appreciation for “the missionary responsibility which God had given (them).”<sup>7</sup> Makary held the view that this could come about only by means of the spiritual renewal of the people of the Church and that “the only instrument for this is the diffusion of the Bible in its entirety among them. . . . From this alone is the necessary spiritual power to be derived.” Thus, Makary connected education and spiritual formation with the missionary task.

A contemporary of Glukarev was Innocent Veniaminov (1797-1879), who took over the almost abandoned Aleutian Island mission. After preparing himself, he undertook a wide-ranging educational ministry, focusing on the core essentials of the Orthodox Christian faith. His well-known book, *A Guide to the Kingdom of Heaven*, was an outgrowth of this teaching mission.<sup>8</sup> When at age seventy, he became Metropolitan of Moscow he exercised his episcopate with the distinct goal of “expound(ing) the truth that missionary witness is a

duty which is incumbent on the Church as a whole and on every member of it.”<sup>9</sup> Toward this purpose, he worked for the establishment of “The Orthodox Missionary Society” on January 25, 1870. I do not know if courses in missiology were taught at the theological academies of the Russian Orthodox Church. It would be surprising, however, if they were. The first formal missionary educational efforts among the Russian Orthodox, it would seem, were on the popular level and not in the sphere of academia. Given the generally accepted view that formal academic study of missions began with the Protestant theologian Gustav Warneck who is regarded as “the founder of the science of missiology”<sup>10</sup> who lived during the latter half of the nineteenth century, we could hardly expect Russian theological academies and theological schools to have developed the academic field of missiology before that time.

The academic teaching of missiology certainly was not a part of the curriculum of the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki during the early nineteenth century. Among the Greeks, the first to give attention to missionary education was a graduate of Halki, who also chose the route of popular education to cultivate mission concerns among clergy and laity. Theologically educated at Halki, Nicholas Ambrazis chose not to be ordained to the priesthood, spending the balance of his life as a teacher on the secondary level. He authored a number of books focusing on the relationships of the Orthodox Church with other religions and churches. However, his most well-known book, still in print, was a missionary novel about *The Greek Orthodox Missionary Philotheos*. The story was designed to educate the readership regarding Orthodox principles of mission from within a fictional account of an Orthodox missionary among an indigenous non Christian people.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, it is of significance for our topic, that the first efforts in modern times to highlight the importance of the mission dimension of the Orthodox Church was not in academic settings, but in efforts to educate and form in the people of the Church a missionary consciousness. Academic study of missions has come much later in the theological schools of the Orthodox Church.

Nevertheless, there is a need for the kind of theological reflection about mission and the doing of mission that must be exercised within an academic milieu. But precisely what is its subject and purpose? If what has been said above about what a seminary is is true, i.e., that it

is a locus in the service of the Church that connects and integrates intellectual, pastoral, spiritual, formative and outreach dimensions of ministry and service, it will be expected that these same elements will characterize missionary education at Orthodox seminaries.

In the sphere of the intellectual study and teaching about mission and missionary practice the first critical question is how to understand its subject. Just what is “mission” from a theological perspective? And how is it to be taught and communicated in a way that will influence practice within the Church and for the world, and how is mission to be related to spiritual formation, and in particular to the formation of a diaconal and priestly consciousness?

As a result of our late entry into such concerns, we join many others who wrestle with the same questions. In particular, for our Protestant and Roman Catholic brothers and sisters, there has been a radical shift in mission understanding in the latter half of the twentieth century. Mission understanding, for western Christianity in the period of great missionary activity connected with the spread of western colonization and the rise of capitalism – roughly identical with the rise of Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation of the Roman Catholic Church can be summarized by the title of Kenneth S. Latourette’s monumental seven volume study of Christian missions, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*.<sup>12</sup> Mission was essentially the pragmatic effort of churches to increase membership through evangelizing primarily those who had not heard the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to convert non-believers to belief. In most cases this also meant incorporation of the new believers into some ecclesial body. Often, however, missions tended to exist in and for themselves, so that often even longstanding mission bodies were more intimately associated with the Mission Boards that sent missionaries and supported them economically, than with the churches with which the Mission Boards were associated.

The collapse of colonialism and the guilt that the missionary churches and bodies assumed for sharing in the exploitation of colonial peoples that arose following World War I and especially after World War II caused a radical change in mission reflection in the West. The resulting split in understanding what mission is and how it is to be exercised remains with us to this day. This division in thought was articulated in the period between the two World Wars by two influential theologians who symbolize the division in subsequent

thought. William E. Hocking, speaking from a liberal Protestant perspective published in 1932, his revolutionary revisionist approach to the understanding of mission, *Re-thinking Missions*.

At the risk of over-simplifying, it could be said that Hocking proposed that converting others to the Christian faith was no longer an acceptable understanding of mission. Openness to cultural diversity, respect for indigenous faiths and rejection of an imperialistic exploitative colonialist past, meant at most a courteous sharing of beliefs. Essentially excluded was the goal that mission should result in the conversion of individuals and communities to a new Christian identity, belief system and corporate existence as parts of Christian communities distinct from the cultures in which they found themselves.

In response to this egalitarian, pluralistic approach, Hendrick Kraemer responded with a book published six years later in 1938 titled *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* in which the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the Christian message was contrasted with the relativistic stance embodied in the liberal Protestant approach expressed by Hocking and his followers. Kraemer also criticized the imperialistic and exploitative colonialist era, but more theologically, he emphasized the soteriological necessity of belief in the saving person and redemptive work of Jesus Christ.

Those who have studied the history of Protestant theology of this period will recognize the contrasting theologies of Brunner and Barth in these approaches to mission. But it is clear that these major tendencies have persisted in the ensuing years.

In its worst manifestations, fundamentalist Protestants and ultra-Montanist Roman Catholics not only continue to proclaim the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and the transcendent necessity of communion with Him, but also continue to justify what can be legitimately described as an imperialistic, colonialist mission theory and practice.

Liberals in both Western Churches have essentially abandoned any efforts at conversion and the formation of new Christian communities. The recognition that Christian cultural imperialism is no longer acceptable has led to a movement that at its worst rejects any special status to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as Savior of the world, and at best encourages friendly interchange among adherents of other religions in dialogue and mutual support as an expression of Christian mission. Among the Roman Catholics, best known for the advocacy of

these views are liberal theologians Paul Knitter in his book *No Other Name?*<sup>13</sup> and Leonard Swidler, editor of the volume *Toward a Universal Theology of Religion*. This latter perspective seems to its opponents to be an abandonment of the traditional proclamation of the Gospel as saving truth, substituted by a religious relativism that sees Christianity as one among many equally interesting and spiritually enlightening religious traditions.<sup>14</sup> This view finds a place today under some forms of “globalization” and “contextualization.”

Both of these concepts clearly identify and seek to lift up important dimensions for thinking about and practicing mission in the twentieth century. The recognition of the integrity of cultures throughout the world and the need to equip people where they live at the grass roots to experience the Christian faith in their own context are certainly praiseworthy. Ross F. Kinsler, a Protestant supporter of this approach describes the conflict between these views in a 1978 article titled “Mission and Context: The Current Debate about Contextualization.”<sup>15</sup> He correctly observed that the debate was precisely about the very nature of the Gospel and raises the issues of syncretism, tradition and renewal, theological education and the conflict between biblical theology and contemporary contextual approaches to mission.<sup>16</sup>

In consequence, the World Council of Churches’ mission unit as exemplified in the writings and policies of Christopher Duraisingh as a leader of the Council for World Mission of the WCC,<sup>17</sup> and the Association of Theological Schools’ adoption of “globalization” as the major program emphasis for theological education in the present decade,<sup>18</sup> have meant that in many schools of theology the globalization and contextualization approach to missions has served to eviscerate motivation for mission or transformed it into a kind of religious dialogic or philanthropic social work. Missing is the urgency to proclaim the Gospel as necessary for human fulfillment and salvation.

The impact of this approach has contributed not only the loss of membership within mainline Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, but also it has introduced a crisis into the teaching of mission in theological schools and seminaries, as a survey of the literature indicates.<sup>19</sup>

Education for mission in the case of those who understand mission to be the proclamation of the Good News of Jesus Christ tends to be focused primarily on individual response, not always explicitly

related to worshipping communities or to existing ethnic, cultural contexts. By narrowing the focus of mission in this fashion, education for mission in turn, tends to be perceived primarily as inculcating practical techniques for the exercise of mission and “the winning of souls.” Some of this, of course, is both necessary for mission education.<sup>20</sup> It is not unusual for the literature in those communities to decry the lack of basic theological knowledge among their own adherents.<sup>21</sup> Others, may spend more effort on the academic, theological dimension, without much concern for the practice of mission. Further, in this liberal theological perspective, the very definition and understanding of mission has become diffuse and almost unmanageable.

### III. THE TERM “VISION”

What does theological education for mission mean for Orthodox seminaries? In the context of contemporary reflection on the meaning of mission and education for mission, the Orthodox seem to want to have the best of both of the approaches sketched out above, while rejecting their negative aspects.

There is a Gospel – a “rule of faith” that demands response to the redemptive work of Jesus Christ and engrafting into the Body of Christ, the Church. At the same time, the presentation of the Gospel must be in its own spirit, carried out lovingly, sacrificially, caringly and in a style and mode that is respectful of the special values and cultural traditions of various peoples. It has been a hallmark of early Christian mission work from the time of Saint Paul and the Apostolic Council described in Acts 15 and the Eastern Christian missionary practice of Saint Gregory the Enlightener of the Armenians, the Saint Thomas Christians of India, Saint John Chrysostom’s mission to the Goths and the mission established by Saint Photios to the Slavs through the work of Saints Cyril and Methodios to adapt and incarnate the Orthodox Christian faith in the language, culture and traditions of the receiving peoples wherever consistent with the message and life of the Gospel.

However, this practice of avoiding extremes, that is, refusing to abandon the faith once given to the saints, on the one side, and refusing to adopt a coercive, imperialistic attitude that belittles local languages, cultures and social identities on the other side, does not necessarily mean a heightened effectiveness in missionary education.



The very avoidance of the extremes tends to serve Orthodoxy's old nemesis of triumphalism and contentment with *theoria* but with less concern about *praxis*!

At the outset, it must be pointed out that the present development and successes of Orthodox mission efforts in the last few decades in this country through the various mission bodies of the different Orthodox jurisdictions, and in particular the transformation of the Greek Archdiocese Mission Center in St. Augustine, Florida, into an agency for the unified mission work of the canonical Orthodox Churches in the Western Hemisphere took place with only a minimal contribution from the seminaries. Once again, active missionary work was less the result of academic, seminary based educational programs, than it was of the personal commitment of some visionaries for whom the dream of Orthodox missions alive and functioning, was primary. In those early days, for example, as far as the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese was concerned, people like Fr. Alexander Veronis, Fr. Alexander Doumouras and His Grace, then Bishop and now Metropolitan Silas (Koskinas), worked to sustain and develop a modest program which was more an idea and a prayer than a mission program. This program, minimal as it was, enjoyed the constant blessing of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos.

As the years went by new people were added to the membership to do the work of the Committee and the budget and scope of the program grew. As one who occasionally offered an elective course in "Orthodox Missions," I too came onto the Mission Board for a time, contributing whatever I could from my quite limited academic resources. But it needs to be reiterated that the seminary side of the equation was quite modest and hardly central to the efforts of the Missions Committee.

Nevertheless, as the work of mission expands and there is an increasing need for research and study to develop policy decisions and to prepare an increasing number of workers for the field, the seminaries can make a contribution to the process and in some cases assume important leadership roles in the mission effort.

If this is to take place, however, both theoretical academic dimensions and practical training components will need to be developed. But further, that special, intangible spiritual element which responds to the "Great Commission" of Christ needs to become part of the air and the ethos absorbed in the pores of those who live the life of the

seminary administration, faculty and student body and of the Church at large:

Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. And when they saw him they worshiped him; but some doubted. And Jesus came and said to them, 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age' (Mt. 28.16-20).

From the aspect of academic theology, I believe it is important to continue to examine the tradition and to mine its message for mission. In recent years, from the 1950s the then Father, and now Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) instituted the missionary periodical *Porefthendes* (*Go Ye...*). Since then, there has been a growing body of studies in contemporary Orthodox theology encouraging Orthodox reflection on mission and its importance for the Church. Greece has taken a leadership role in this theological development with university level programs taught formerly by the then Bishop Anastasios and presently by Professor Elias Voulgarakis, who has published a volume on mission theory in Greek for use in his courses. In addition, scholars and writers such as Fr. Ion Briia, Fr. Michael Oleksa, Barbara Smith, Metropolitan Geevarghese Mar Ostathios, Archbishop Aram Keshisian, Fr. Alexander Schmemmann, Fr. John Meyendorff, Fr. Dimitrios Couchell (now Bishop of Xanthos), Bishop Gregory Afonsky, Dr. Soterios Mousalimas, Fr. Alexander Veronis, Fr. Peter Gillquist, Paul Garrett, Nektarios Hatzimichalis, Luke Veronis, myself and others have sought to contribute some historical, theological, and practical elements to the theology of Orthodox missions in recent years.

In Orthodox theology, Tradition is very important in dealing with new and apparently new theological topics. One important way of developing justification for new departures and practices is to search the past for analogies in the Tradition and apply them to the new situation or the challenge of theological questions. I believe that this is a valid methodology, but it has its dangers as well. Let me illustrate this point with an excellent article by the late Fr. Alexander Schmemmann titled "The Missionary Imperative."<sup>22</sup> Beginning with a

rebuttal of the charge by Western Christians that Eastern Orthodoxy is a “nonmissionary” Church, Fr. Alexander proceeds to make a case for the view that the Eastern Orthodox Church is governed theologically and liturgically by a “missionary imperative” built into its faith and worship. Thus, he affirms that “A theology of mission is always the fruit of the total ‘being’ of the Church and not a mere specialty for those who receive a particular missionary calling.”<sup>23</sup> Building his response on a theology of the Church itself in which the Church exists to manifest the Kingdom as a response to God’s gift to humankind, he holds that the fullness of that response is ultimately eschatological when oriented toward God, but also “world-centered.” He writes,

The Church is fullness and its home is in heaven. But this fullness is given to the world, sent into the world as its salvation and redemption.... the entire ‘other-worldliness’ of the Church is nothing but a sign and the reality of the love of God for this world, the very condition of the Church’s mission to the world.<sup>24</sup>

Then he adds this significant observation:

The Church thus is not a ‘self-centered’ community but precisely a missionary community, whose purpose is salvation not from, but of, the world. In the Orthodox experience and faith it is the Church-sacrament that makes possible the Church-mission.<sup>25</sup>

That is one way for the theologian to come to an interpretation of the missionary imperative. Schmemmann, not unexpectedly, relates it closely to the Eucharist, sacramental life and the cosmic and transfigurational dimensions of Orthodox theology. Few Orthodox theologians would quarrel much with such a treatment.

My comment is that theology done in this mode conveys the idea that the missionary consequence of this ecclesial and sacramental approach is inevitable, and flows from the theological perspective in a self-evident and, to use Fr. Alexander’s own term, in an imperative way. The ascension to heaven expressed in Orthodox worship and what Fr. Schmemman calls “the movement of return” to service to the world, he holds, make the Eucharist “already an act of mission.”<sup>26</sup>

There is just enough of the American pragmatist in me to question this kind of theologizing. Mission has not, in practice, been an imperative for most Orthodox, theologically trained or not, simply as a result of participating in worship.

The “mission imperative,” like ethical instruction, spiritual growth, repentance, and social responsibility have to be drawn out of the faith tradition and presented to the believers as discrete modes of action. No one will deny that the doctrines, beliefs, biblical, liturgical and sacramental life, canons, history and spiritual ethos contain within them foundations for mission thought and practice. They are not, however, always self-evident. If they are there, it is the task of the theologian to entice them out of the deposit of faith in a manner that is understandable, applicable and doable in each social, cultural and historical situation.

The kind of “declaratory theology” described above is not wrong; it serves a purpose in forming a world view and ethos. But it is not adequate by itself to the task of formulating the kind of specifics that can move a Church into an outreaching missionary way of life. The imperative to mission, to be sure, is already in the Scriptures as the Great Commission and in the Apostolic mission. Declaratory theology, even when understood as residing in the worship of the Church and the Eucharist itself does not of itself move Orthodox Christians to witness and mission. More intentional work needs to be done theologically and practically in order to explicate not only the “doing of mission,” but the “doing of mission” rightly and in harmony with the Gospel itself and the tradition of mission in the Orthodox Church.

Consequently, there is need for right-headed academic theological explication of the mission imperative. But this is hardly enough. Theology needs to move toward the next step of applying the theological revelatory message to the practice of mission in every level of the Church, internationally and nationally, archdiocesan, diocesan, parish and in the case of the topic of this presentation, the seminary itself.

That is why it seems to me that the guidelines provided for us by Metropolitan Chrysostomos Konstantinidis of Myra (now of Ephesus) in his article “New Orthodox Insights in Evangelism” is on target.<sup>27</sup> Metropolitan Chrysostom begins his paper in the “declaratory theological mode” by affirming the built-in resident element of mission and evangelism in the “deposit of faith.” Integral to that deposit is the clear affirmation, in St. Peter’s words, that mission is about the proclamation of the unique saving and redemptive work of Jesus Christ which must be received, believed, lived and practiced: “There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given

among men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4.12).

Yet, he goes beyond that declaratory mode to call for a new theological expression of that imperative in the contemporary scene. His call for this new approach is the result of a clear-eyed assessment of the world as it is today in all of its tragic separation from the Source of Life:

There are millions of people of all races and cultures who do not yet know Christ. These people are often hostile to the historic Jesus and to his Church. They do not know the history of salvation; they seek the salvation of history elsewhere than in Jesus as revealed in the Gospel and witnessed to by the Church. They owe their allegiances to other ideologies, other religions and thought systems which everywhere make rapid progress.<sup>28</sup>

It is not enough, he continues to just “declare” the message to such people. His words are painful to hear, but they honestly describe the situation we face today:

The growing anguish of those who have not heard the Gospel, the worried hopes of millions who do not know whether or not to trust the promises of political ideologies, the suffering of the masses in want, sickness and famine (both spiritual and material) – these are not touched by all of the theological syntheses, brilliant, deep and systematic though they may be. In Africa, Islam progresses rapidly, and traditional religions hold sway. The Church, though flourishing in other aspects of its work, is weak and ineffective in carrying out its evangelistic task. In the face of this situation one must ask what help our scholastic, metaphysical theology full of syllogisms and Byzantine thinking and based on abstractions that are often meaningless and without content can really bring.<sup>29</sup>

The Metropolitan brings home the issue then in all of its sharpness and urgency: “If this is the real situation, does not contemporary Christianity need a new formulation of its theology as it faces those who have never known Christ?” What is being asked for is not a new Creed, a new doctrine of the Holy Trinity, nor a new Christology. Rather, he says,

This theology will be new in the sense that it brings a new vision of how to approach today those who are far removed from Christ. This vision will be better adapted to the needs of those being evangelized, will be expressed in new thought patterns and practices that do not

provoke negative reactions among them.<sup>30</sup>

These words are spoken from within the genuine tradition of the rule of faith (Gal. 6.16).

Where better can such tentative reflection, study and experiment flow from than from theologically trained minds, working in the framework of a "community of scholars" – in short, from our theological schools and seminaries? The task is huge and important for the future of the Church. It is a special form of service that only those with disciplined education and training in the field of missiology can adequately assume. The trained theologian of mission will respond to the requirements for these new insights for a contemporary, coherent, energizing theology of mission for the future of the Church. In the article Metropolitan Chrysostom called for specifics: a new understanding of man; a new dimension to ecclesiology; a new optimism in eschatology; a new ethic more adaptable to local needs; a new unity of doctrine; a new simplification of ideas in evangelism; a new clarity of motives; courage to try new methods; and a new openness to external forms of local life.

Where better can these challenges be examined than in chairs or positions of missiology in our seminaries? The first element of a vision for missionary education at our seminaries, is to take the academic theological dimension of the issue seriously enough to appoint full-time dedicated scholars and teachers who will make the study of mission for a new expression in the Orthodox Church their primary concern.

From the aspect of practical training it seems to me that two inter-related dimensions of the educational process come to the fore. The formal study of mission on the part of seminarians seems to me to be an obvious curricular essential. Over the past twenty five or so years at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, an elective course on "Orthodox Missions" was taught approximately once every three years. The course was designed on the assumption that there would be some students interested in the topic of Orthodox Missions, but that these students would have very few presuppositions regarding missions, other than their commitment to missions and the desire to see mission more widely practiced by the Orthodox Church.

The course began broadly with the reading of texts regarding Christian missions in a world-wide context, so that the students had an

over-all view of the field. The course then highlighted aspects of modern Orthodox mission movements, the theology of mission and the practice of mission. The shortcomings of such an approach are obvious. Mission inevitably became a kind of "specialization" for a few students who were "into" the subject, much as someone might have an interest in a particular Church Father, the liturgical history of one of the sacraments, the details of one or another ecumenical council, or a specialization in the Jesus Prayer. Fr. Schmemmman put it very well in his article on the missionary imperative when he wrote: "A theology of mission is always the fruit of the total "being" of the Church and not a mere specialty for those who receive a particular missionary calling."<sup>31</sup> Clearly, something better than an occasional elective course in missions is required.

One common way of responding to this need is to turn to the seminary curriculum and demand that a mission course be required of all students. This, for some seminaries might prove to be very difficult, given extremely large numbers of required courses and a very small number of electives in the curriculum. At least, a basic missions elective could be offered by a full-time missions professor every year, together with an in depth missions elective in the other semester. The chair could then also be responsible for organizing campus activities, field education components, special worship and lecture programs and observances (for example, the Feasts of Saints Peter and Paul, Saints Cyril and Methodios, Saint Porphyrios of Gaza, Saint Herman of Alaska, etc.), for faculty and students and the general public.

But perhaps more importantly, means need to be developed to respond to the "specialization" danger. Perhaps the instructor in the field of missions could be invited by faculty members in each of the core required courses to offer a week's worth of lectures on the issue of missions within the focus and purview of the subject matter of each course. For example, the basic courses in New Testament, in Doctrine, in Liturgics, in Ethics, in Preaching and in Pastoral Theology could include in their syllabi a unit on mission as it addresses the subject matter of each course.

Even more effectively would be the decision of the Seminars to provide a "continuing education" program for faculty members in the field of mission studies with the express purpose of encouraging all faculty to integrate mission concerns, themes and topics in every course they teach, whether it be core courses or electives. Admittedly

this would be more demanding than having a “missions team-teaching” approach, but if it were accomplished it would be an important step in moving to the third area of the seminary missions program necessary to avoid the “specialization” danger.

Perhaps the two levels of mission education just discussed, that is, the academic theological, and the practical dimensions of inclusion of mission into the whole curriculum are, in fact, secondary to what we have termed above as spiritual preparation for mission. I am using this term in its broadest connotations in the sense of formation for ministry. A brief glance at the topics of the many presentations at this conference point to an extremely broad approach to the mission task. Not only is there a theological component that deals with mission theory, *kerygma*, culture and the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and other religions, we are also being addressed on the task, ministry, nature and the parish context for mission. In this section of the conference vision, methods, training, practical implications, the evangelizing of fallen Christians and non-Christians and the challenge of the third millennium are on the agenda.

Such a huge agenda, with such wide-ranging concerns! But by now it must be clear that mission goes even deeper and broader than these concerns. We could add to the list the mission dimension of campus work, for religious educators, in worship, for the development of vocations to the priesthood, in church school and extension education programs, to missionaries themselves when they are on furlough, for those in the healing and helping professions, in parish renewal programs, in the development of lay leaders of the church on every level, in situations calling for parish renewal, in the fostering of biblical and patristic knowledge, in family life, in supporting newly established mission churches both here and abroad, in language study and the translation of scripture, liturgical texts and spiritual literature, in bringing faith to children, teenagers and young adults, and in countless other ways.

These observations, finally, point to the need for something less tangible than seminary buildings, less easy to describe as curricula, faculty and programs, less capable of measurement, yet more important than all of them. I am speaking of the cultivation of a mission ethos that would pervade the mind-set of the Orthodox Church. Let us admit that we do not have it. With some wonderful exceptions we can point to, most active Orthodox Christians are focused upon the



personal and corporate dimensions of their local Christian experience, not in outreach. What is needed is the cultivation of a mission spirit which will be as normative to Orthodoxy as the Eucharist is.

### CONCLUSION

This presentation was supposed to be about "Vision for Mission Education at Orthodox Seminaries." I believe that many of our students come to our seminaries already inspired by a missionary vision, to reach out, to proclaim, to foster and promote the Gospel. And in many cases, instead of cultivating that mission-mindedness, the seminary functions in a way that tames or even kills it. Often the seminary educational experience turns our graduates into sacerdotal functionaries, not interested or capable of igniting excitement about the good news of the Gospel.

In contrast, the most important thing that seminaries and theological schools can do, beyond academic theology, beyond "practical courses," beyond "administrative provision for mission studies," beyond institutes and programs, is to feed the conviction that leads men and women in this twentieth, going onto the twenty-first, century, to reject the enticements of the world and to seek to serve God. Somehow, the most important part of the vision is to find ways to cultivate the dream of a Church so alive in its conviction of the redemptive Orthodox faith that it demands to be expressed as the answer to the human situation. It is this spiritual orientation which is critical; it alone can provide the vigor for lives sustained and enriched enough to exercise a ministry of mission, wherever and in whatever circumstances those lives are lived.

The seminaries, of course, cannot provide that power – it is the energies of the living God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, which alone can literally inspire the missionary imperative in the seminary community. But the seminary should not stand in the way of that power; rather, it should do everything humanly possible to receive it hospitably, to cultivate its spirit and to help it grow. At the end of a seminary education, every graduate should have been nurtured to the point where he or she echoes the words of St. Paul in his Second Epistles to the Corinthians: "we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us" (Gal. 6.16).

A story is told of a missionary captured in Vietnam during the

days of the French occupation of the land. The missionary had been captured by a small band of Communist Viet Cong. He was held captive in a remote camp for several weeks. During this period he became very friendly with a young officer and taught him English by means of a Bible he had with him when he was captured.

Toward the end of his captivity they sat discussing a very large military operation soon to take place. The small band of guerrilla fighters were up against terrible odds. Many of their number would surely be killed by the overwhelming French forces. When the missionary asked him why he would be willing to throw his life away for a lost cause, he answered, "I would gladly die if I could advance the cause of communism one more mile." Then he went on to state a telling truth. He said, "You know, as you have read to me from the Bible I have come to believe that you Christians have a greater message than that of the communists. But I believe we are going to win the world. Christianity means something to you, but communism means everything to us!"

Seminaries will succeed in their mission education efforts only if they can foster an attitude like that in their graduates who will leave the halls of formal learning to win the world to the service of the Lord, because Christ and His Church mean everything to them. In the end, I would hold that this spiritual formative dimension is the center and heart of the vision for missionary education in Orthodox seminaries.

<sup>1</sup> For example, the article "Cyber Shock, Part 2" in the evangelical Protestant magazine, *Christianity Today* (April 3, 1995) discusses its "Christianity Online" offering on one of the most popular cyberspace service in the United States today, the two million member "America Online." Within six months of its establishment, the service was receiving 325,000 monthly "visits" expending over 32,000 hours per month online. Among others, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese has now also developed an online service, "Access."

<sup>2</sup> New York: Oxford University Press, 1994

<sup>3</sup> *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 13 (1968) 17-14

<sup>4</sup> *The Lexington Theological Quarterly*, 5 (1970) 233-41

<sup>5</sup> A good basic source for these missionary efforts is Stephen Neill's *A History of Christian Missions*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1964. Additional valuable information is to be found in J. Glazik, *Die russisch-orthodoxe Heidenmission seit Peter dem Grossen*, 1954, \_\_\_\_\_, *Die Islammission der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche*, 1959, S. Boshakoff, *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*, London 1943.

<sup>6</sup> Neill, *Ibid*, p. 441. See also, Nikita Struve, "Macaire Glukharev: A Prophet of Orthodox Mission," *International Review of Missions*, July, 1965, pp. 308-314.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Barbara S Smith, *Orthodoxy and Native Americans The Alaskan Mission*, Syosett, NY Orthodox Church in America Department of History and Archives, 1980 Historical Society Occasional Papers, No 1

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p 444 For documents of this period, see also, Michael Oleksa, ed, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, Mahway, NJ Paulist Press, 1987

<sup>10</sup> Neill, p 583

<sup>11</sup> For an account of the novel in greater detail, see Stanley Samuel Harakas, "Philotheos Revisited The Reawakening of Mission Outlook," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 1987, vol 32, no 3, pp 253-269

<sup>12</sup> London, 1937-1945

<sup>13</sup> See also, his articles, "European Protestant and Catholic Approaches to the World Religions Complements and Contrasts," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 1975, vol 12, no 1, pp 13-128, "Jesus-Buddha-Krishna Still Present?," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 1979, vol 16, no 4, pp 651-671, "Theocentric Christology," *Theology Today*, 1983, vol 40, no 2, pp 130-149, and with special reference to the topic of this paper, "Religious Pluralism in Theological Education," *Anglican Theological Review*, 1992, vol 74, no 4, pp 418-437

<sup>14</sup> Stanley S Harakas, "Orthodox Christianity and Theologizing" (Response to Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "The History of Religions the Foundation for a Future Theology of Religion") in Leonard Swidler, ed, *Toward a Universal Theology of Religion*, (Maryknoll, NY Orbis Books, 1987), pp 73-78

<sup>15</sup> *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, 1978, vol 14, no 1, pp 23-29

<sup>16</sup> Other expressions of this view may be found in the following articles Ted Peters, "Confessional Universalism and InterReligious Dialogue," *Dialog*, 1986, vol 25, no 2, pp 145-149, Mark S Heim, "Thinking About Theocentric Christology," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 1987, vol 24, no 1, pp 1-16, David J Bosch, "The Church in Dialogue From Self-Delusion to Vulnerability," *Mid-Stream*, 1988, vol 16, no 2, pp 131-147, Anne Hunt, "No Other Name? A Critique of Religious Pluralism," *Pacifica*, 1990, vol 3, no 1, pp 45-60, Paul R Eddy, "Paul Knitter's Theology of Religions A Survey and Evangelical Response," *Evangelical Quarterly*, 1993, vol 65, no 31, pp 225-245

<sup>17</sup> "CWM's First Decade and Beyond," *International Review of Mission*, 1987, vol 76, no 304, pp 473-487, \_\_\_\_\_, "Ministerial Formation for Mission Implications for Theological Education," *International Review of Mission*, 1992, vol 81, no 321, pp 33-45

<sup>18</sup> Norman E Thomas, "Globalization and the Teaching of Mission," *Missiology*, 1990, vol 18, no 1, pp 13-23

<sup>19</sup> A representative bibliography might include the following articles from the early 1960's to the present James I McCord, "The Seminary and the Theological Mission," *Theology Today*, 1960, vol 17, pp 290-299, R Pearce Beaver, "The Readiness of the World for Mission," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 1962, vol 33, pp 13-23, Victory E W Hayward, "The Person of Missionary in an Indigenous Church," *Lutheran World*, 1962, vol 9, pp 18-28, John Schmidt, "Foreign Missions in our Seminaries," *Lutheran Quarterly*, 1963, vol 15, pp 144-150, Virgil Sly, "Education for Mission Implications of the Church's World Mission for Theological Education," *Lexington Theological Quarterly*, 1969, vol 4, no 3, ppl 86-95, Inga-Brita Castren, "Education for Mission,"

*International Review of Mission*, 1973, vol 62, no 245, pp 92-99, Ward L. Kaiser, "Are Churches Building Mission Consciousness? Education for Mission Evaluated," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 1983, vol 7, no 4, pp 163-164, George Hunter, "Where is 'Church Growth' in North America Today?," *Journal of the Academy for Evangelism in Theological Education*, 1986-1987, vol 2, pp 38-52, Dana L. Robert, "Mission Study at the University-related Seminary The Boston University School of Theology as a Case Study," *Missiology*, 1989, vol 17, no 2, pp 193-202, Anne C. Reissner, "Piece by Piece A Mosaic of Global Theological Education," *Theological Education*, 1991, vol 27, no 2, pp 110-123, Schreiter, Robert J., "Anthropology and Faith, Challenges to Missiology," *Missiology*, 1991, vol 19, no 3, pp 283-294, Bonnie L. Jensen, "Processes in Education for Mission," *International Review of Mission*, 1992, vol 81, no 321, pp 91-96, Fayette Breaux Veverka, "Defining a Catholic Approach to Education in the United States, 1920-1950," *Religious Education*, 1993, vol 88, no 4, pp 523-542

<sup>20</sup> Thus, in an article about the new head of the Baptist Sunday School Board, Bill Taylor, author Linda Lawson wrote recently, "He brings to his new position a burning desire to lead Southern Baptists to apply the tried-and-true principles of reaching people with the good news of the gospel while using the latest methods and technology to carry out the tasks" Linda Lawson, "10 Sunday School Priorities Listed by BSSB's Bill Taylor," *Baptist Press*, May 4, 1995

<sup>21</sup> Sarah Zimmerman quotes Phil Roberts, the director of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board Interfaith Witness Department "The problem is, people are undisciplined Christians who understand the basic tenets of their beliefs will be able to identify errors in other beliefs," Sarah Zimmerman Roberts Educating members key to preventing cult inroads" *Baptist Press*, March 22, 1995

<sup>22</sup> Alexander Schmemmann, *Church, World, Mission* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979), ch 11

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p 209

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp 213-214

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, pp 213-215

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p 215

<sup>27</sup> *In Martyria/Mission The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today* Geneva: World Council of Churches Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, 1980, pp 13-19

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p 13

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>31</sup> Schmemmann, p 209

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

#612, 613), also written by Lazaropoulos, describes thirty-three additional wonders performed by the saint, including the miraculous defeat of Melik, a Muslim Prince. Rosenqvist provides a thorough introduction to each text, its author and its historical setting with only rare editorial slips (e.g. there are two misspellings on p. 37 (eighth instead of eight), and there is a superfluous article on p. 63).

Scholars interested in context and history will find Rosenqvist's work interesting. He postulates that the Dionysios dossier is a replica of one assembled by Lazaropoulos, himself. His introduction and commentary reflect a historical critical methodology. He argues that the revisions in the texts reflect the political and religious situation in Trebizond in the early fourteenth century. In fact, he maintains that the cult St. Eugenios and the monastery which housed his relics were exploited for political advantage by Alexios III (emperor of Trebizond) and his assistant, John Lazaropoulos.

General readers of Orthodox hagiography receive in translation the life and miracles of a fascinating yet relatively unfamiliar martyr.

George Demacopoulos

*Visions and Longings: Medieval Women Mystics*, introduction and selection by Monica Furlong (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages viii+248. \$20.00.

*Secrets of God. Writings of Hildegard of Bingen*, selected and translated by Sabina Flanagan (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1996) pages xii+187. \$14.00.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, a remarkable development occurred in Western Christianity: spiritual women began to emerge from the silence of previous centuries, and through their activity and direction reenlivened and substantially changed the spiritual life and landscape of the Roman Catholic Church. Speaking with an astonishing intelligence and profundity, their voices still resonate today, despite the very different and, especially to modern sensibilities, sometimes quite bizarre experiences and context of their lives. Two new books offer translations of the writings of spiritual women from between the 12th and the 14th centuries. The first, *Visions and Longings*, is an anthology of the writings of eleven of these women, whereas the second, *Secrets of God*, focuses solely on the works of Hildegard of Bingen, and offers selections from a variety of her im-

portant writings. Each of these books performs a valuable service to scholars and students by presenting some material that was either not available in English translation or was not easily accessible.

In *Visions and Longings* Monica Furlong treats us to an exciting variety of texts that explore the many spiritual gifts of these medieval women. Unfortunately, this volume is disappointing with regard to the introductory and explanatory materials offered for the understanding of the spirituality and experiences of these women. Ms. Furlong presents these women as “mystics” but does not particularly explore this theme. Indeed, not all of the women are, in fact, mystics, nor are all the texts selected mystical ones. The introduction approaches the study of these women from primarily a sociological perspective and offers little in the way of theological reflection to illuminate the reading of the texts. Although helpful in understanding the cultural and socio-economic strictures under which these women lived, Ms. Furlong’s introductory comments occasionally become so extreme as to be misleading rather than instructive. For example, in discussing the “masochistic” elements in Marguerite Porete’s *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, Furlong makes the outrageous claim that the abuse of Marguerite by her divine lover is “almost identical” to that perpetrated on the female character by her lover in the modern *The Story of O* (p. 31). Comments such as these suggest that Ms. Furlong has misunderstood the operation of humiliation/humility and the denial and sacrifice of the self in the mystical mindset. However, the individual introductions for each woman are helpful in fleshing out the personalities and historical context of the women. The texts themselves vary substantially in content, from the sublime and truly mystical short text of *The Showings* by Julian of Norwich to the searing and eloquent letters of Heloise to Abelard. It is the strength of the texts themselves that recommends *Visions and Longings*, and the glimpses into these writings that this volume provides makes us long to read the full texts.

*Secrets of God* gives us the opportunity to delve deeper into the study of the spirituality of one of these remarkable medieval women, namely, Hildegard of Bingen. Hildegard was a spiritual director, reformer, visionary and mystic (although scholars are divided as to whether her writings are, in fact, “mystical”) whose music and poetry is deeply expressive, lyrical and immediately accessible, but whose prose writings can be theologically complex and difficult to

apprehend. *Secrets of God* is unusual in that it brings into one volume a very wide variety of Hildegard's writings in a generally successful attempt to give a more complete picture of her talents, thought, and concerns. We see here her theological fascination with the great themes of sacred history, especially creation and redemption, and her concern with piety and virtue, and then in later texts on medicine and natural history read of her remedies for headaches or her "scientific" opinion on ostriches. Some guidance in the reading of such a wide variety of material would be helpful, but Sabina Flanagan supplies only the barest of background information in her introduction to the texts. Nevertheless, the extraordinary intelligence of Hildegard shines throughout this volume, and by its close we find ourselves conversant with one of the greatest minds and spiritual leaders of the twelfth century.

Helen Creticos Theodoropoulos

*Λεμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* Ed. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 6, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996) pages xvi + 256.

The most recent addition to the Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia Series (vol. 6) is a Festschrift in honor of Lennart Rydén. Professor Rydén's many accomplishments in Byzantine Studies merit this recognition, as attested by the list of his eighty five publications included at the beginning of the text. *Λεμῶν* is edited by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, a former assistant to Rydén, who has contributed two previous volumes to this series and an article in this collection. Other contributions come from twelve well-known U. S. and European Byzantinists. Most of the articles reflect Rydén's scholarly interests in late antique and Byzantine Hagiography. The book is recommended to anyone interested in the latest scholarly discussions of those issues.

George Demacopoulos

*Towards God: The Western Tradition of Contemplation.* Michael Casey (Melbourne: Dove, 1995) pages viii + 179.

The title of this book conveys the image of a dry and dusty text-



#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.

---

## In Memoriam

---

DR. DEMETRIOS ZACHAROPOULOS  
PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES  
HOLY CROSS GREEK ORTHODOX SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

On October 20, 1997, a few days before his name-day, Professor Demetrios Zacharopoulos fell asleep in the Lord in a Boston Hospital. His passing was unexpected, because, although, Professor Zacharopoulos had serious problems with his health, he was still active and vibrant and lively and involved in his studies and in the life of the School. His funeral took place at Holy Cross Chapel in the presence of his beloved brother Aimilianos, Metropolitan of Kos and many of his colleagues and his former students. Bishop Methodios of Boston, who was presiding, conveyed the condolences of the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew as well as the condolences of Archbishop Spyridon. The eulogy was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Clapsis a former student and close friend of Professor Zacharopoulos.

There is no doubt, that the sudden passing of Professor Zacharopoulos brought about much sorrow in the community at Holy Cross as well as among his many friends and admirers in America. Indeed he was an extra-ordinary man. I met him, for the first time, at Holy Cross in 1951, when he had just arrived from Constantinople a student aspiring to higher things and graduate of the prestigious Theological School of Halki. He was accepted for his Master's degree as well as for his doctorate at Boston University School of Theology and was fortunate to have famous and much respected Professors and scholars in the field of the Old Testament Studies, like Professor Robert Pfeiffer, about whom he always spoke with enthusiasm and gratitude. In September of 1953 he was appointed as an Instructor of

Old Testament studies at Holy Cross, and I had the great honor to have him as my Professor. His first course, besides the General Introduction to the Old Testament, was an Introduction to the study of the Prophet Jeremiah. He taught it with reverence, enthusiasm, much care and with much attention to his students.

No doubt, Professor Zacharopoulos was an excellent professor and teacher. His impressive memory, his splendid analytical mind, his admirable ability to present things in a profound way and make the most difficult themes approachable and well understood by his students, made him a popular teacher. He loved dialogue, discussion and critical analysis of all the most difficult subjects in his fields. Besides his theological interests, he was a man who cared about people. He loved his students, in his own way, he loved life in all its expressions.

He was abreast of ecclesiastical developments, current political affairs and financial issues. He loved the Church, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and he never, never forgot, that he was a professor and a student of the Old Testament. To the last moment of his life, he was studying the Old Testament and was fully aware of the new bibliography in his field. A few months before his death, he asked me and borrowed from my personal library certain patristic books in connection with his studies in the Old Testament.

A true mirror of his painstaking methodology is his book on one of the most interesting (and controversial) ecclesiastical writers, Theodore of Mopsuestia (4th-5th century). That was his thesis at Boston University School of Theology which was accepted, as I understand, with much appreciation. We must say, that Professor Zacharopoulos was an admirer of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He believed that only under political pressures by Emperor Justinian, did the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553 condemn Theodore and, as he put it in his book, by "anathematizing Theodore, the Church acted against its own tradition and set a precedent which has never been used again" (p.21). Professor Zacharopoulos believed that Theodore of Mopsuestia was the greatest biblical exegete, regardless, of course, of some of his mistakes. He writes: "In point of fact, in the field of patristic exegesis, no exegete, to our knowledge, stressed the principles of a rational exegesis with greater emphasis and universality than the bishop of Mopsuestia. He based his interpretation of the Bible on sound common-sense principles, being

opposed on the one hand to the allegorical method, of which the Alexandrians were the great exemplars, and on the other hand to crude literalism. He studied and interpreted the Old Testament in the light of its literal, conceptual, and historical environment. The Bible must be interpreted by the Bible" (p.123). And his conclusion was obvious: "... we cannot charge Theodore with obstinacy and deliberate distortion of Christian truth. There is no indication of anything like a formal heresy. There seems to be evidence that Theodore's intention, in thinking out the Christological problem, was to conform to the doctrine of the Church as he understood it. One cannot read Theodore's extant dogmatic writings without being thoroughly impressed by his honest intention to think with the Church" (p.20). We debated with Professor Zacharopoulos many times, and to the end he had not changed his views. And I admired him, that he had the courage to voice his views with much honesty and conviction. And I respectfully disagreed.

Precisely, Professor Zacharopoulos' honesty, conviction, zeal, enthusiasm, and love are going to be missed. As a scholar, a teacher, a friend, Professor Zacharopoulos epitomized all the virtues of a Christian theologian. We miss him.

May the memory of Professor Zacharopoulos be eternal.

Dr. George S. Bebis

#### Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

#### About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.